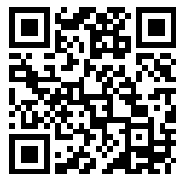

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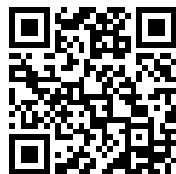
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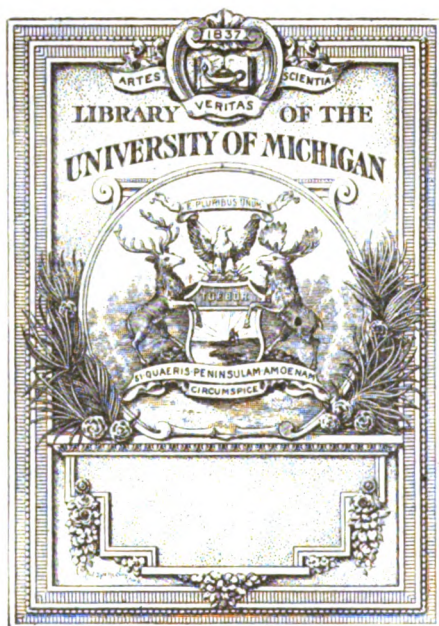
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MYSTICISM: ITS MEANING AND DANGER.

I ACCEPT entirely much of Father Kelly's profoundly interesting theory of Mysticism which he developes in the July number, and of his very kind and searching criticism of my own previous article on the same subject. My whole article was, I now believe, too much inclined to take a conventional and uncritical view of the merits of an experience which claims to make possible an immediate approach of the soul to God. Again, I agree with Father Kelly in regarding the pursuance of the *via negativa* as at least an essential characteristic of mystical religion. But for that very reason I cannot help with the greatest diffidence joining issue with him as to his description of what Mysticism actually is. He seems to me to include under the term several kinds of mental process which, as a matter of fact, have very little to do with each other.

(1) There is the process by which I combine differing and partial mental images of a collar-stud or a sheep into the notion of a whole. Father Kelly here seems not to recognize the distinction between concept and mental image or remembered percept. Unquestionably no image gives me the whole sheep or the whole collar-stud. But my notion of the whole, whether it takes me further from or nearer to 'reality', is a concept just because it is not imaginable. The formation of concepts is in fact the most fundamental activity of the intellect, and however mysterious from certain points of view it may appear, it is surely better for the sake of clearness not to call it mystical.

(2) There is the process of generalization by which my concept of a whole particular sheep passes into that of sheep in general. This is again only an essential process of the intellect. But the mind may meditate on general ideas in abstraction in such a way that they seem to have a reality of their own; and in that case

a mental attitude and a doctrine are generated which are properly known as Platonism.

(3) There is the intuition that none of my concepts does or can give me 'the actuality of things as they are or as I think them in their change, their movement, their potentiality'. Reality is always escaping the meshes of the conceptual net. There is in all things an *ἀπειρον*. To insist on the positive value of this intuition as the guide to truth is to follow M. Bergson. Now both Platonism and Bergsonism have from certain points of view been called mystical. But they present a fundamental contrast to the mysticism of the *via negativa*. For whereas the two philosophers seek to reach reality by starting from the observation of the external world and the criticisms of the mind thereon and therefore their path to truth lies through the world of sense, the teaching of the *via negativa* insists that the external and the temporal are only hindrances to the soul's desire for union with God, and as such are to be eschewed from the beginning. M. Bergson, it is true, appeals to inward intuition, but his intuitional knowledge is simply a datum of ordinary observation of movement and ordinary consciousness of life. It is no more mystical than the sight of a bird flying or the feeling of sitting down. Such things may be the mystery of mysteries, but to call them in this connexion mystical simply invites confusion. Plato comes much nearer to the mystic when at the end of the dialectical process *αὐτὴ ἡ ψυχὴ* approaches *αὐτὸ τὸ ὄν*. But the dialectical method itself is radically unmystical. It passes from the percept of physical sense to the concept of reason by a process of abstraction. The *via negativa* turns from the percept of physical sense to the percept of spiritual sense by a process of exclusion.

(4) Here then is the fourth mental process, and it is for this that I should prefer to reserve the term Mysticism. I still think my previous definition was correct in its essential meaning, though Father Kelly has pointed out that it was slipshod in expression. Mysticism, I should now say, is the claim made by the soul to the apprehension of a wider reality in no sense mediated by the data of sense-perception. I still maintain that the essence of mysticism is an immediate inner experience of reality as opposed to a meditation upon abstract ideas which have their concrete source in the external world. Father Kelly argues that expe-

rience is of the external, whereas mystical apprehension is of the inward and consequently must be a kind of meditation or reflexion. This position may well be right ; but it seems to me that it is equivalent to a simple rejection of mysticism and should be recognized as such. To say that experience is of the external is to say that experience must be mediated by the material, i. e. by the data of the senses. But it is the claim of the mystic that he can experience *a* or *the* reality other than himself by cutting himself off from the external world altogether and retiring into the hidden depths of his own soul. This experience is no meditation on abstractions ; it is as direct in its claim to give 'objective' reality as my apprehension of a blow on the body or of redness on a pillar-box—only it is not mediated by any bodily sense. The soul is here using no material organ and no powers of reflexion, but a specifically mystical sense. Father Kelly may be right in maintaining in effect that this sense is a kind of psychological Mrs Harris, but to do so is to assert categorically that mysticism is a delusion. Father Kelly would avoid this conclusion by emphasizing the fact that the mystics did not set much store by their 'experiences'. In this connexion, however, there is need, I now think, for a distinction between 'experiences' and 'experience'. Of experiences such as raptures, visions, and the like, the mystics were undoubtedly critical, and they bade their followers not to set their hopes on such 'consolations'. They were, indeed, often distressed by the importance attached to them in their own case by the more ignorant of their companions, and they sought as far as possible to avoid the notice attracted by the physical abnormalities which accompanied such visitations. But none the less they seem to represent the end and aim of their religion as an experience of the type I have tried to define, an experience of the soul alone with God in immediate contact and union, a union ineffable in nature, eternal in essence, and quite exclusive of the world. This union is apparently identical with Heaven, and the mystics are eager to admit that continued consciousness of it is impossible and even undesirable on earth. They do not therefore, while the soul is tabernacled in the flesh, altogether identify the sense of God's presence with its actuality. But they do believe that in mystic consciousness foretastes of the heavenly experience are bestowed,

and that it is in virtue of these foretastes alone that they have absolute knowledge of heaven and of God. The claim to this inward experience of God on earth is therefore the essence of mystical religion. And it does look as if the mystic suspiciousness of visions and raptures was due to the fact that they are too like hallucinations of the ordinary consciousness to be implicitly trusted. Such experiences are granted at early stages of the mystic journey and not only when the goal is reached. They are clearly distinguished from the final union and are at best only granted as helps and encouragements to perseverance on the road. Perhaps, therefore, it is not because they are too abnormal that the mystics do not rely on them, but rather because they are not abnormal enough to be ineffable.

If such a theory of religion as this exists, clearly some name should be given it to keep it distinct from Platonism and Hegelism on the one hand, which give us the apotheosis of the conceptual system, and from Bergsonism on the other, which relies on the intuition that that system misses the reality in the world. As a psychical fact mysticism differs from these infinitely more than the mental process which plans a burglary differs from that which plans a Sunday-school treat. 'Mysticism' may well be thought a term too wide to serve legitimately this purpose of distinction. If so, some other word is needed. Perhaps Father Kelly can make a suggestion. In any case I only advance my account of Mysticism in the most tentative way in order to make clear a possible point for discussion.

In conclusion I should like further to emphasize from a somewhat different point of view Father Kelly's warning as to the danger of esotericism always lurking in mystical belief. At the present time we seem threatened in certain quarters with a return to what he describes as 'the great test fruit of heathenism'. Recent years have, in fact, seen the development of an entirely new method in religious apologetic, which probably involves a greater breach with the past than many people suspect. The new line of argument takes its rise naturally from two characteristic tendencies of modern thought, on the one hand a profound distrust of intellectual criteria as a means of establishing objective verity, and on the other the growing importance attached to the comparatively new science of psychology. Theoretic demonstrations in connexion with

religion may or may not be dialectically flawless, they leave the modern mind cold and unconvinced. Reason is felt to be but a blind guide beyond the limits of actual experience. At the same time, the distrust of the intellect has issued in the liberation of the claims of experience in all its forms from the shackles of *a priori* reasoning. The opposed criticisms of experience connected with the metaphysics of idealism and materialism are alike felt to rest largely on assumptions which can no longer be regarded as more than the postulates of intellectualism; and there is a growing refusal to accept their authority where they fail to satisfy the deeper needs and intuitions of our spiritual being. In so far as this conversion to what William James called a radical empiricism means a turning from an abstract Absolute or First Cause to the Divine Spirit in the human heart, the Christian philosopher can surely regard it with equanimity or even with favour. But when the new apologetic invokes the aid of scientific psychology in place of idealist metaphysic it may well be doubted whether the new alliance will prove any more satisfactory than the old. The psychologist in pursuance of his scientific method must first proceed to isolate the phenomena of religious experience in order to investigate them. He is therefore bound to assume at the start that the religious experience is a defined and specific form of experience separable from all other forms and that the best cases from which to generalize will naturally be those in which the specific experience is most highly developed. Looking at the facts from this point of view, he is immediately confronted by a vast number of cases in which persons of all times, countries, and persuasions, claim to have had an immediate *sui generis* experience or consciousness of a Divine reality beyond them. Here then apparently is the specifically religious experience. The persons referred to we have termed mystics; and forthwith for the scientific mind religious experience in its purest form is identified with mysticism. The religious faith of the ordinary man who makes no mystical claims is only mysticism dilute or inchoate, or, more often still perhaps, it is mysticism known about instead of known.

These not unnatural assumptions form the common basis of two of the most typically modern books written in English, which defend the religious view of life, William James's *Varieties of Religious Experience* and Miss Underhill's *Mysticism*. Miss

Underhill indeed does not expressly start from science, but her whole method of defending religious knowledge involves, whether consciously or not, the presupposition just described, that religion consists in a specific separable kind of experience. In Prof. James's case this scientific hypothesis forms practically the sole assumption of his enquiry and completely determines his method. Apart from the pragmatic test of value which in his view cannot differentiate between any of the more respectable theologies, he preserves a strictly impartial attitude towards all conditions, Christian, Buddhist, Mohammedan, and others, under which mystical experiences may occur and through which their character may be influenced. He conceives his task to lie in discounting the peculiar contributions of each religion and then formulating the highest common factor of agreement as the sum of religious knowledge ascertainable up to date. The mystical form of the experience is recognized as constituting the chief claim to consideration, and its abnormality thus becomes the measure of its importance. As must inevitably be the case, the positive result of this enquiry amounts to little more than the assertion that there probably is something in a hypothetical mysticism of a strictly undenominational and cosmopolitan character.

Miss Underhill's method represents a considerable advance, for practical purposes, on that of James. For her also the mystic is the sole religious authority. But the important distinction between mysticism and magic enables her to limit the variety of data to be considered and so to reach a clearer and more imposing result. Mysticism for her is the union of the soul with the Absolute, sought simply for its own sake out of the pure desire and love for Absolute Truth and Being. In magic also the soul seeks to enter into relations with supernatural power, but always with a view to the attainment of some ulterior purpose. Magic is not necessarily wrong—the end it has in view may even be a noble one—but the element of interestedness contained in it vitiates any claim on its part to reach the ultimate truth of the universe. This distinction cleverly worked out enables Miss Underhill to reject claims to teach ultimate truth on the part of all the less dignified phenomena of religious mysticism to which more strictly psychological enquirers such as James and Starbuck devote so much anxious attention. Revivalism, ecstatic conversion, the Mind-cure Movement, Christian Science, may all be classed as

magic ; and forthwith their crude appeals, confused theology, and noisy emotions, cease to trouble the serene atmosphere of contemplation in which alone the soul can enter the clear light and true knowledge of God. For Miss Underhill the really normative type of religion is that of the orthodox school of Catholic mystics.

Neither James nor Miss Underhill, however, seems at all to realize the very serious, and by no means wholly welcome, consequences to religion in general which their notion of religious empiricism involves. The most obvious objection to it from a Christian point of view lies in the inevitable consequence that where the inner certainty of a specific experience is made the one authoritative channel of religious truth, the external evidence of historic fact becomes secondary and even logically superfluous. If the Absolute can be known directly in immediate experience, what need is there to worry and argue about historic events 2,000 years old? 'When the mystic has found God', to use Herrmann's telling phrase, 'he has left Christ behind.' This objection would no doubt weigh powerfully with the orthodox, but to many liberal thinkers it might appear to lend an additional support to the view against which it is directed. A frank acceptance of the unimportance of mere historic fact would free the educated mind once for all from all the perplexities of Biblical criticism ; and it has been very plausibly argued that belief in the historic fact is after all only the husk serving to protect a profound truth of spiritual experience until its fuller growth can dispense with outward covering. The story of Christ's Life is for the spiritual infant ; direct mystical experience for the man. Intellectual and modernizing persons, however, who reason in this fashion seldom grasp the real issues at stake. One supreme value of the historic fact is that it makes possible a spiritual democracy. As long as the actual events of Christ's Life, Death, and Resurrection are recognized as the essential basis of all faith, those who occupy their business in other than directly religious matters, the van-boy in the East End, the commercial churchwarden in the suburbs, have a definite assurance that they too may possess a firm grasp of all that is really needful of religious knowledge. They can feel that through their lives not less, in a sense, than through the life of the contemplative, the Divine Life of the Spirit may find expression, that their point of view has an equal

right to be considered in the councils of the whole society, that even through their very absorption in secular tasks they may have their own special contribution to make to a Church whose Founder came to consecrate all human life in His service. This is the only basis for democracy in the church, and a historic faith is the key-stone on which the structure rests. For where faith is grounded on an external fact and its meaning and value for life—a fact which all can grasp and verify—the development of a specific form of inward experience is no longer made the test of religiousness. Take away the historic fact, and the specific inward experience is almost bound to be identified with religion. This experience the van-boy and the business man, however earnest their attachment to religion, have no time and probably no capacity to cultivate. They are therefore relegated to an exoteric circle of belief. By diligence according to their lights they may attain an ultimate salvation. But meanwhile their business is only to do and believe what they are told is good for them by the mystic expert, and their demands and opinions are worth no more consideration than those of the amateur and the dabbler in any other branch of knowledge. At once a highly scientific and a rigidly aristocratic position. For science must ever be ruled by the expert and cannot believe in the wisdom of babes. And the tyranny becomes more pronounced in proportion as the distinctness of the specific experience called religious is emphasized. There is always a certain universality about a metaphysical argument. For its appeal is to universal reason which it assumes to be common to all men. All men therefore are potentially capable of appreciating the truths it would establish. Mystical experience is usually thought to be the gift of the few, and those few usually insist on its ineffability. Hence the many who have it not, can at best be amused or edified with the roughest representations of its meaning which are bound to be widely misunderstood. Something of this inevitable consequence Miss Underhill has the courage to admit ; but it would be a strange irony if pragmatism, whose self-appointed mission is to proclaim the democracy of thought, should in its scientific zeal hand over religion to an obscurantism in principle more exclusive than that of German philosopher or Spanish priest. If religion has felt the whips of metaphysic let her beware the scorpions of psychology.

The consideration of this danger suggests the wider question

whether a religious empiricism of the kind we have been discussing is not in fact alien to the whole *ηθος* of Christianity. It is very hard to find traces of mysticism in the New Testament, except perhaps in St Paul in whom it is abundantly corrected by other influences. Does not the profound democracy of the Gospels depend largely on their suggestion that man approaches God in and through his dealings with his fellow-men, at least as much as in the isolation of prayer? Even in prayer itself we are taught to ask God to forgive us as we forgive others. We are to be perfect as our Father is perfect through acting on the principles of the Sermon on the Mount. The similes from natural growth in the mustard-seed and the lily seem to suggest a radically different conception of faith from that which inspired the inward journey through the Dark Night of the Soul and up the Ascent of Mount Carmel. The whole theory of Incarnation is apparently understood by St John to imply that the Christian's inward relations to God must be mediated by his outward relations to his brethren and the material world. Mr Burkitt in a review in the last number of the JOURNAL quotes a passage from Schweitzer which represents the Johannine theology as resting on the dogma that the Spirit can only act on man in conjunction with matter. Such discussions would take us too far afield. But perhaps it may be suggested that there is imperative need for care in the use of that simple phrase 'religious experience'. One has only to read in succession a little of such books as James's *Varieties* and Herrmann's *Communion with God* to realize the fatal ambiguity of which such a commonplace expression is capable.

The main purpose of my previous article was to shew that Mysticism, while it had been and might still be the invaluable handmaid of Christianity, was also capable of becoming its most evil mistress. The extraordinary difficulty of bringing the two into satisfactory relation lies in the nature of the essential claims made by Mysticism, which seem to exclude it from all positions except the chief. My own attempt at reconciliation made in the last six pages of my previous article is no doubt not satisfying. But Father Kelly's solution of the problem seems to me to involve the rejection of Mysticism altogether in the sense in which the mystics have understood the word.

O. C. QUICK.

DOCUMENTS

THE COMMENTARY OF ORIGEN ON THE EPISTLE
TO THE ROMANS. III.

XXXV.

vii 1-3 ἡ ἀγνοεῖτε, ἀδελφοί, γινώσκουσι γὰρ νόμον λαῶ, ὅτι ὁ νόμος κυριεύει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον ζῇ; ἡ γὰρ ὑπανδρος γυνὴ τῷ ζῶντι ἀνδρὶ δέδεται νόμῳ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἀνὴρ, κατήργηται ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἄρα οὖν ζῶντος τοῦ ἀνδρός μοιχαλὶς χρηματίζει ἐὰν γένηται ἀνδρὶ ἐτέρῳ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἐλευθέρα ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου, τοῦ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὴν μοιχαλὶδα γενομένην ἀνδρὶ ἐτέρῳ.

70 τὸ γινώσκων τὸν νόμον πάντως οἶδεν τὴν διαφορὰν τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ παλαιότητος τοῦ γράμματος καὶ τῆς ἐνυπαρχούσης τοῖς νοήμασιν αὐτοῦ καινότητος τοῦ πνεύματος· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ τελείως γινώσκων τὸν νόμον. ἐπιφέρει δὲ καὶ παράδειγμα, σφόδρα τῷ προκειμένῳ κατάλληλον· ἡ γὰρ ὑπανδρος γυνὴ τῷ
5 ζῶντι ἀνδρὶ δέδεται νόμῳ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἀνὴρ κατήργηται ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ἀνδρός· ὁ νόμος ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνὴρ· δῆλον δὲ ὅτι ὁ κατὰ τὸ γράμμα· οὗτος γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐπεδέξατο διὰ τὸ εἶναι παλαιότης γράμματος· τὸ δὲ παλαιούμενον καὶ γηράσκον ἐγγύς ἀφανισμοῦ. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν καὶ ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ παρὰ τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτὸν φυλάσσειν καὶ οὕτω προαιρουμένοις, ἵν'
10 οὕτως εἴπω, ζῇ.

XXXVI.

vii 6 νυνὶ δὲ κατηργήθημεν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου, ἀποθανόντες ἐν ᾧ κατειχόμεθα, ὥστε δουλεύειν ἡμᾶς ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος καὶ οὐ παλαιότητι γράμματος.

73 ν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα αἰεὶ ἐστὶν ἐν καινότητι, οὔτε παλαιούμενον οὔτε γηράσκον ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἔσω ἡμῶν ἀνθρώπου ἀνακαινογόμενον ἡμέρα καὶ ἡμέρα· καὶ ἡ παλαιότης δὲ τοῦ γράμματος οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅτε καινὴ ᾔη, οὐδὲ ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμῶν ἀνθρώπος καινός ποτε ᾔη, ὅστις ἅμα τῷ ὑποστήναι πεπαλιώται, οὐ χρόνῳ
5 ἀλλὰ τῶν τοιῶνδε νοημάτων καὶ ἔργων παλαιωσάντων αὐτόν.

XXXV R. 577 f. XXXVI R. 576 f.

XXXV 1 f. Rom. vii 6 7. Heb. viii 13 XXXVI 1 f. Heb. viii 13
2. 2 Cor. iv 16 3. Rom. vi 6

XXXV 1. τὸ γινώσκων] read ὁ γινώσκων. Cf. R. l. c. qui bene scit novit sine dubio 4. κατάλληλον V: παράλληλον BC 8. καὶ 2^ο om. BC XXXVI 3. ὁ om. BC 5. ἀλλὰ om. BC τοιῶν δὲ BC: τοιῶν δει (η suprascr.) V

vii 7 (τί οὖν ; ὁ νόμος ἁμαρτία ;

οὐχ ὥσπερ ὄνομα ἐν ἔστι νόμος, οὕτω καὶ εἰς ὁ περὶ νόμου πανταχοῦ τῆς γραφῆς λόγος. διὸ καθ' ἕκαστον χρή τὸν αὐτῆς ἐπιμελῶς ἐπιστήσαντα θεωρῆσαι, νῦν μὲν τί σημαίνεται ἐκ τῆς νόμος φωνῆς, νῦν δὲ τί χρή τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐννοεῖν. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ἄλλων πλειόνων ὁμώνυμοι γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλων εἰς κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν φωναί, αἵτινες συγχέουσι τοὺς νομίζοντας ὅτι ὡς ὄνομα ἐν 5 ἔστιν οὕτω καὶ τὸ σημαίνον ἐν, ὅπου ἂν τοῦτο ὀνομασθῇ. ὅτι δὲ ἡ νόμος φωνὴ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλειόνων τέτακται, τὰ πολλὰ παραλιπόντες καὶ δεόμενα κατασκευῆς, ἔχοντα ἀνθυποφορὰν λύσεως δεομένην, ἐκθησόμεθα τὰ πάνθ' ὄντινούν δυσωπῆσαι δυνάμενα, ὡς τῆς νόμος φωνῆς κειμένης ἐπὶ πλειόνων.

10

οἷον ἐπὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Γαλάτας λέγεται ὅσοι γὰρ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου εἰσὶν ὑπὸ κατάραν εἰσὶ, γέγραπται γάρ· ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὅς οὐκ ἐμμένει πᾶσι τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτά, σαφές ὅτι νόμος ὁ κατὰ τὸ γράμμα δηλοῦται Μωσέως, τὸ προστακτικὸν μὲν ὦν ποιητέον, ἀπαγορευτικὸν δὲ ὦν οὐ ποιητέον τοῖς αὐτῷ ὑποκειμένοις. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ δηλοῦται ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ 15 ἐπιστολῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁ νόμος γὰρ τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν ἐτέθη, ἀχρι οὗ ἔλθῃ τὸ σπέρμα ᾧ ἐπήγγελται, διαταγεῖς δὲ ἀγγέλων ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου· καὶ ἐν τῷ ὥστε ὁ νόμος παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν ἔργον ἐκ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα ἐκ πίστεως δικαιωθῶμεν· ἐλθοῦσης δὲ τῆς πίστεως οὐκέτι ὑπὸ παιδαγωγῶν ἔσμεν. πάντες γὰρ γίιοι θεοῦ ἔστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

20

σημαίνεται καὶ ἡ παρὰ Μωσεί ἀναγεγραμμένη ἱστορία ἀπὸ τῆς νόμος φωνῆς, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἔστι λαβεῖν ἐκ τοῦ λέγετέ μοι, οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον θέλοντες εἶναι, τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀκούετε ; γέγραπται γάρ ὅτι Ἀβραὰμ ἀπο γίους ἔσχεν, ἕνα ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης καὶ ἕνα ἐκ τῆς ἐλεγθέρας. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης κατὰ σάρκα γεννήθηται, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐλεγθέρας διὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας. οἶδα καὶ τοὺς 25 ψαλμοὺς ὀνομαζομένους νόμον, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ ἵνα πληρωθῇ ὁ λόγος ὁ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτῶν γεγραμμένος ὅτι ἐμίσησάν με δωρεάν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἡσαίου προφητεία νόμος παρὰ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ λέγεται, φάσκοντι ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται· ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις καὶ ἐν χείλεσιν ἑτέροις λαλήσω τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ, καὶ οὐδ' οὕτως εἰσακούσονται μοι, λέγει κύριος· εὗρον γὰρ τὰ ἰσοδυναμοῦντα τῇ λέξει ταύτῃ ἐν 30 τῇ τοῦ Ἀκύλου ἐρμηνείᾳ κείμενα.

λέγεται νόμος καὶ ἡ μυστικωτέρα καὶ θειότερα τοῦ νόμου ἐκδοχή, ὡς ἐν τῷ οἶδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι ὁ νόμος πνευματικὸς ἔστι.

παρὰ δὲ πάντα ταῦτα λέγεται νόμος ὁ κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς ἐννοίας ἐνεσπαρμένος τῇ ψυχῇ καί, ὡς ὀνομάζει ἡ γραφή, ἐγγεγραμμένος τῇ καρδίᾳ λόγος, προσ- 35 τακτικὸς μὲν ὦν ποιητέον, ἀπαγορευτικὸς δὲ ὦν οὐ ποιητέον. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ δηλοῦται ἐν τῷ ὅταν γὰρ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα φύγει τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιοῦσιν,

XXXVI R. 580-581 (' unde iterum discere licet quam infida sit Rufini interpretatio,' Delarue) Philocalia ix, Robinson, pp. 54-58 1-15. Cf. § x 1-15

XXXVI 11 ff. Gal. iii 10. Cf. Deut. xxvii 26 16 ff. Gal. iii 19 18 ff. Gal. iii 24 ff 22 ff. Gal. iv 21 ff 27 ff. Jn. xv 25. Cf. Ps. xxxv (xxxiv) 19 28 ff. 1 Cor. xiv 21. Cf. Isa. xxviii 11 f 33. Rom. vii 14 37 ff. Rom. ii 14 ff

XXXVI 16. ἀχρησ 17. φ] δ, οὐ 19. om. τῆς 31. Ἀκύλα 34. ταῦτα πάντα

οἷτοι νόμον μὴ ἔχοντες ἑαυτοῖς εἰς νόμος· οἷτινες ἐνδείκνυνται τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου γραπτὸν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, συμπαιργοῦσης αὐτῶν τῆς συνειδήσεως.
 40 ὁ γὰρ γραπτὸς ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις νόμος καὶ ἐν ἔθνοσι φύσει τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιοῦσιν οὐκ ἄλλος ἐστὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς ἐννοίας φύσει ἐγγεγραμμένου τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ ἡμῶν, καὶ τρανωτέρου μετὰ τῆς συμπληρώσεως τοῦ λόγου ὁσημέραι γινομένου. τοῦτο τὸ σημαίνονον ἦν τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἐν τῷ ἁμαρτίᾳ οὐκ ἔλλογεῖται μὴ ὄντος νόμου· καὶ ἐν τῷ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἔγνω ἐῖ μὴ διὰ νόμου. πρὸ
 45 γὰρ τοῦ κατὰ Μωσέα νόμου ἐλλελόγηται ἁμαρτία καὶ τῷ Καῖν καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν παθοῦσιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Σοδομίταις καὶ ἄλλοις μυρίοις· πολλοὶ τε ἔγνωσαν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Μωσέως νόμου.

καὶ μὴ θαυμάσης ἐῖ δύο σημαίνονα τοῦ ἐνὸς ὀνόματος τοῦ νόμου ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ παρίληπται τόπων· εὐρήσομεν γὰρ ταύτην τὴν συνήθειαν καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις
 50 γραφαῖς, οἷον οἷς ἡμεῖς λέγετε ὅτι τετράμηνός ἐστι καὶ ὁ θερισμὸς ἔρχεται; ἐπάρτε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἡμῶν καὶ θεάσασθε τὰς χώρας ὅτι λεγκαὶ εἰς πρὸς θερισμὸν ἡδὴ. δις γὰρ ὁ θερισμὸς ὀνομασθεῖς κατὰ μὲν τὸ πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸν σωματικὸν ἀναφέρεται, κατὰ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἐπὶ τὸν πνευματικόν. τὸ δὲ ὅμοιον εὐρήσεις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ γενετῆς τυφλοῦ θεραπευθέντος· ὅς ἐπιφέρει
 55 σωματικῶς γενομένην τὸ εἰς κρίμα ἐγὼ εἰς τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον ἦλθον, ἵνα οἱ μὴ βλέποντες βλέπωσι καὶ οἱ βλέποντες τυφλοὶ γένωνται. οὕτω τοῖνυν καὶ νῦν χωρὶς μὲν νόμου τοῦ τῆς φύσεως δικαιοσύνης θεοῦ πεφανέρωται, μαρτυρομένη δὲ ὑπὸ νόμου Μωσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν. εἵπομεν δ' ἂν πρὸς τοὺς ἔτι ὀκνοῦντας παραδέξασθαι τὸ διττὸν σημαίνονον τοῦ νόμου, ὅτι εἴτερ ὁ αὐτὸς νόμος
 60 παρίληπται ἔν τε τῷ νυνὶ δὲ χωρὶς νόμου δικαιοσύνης θεοῦ πεφανέρωται, καὶ ἐν τῷ μαρτυρομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν· εἰ μὲν χωρὶς νόμου πεφανέρωται, οὐχ ὑπὸ νόμου μαρτυρεῖται· εἰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου μαρτυρεῖται, οὐ χωρὶς νόμου πεφανέρωται. τῇ τοῖνυν δικαιοσύνῃ τοῦ θεοῦ φανερούμεν ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρεῖ οὐδαμῶς μὲν ὁ τῆς φύσεως νόμος· μικρότερος
 65 γὰρ ἐστὶν αὐτῆς· ὁ δὲ Μωσέως νόμος, οὐ τὸ γράμμα ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ οἱ ἀνάλογον τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ νόμου προφῆται, καὶ ὁ ἐν αὐτοῖς πνευματικὸς λόγος.

διὸ χρὴ ἐπιμελῶς τὸν ἀναγινώσκοντα τὴν θείαν γραφὴν τηρεῖν ὅτι οὐ πάντως ταῖς αὐταῖς λέξεσιν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πραγμάτων χρώνται αἱ γραφαί·
 70 τοῦτο δὲ ποιοῦσιν, ὅτε μὲν παρὰ τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν, ὅτε δὲ παρὰ τὴν τροπολογίαν,

XXXVI 44 ff. R. 581 a 56-63. Cf. § xv 15-18

XXXVI 43 f. Rom. v 13 44 f. Rom. vii 7 50 ff. Jn. iv 35 55 f. Jn. ix 39 56 ff. Rom. iii 21

XXXVI 42. [μετὰ τῆς συμπληρώσεως τοῦ λόγου: cf. infra xxxix 8 ὅτε συνεπλήρωσε τὸν λόγον, supra v 18 ὅτε τὸν λόγον συνεπλήρωκεν xiv 10 πᾶς ὁ συμπληρώσας τὸν λόγον ἄνθρωπος. Obviously the phrase was a favourite one with Origen in this Commentary on Romans: he seems to mean by it 'when man enters into full possession of his reasoning faculty.'] ὁσημέραι 43. ἔλλογεῖται 45. om. κατὰ 50. ὅτι + ὁ καιρὸς [Origen's punctuation of Jn. iv 35, 36, agreed with the Authorised Version against Westcott and Hort and the margin of the Revised Version.] 55. γενομένην 58. νόμου] + τοῦ, + καὶ

καὶ ἔσθ' ὅτε παρὰ τὴν σύμφρασιν ἀπαιτοῦσαν ἄλλως τῇ λέξει χρήσασθαι ἐν τοῖσδε τισιν ἢ ὡς κείται ἐν ἑτέροις. καὶ τοῦτο ἔαν ἐπιμελῶς παραφυλατῶμεθα, πολλῶν σφαλμάτων ἀπαλλαττόμεθα καὶ παρεκδοχῶν. χρῆ οὖν εἰδέναι ὅτι τὸ ἐώρακεν οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀεὶ κείται, ἀλλ' ὅτε μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ σωματικοῦ ὄραν, ὅτε δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ νοεῖν. καθόλου γὰρ τοῦτο ἰστέον, ὅτι 75 προκειμένου κρίναι καὶ μὴ φανερώς ἐκθέσθαι τὰ νοήματα τῆς ἀληθείας τῷ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις πνεύματι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις Χριστοῦ λόγῳ, πολλαχοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς φράσεως συγχεῖται καὶ οὐχ ὡς ὑπὸ μίαν λέγεται ἀκολουθίαν· ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἀνάξιοι εἰς κρίμα τῆς ἐαυτῶν ψυχῆς εὐρωσι τὰ συμφερόντως αὐτοῖς ἀποκεκρυμμένα. καὶ τοῦτο πολλαχοῦ αἰτιὸν ἐστι τοῦ δοκεῖν μὴ ἔχειν σύνταξιν 80 μὴδὲ ἀκολουθίαν τὴν ὅλην γραφὴν· καὶ μάλιστα, ὡς προείπομεν, τὴν προφητικὴν καὶ τὴν ἀποστολικήν· καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἀποστολικῆς τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολήν, ἐν ᾗ τὰ περὶ νόμου διαφόρως ὀνομάζεται, καὶ ἐπὶ διαφόρων πραγμάτων κείμενα· ὥστε δοκεῖν ὅτι οὐκ ἔχεται ὁ Παῦλος ἐν τῇ γραφῇ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ προκειμένου αὐτῷ σκοποῦ.) 85

XXXVII.

vii 7 τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν; ὁ νόμος ἁμαρτία; μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἔγνω ἐῖ μὴ διὰ νόμου· τὴν τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμίαν οὐκ ᾔδειν εἰ μὴ ὁ νόμος ἔλεγεν Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις.

νόμον ὧδε νοοῦμεν οὐ μόνον τὸν Μωσέως τὸν κωλύοντα τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, ἀλλὰ 76 καὶ τὸν φυσικόν· ἐνέσπαρται γὰρ ἡμῖν φυσικῶς ἡ ἐπιθυμία ὡς πάθος, καὶ ὁ περὶ ταύτην νόμος, καὶ ἔλαβεν ἀφορμὴν ἡ ἁμαρτία οὐ διὰ τῆς γραπτῆς μόνης ἐντολῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῆς φυσικῆς. καὶ ὁ Ἀδὰμ δὲ ᾔδει τοῦτο καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Μωσέως νόμου. 5

XXXVIII.

vii 8 ἀφορμὴν δὲ λαβοῦσα ἡ ἁμαρτία διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς κατεργάσατο ἐν ἡμοῖς πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν.

οὐκ ἐν Παύλῳ μόνῳ ἀλλ' ἐν πάσῃ ψυχῇ, ὅτε ἡ ἁμαρτία ὑπέστη, πᾶσα 77 ἡ ἐπιθυμία κατεπολέμει τὸ γένος· ἀμήχανον γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνην ψυχὴν μὴ ὑποπεσεῖν πάθεσι, κἂν ἐξ ἐπιμελείας ὑστερον οἰονεῖ ἐν ἀπαθείᾳ γένηται. ὧδε δὲ ὁ Παῦλος πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν λέγει παθητικὴν καὶ ἁμαρτωλὸν (ἣν ὁ νόμος ἀπαγορεύει διδάσκων τὸ Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις), ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁρεῖς ἄλογος γινομένη 5 κατὰ ὁρμὴν πλεονάζουσαν παρὰ λόγον, καθ' ἣν φιλοζωοῦμεν, ὡς ἀγαθοῦ

XXXVII R. 582 AB

XXXVIII R. 582 C D

XXXVI 74. Jn. i 18

XXXVII 3 f. Rom. vii 8

XXXVI 72. κείται 75. σωματικῶς XXXVIII 2. ὑποπεσεῖν V: ἀποπεσεῖν B C [5-10. With this account of ἐπιθυμία compare Diog. Laert. vii i §§ 110, 113 (Cic. *Tusc.* iv §§ 11, 14). To Chrysippus περὶ παθῶν is there attributed the phrase ἡ δὲ ἐπιθυμία ἐστὶν ἄλογος ὁρεῖς, to Zeno the definition ἐστὶ δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ πάθος ἡ ἄλογος καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ψυχῆς κίνησις ἡ ὁρμὴ πλεονάζουσα. The repetition ἄλογος . . . παρὰ λόγον looks as though Origen is combining elements from different sources.]

ὀρεγόμενοι τῆς μέσης καὶ ἀδιαφόρου ζωῆς, προσκείμενοι πλούτῳ καὶ δόξῃ καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας βούλημα ποιούσης ἡμᾶς ἐκτείνεσθαι ὡς ἐπὶ ἀγαθὸν (ἐπὶ) πᾶν τὸ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐπιθυ-
10 μούμενον. φαντασία γὰρ ἀγαθοῦ ἢ ἐπιθυμία γίνεται.

XXXIX.

vii 8-11 χωρὶς γὰρ νόμου ἁμαρτία νεκρά. ἐγὼ δὲ ἔζων χωρὶς νόμου ποτέ· ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς ἐντολῆς ἡ ἁμαρτία ἀνέζησεν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπέθανον, καὶ εὐρέθη μοι ἡ ἐντολὴ ἢ εἰς ζωὴν αὕτη εἰς θάνατον· ἡ γὰρ ἁμαρτία ἀφορμὴν λαβοῦσα διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς ἐξηπάτησέν με καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἀπέκτεινεν.

v τότε γὰρ καὶ λέγοιτ' ἂν περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου ὅτι οὗτος ζῇ χωρὶς νόμου· ἐπὶ ταύτῃ γὰρ τὴν κατάστασιν ἀναφέρων ὁ Παῦλος καὶ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἐρεῖ, ἐγὼ δὲ ἔζων χωρὶς νόμου ποτέ, ἐπεὶ ποτέ ἦν χωρὶς νόμου ὅπου, καθὼς αὐτός φησι, περιτομῇ ὀκταήμερος, ἐκ γένους Ἰσραὴλ, Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων· οὐ γὰρ δύναται
5 τὸ ἐτι ἄλογον ἔχον κατάστασιν παιδίον ζῆν ὑπὸ νόμον. πᾶς γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἔζη χωρὶς νόμου ποτέ, ὅτε παιδίον ἦν· (ὅτε οὐκ ἦν ἐπιτίμησις· ἄγνοια γὰρ κολάσει οὐχ ὑπόκειται) καὶ παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἡλθέν ποτε ἡ ἐντολή· πότε δὲ ἡ ὅτε συνεπλήρωσε τὸν λόγον, καὶ νενόηκε τὴν ἐντολὴν προ(σ)τάττουσαν μὲν τὰ
80 τοιαῦτα, ἀπαγορεύουσαν δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα; ἅμα δὲ τ(ῷ) ἐλθεῖν τὴν ἐντολὴν κατὰ τὸν
10 πρῶτον αὐτῆς καιρὸν ὑφίσταται ἡ κακία, ἥ, ὡς ὁ Παῦλος ὠνόμασεν, ἀναζῆ ἢ ἁμαρτία τέως οὐσα νεκρά· ἐπεὶ δ(ὲ) μὴ πέφυκεν ἄ(μ)α ζῆν ἁμαρτία καὶ ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος, διὰ τοῦτο ἐλθούσης τῆς ἐντολῆς ἡ μὲν ἁμαρτία ἀναζῆ ἢ δὲ ψυχὴ ἀποθνήσκει, κατὰ τὸ ψυχὴ ἢ ἁμαρτάνογσα αἷτή ἀποθάνεται. τὸ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον ἀναφέρεται. (περίσταται τοῖνυν
15 τὸ ζωοποιῶν ἀγαθόν, ἡ τοῦ νόμου πρόσταξις, εἰς θάνατον πρόφασιν· ἥς γὰρ ἄνευ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἁμαρτίαν εἶναι, οὐδὲ καταδικάζειν θανάτῳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, διὰ ταύτης δὴ πού καὶ τὸ τῆς πονηρίας ἔγκλημα καὶ τὸ τῆς κολάσεως ἐπιτίμιον συνίσταται).

μὴ νομίσης δὲ παραπλήσιόν τι ἔχειν τὸν θάνατον τὸν πρῶτον τῆς ἁμαρτίας
20 τῷ δευτέρῳ ταύτης θανάτῳ· ὡς γὰρ πολλὴ διαφορὰ ὅτε νεκρά ἡ ἁμαρτία χωρὶς νόμου καὶ ὅτε νεκρά ἡ ἁμαρτία νεκρωθέντων τῶν μελῶν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς (ὁ)πὸ

XXXIX 1-18. R. 582 b-583 A 26-30. R ?

XXXIX 4. Phil. iii 5 12, 14. Rom. vii 22 13. Ezek. xviii 20 21, 24. Col. iii 5

XXXVIII 7. τῆς μέσης . . . προσκείμενοι om. BC 9. ἐπὶ om. codd. XXXIX 1. λέγοιτ' ἂν V : γένοιτ' ἂν BC 3. ποτέ 2° : perhaps πότε, since the quotation that follows clearly supports as far as it goes the thesis that St Paul was never χωρὶς νόμου, and the version of Rufinus shews that it is cited as by an objector on that side. Turner 5. πᾶς γὰρ VBC : ἅπας τοιγαροῦν M 6. ποτέ, ὅτε MBC : πότε ; ὅτε V 6, 7. ὅτε . . . ὑπόκειται M 7. δὲ om. M 8. προστάττουσαν M : προτάττουσαν VBC 9. τῷ M : τοῦ VBC 10. ὠνόμασεν VBC : φησιν M 11. ἐπεὶ δὲ M : ἐπειδὴ VBC ἅμα ζῆν M : ἀναζῆν VBC 13. αὐτὴ VM : αὕτη BC + καὶ M 14-18. περίσταται . . . συνίσταται M (C. p. 175) 21. ὑπὸ (cf. l. 24)] ἀπὸ VBC

τοῦ λόγου, οὕτως καὶ τῇ(ς) καθ' ἑκάτερα(ν) νεκρότητα τῆς ἁμαρτίας ζωῆς πολλή
 τις ἂν εἴη καὶ οὐ συγκριτικὴ ἢ ἑτέρα τῇ ἑτέρᾳ διαφορά τοῦ ζῆν· δηλον γὰρ ὅτι
 ἡ νεκρὰ ἁμαρτία ζῇ ὅτε μήπω νεκροῖται τὰ μέλη τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ
 λόγου, πρὸ δὲ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῦ ἁλθεῖν τὴν ἐντολὴν ἐξῆ νεκρὰ οἶσα. 25

(κἀνταῦθα δέ τις νόμον τὸν φυσικὸν ἀπέδωκεν οὕτω λέγων, ὥς εἰ καὶ ἡ
 ἁμαρτία ἀφορμὴν λαβοῦσα διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς ἐξηπάτησε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπέκτεινεν,
 οὐδὲν ἦττον τὴν ἀληθειαν ὁμολογητέον, καὶ τὸν ἐγγεγραμμένον τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑπὸ
 τοῦ θεοῦ νόμον ὡς ἅγιον ἀποδεκτέον, καὶ τὴν ἐντολὴν ὡς ἀγαθὴν καὶ ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ
 θεοῦ ἐπαινετέον.) 30

XL.

vii 13 τὸ οὖν ἀγαθὸν ἐμοὶ γέγονε θάνατος· μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλὰ ἡ ἁμαρτία,
 ἵνα φανῇ ἁμαρτία διὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μοι κατεργαζομένη θάνατον· ἵνα γένηται
 καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἁμαρτωλὸς ἡ ἁμαρτία διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς.

εἰ τις πρὸς τὰ εἰρημένα ἀνθυποφέρει λέγων Μὴ ποτε ὁ ἅγιος νόμος γέγονεν 83 v
 εἰς θάνατον τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἐλθοῦς γὰρ τῆς ἐντολῆς ἀνέζησεν ἡ ἁμαρτία ὁ δὲ
 ἄνθρωπος ἀπέθανεν· ἀκούσεται ὅτι οὐ τὸ ἀγαθὸν γέγονε θάνατος, ἀλλ' ἔδει
 τὴν ἁμαρτίαν φανῆναι ἡλίκον ἐστὶ κακόν· ὅτε γὰρ ἐπιδημῇ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τῇ
 ψυχῇ, φανεροῦται τὸ κακόν· καὶ ἐάν τις μετὰ τοῦτο ἁμαρτῇ, εὐρίσκεται τὸν 5
 θάνατον ποιοῦσα ἡ ἐντολὴ ἢ ὑποδείξασα τὸ κακὸν καὶ ἡ ὑποδείξασα τὸ
 φευκτέον ἐντολὴ θανάτου πρόξενος, καὶ ἡ ἁμαρτία, οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἁμαρτία ἀλλὰ
 καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἁμαρτωλὸς, αὕτη διὰ τῆς ἀγίας ἐντολῆς παρεισδύνουσα καὶ
 τὸν θάνατον ἡμῖν κατεργαζομένη.

XLI.

vii 14 οἶδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι ὁ νόμος πνευματικὸς ἐστίν· ἐγὼ δὲ σαρκικός εἰμι,
 πεπραμένος ὑπὸ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν.

ζήτημα ἀνακύπτει ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς προκειμένης περικοπῆς πῶς ταῦτα λέγων 85 v
 ὁ Παῦλος οὐ δοκεῖ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς ἰδίοις λόγοις ὁ λέγων τιμῆς ἡγοράσθητε
 καὶ Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν καὶ ζωὴ δὲ οἴκέτι ἐγὼ τῇ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός· εἰ
 μὴ που εἵπωμεν ὅτι προσωποποιίας ἔχει διαφόρους ὁ λόγος, καὶ συσχηματί-
 ζονται αἱ περικοπαὶ πρὸς διαφόρους ποιότητας προσώπων, ἐνθα οἱ φαῦλοι 5
 ἀλλὰ πράττουσι παρὰ τὴν προηγουμένην ἐαυτῶν πρόθεσιν. ὁ δὲ παρὼν λόγος

XL R. 583 c d XLI R. 584 C D

XL 2 f. Rom. vii 9 XLI 2 f. 1 Cor. vi 20 3. Gal. iii 13 Gal. ii 20

XXXIX 22. τῆς καθ' ἑκάτερον Turner : τὴν καθ' ἑκάτερα codd. 23. διαφορά V :
 διαφορὰ B C : probably words have been lost between ἐτέρα and διαφορὰ 26 ff.
 κἀνταῦθα . . . ἐπαινετέον M (C. p. 179) : note the reference to an earlier expositor
 XL om. M 3. ἀκούσεται V : ἀκούσετε B C 6 f. ἡ ἐντολὴ . . . ἐντολὴ om. B C
 8. ὑπερβολὴν] + ἡ (i suprascr.) V αὕτη : perhaps αὕτη XLI 1. ζήτημα] + καὶ M
 2. ὁ λέγων VBC : ἐν οἷς λέγει M 4. ὁ λόγος . . . διαφόρους om. B C 5. πρὸς
 διαφόρους V : πρὸς τὰς 8. M προσώπων V : τῶν πρ. M 5 f. ἐνθα . . . πρόθεσιν
 om. M 6. διὰ VBC : γοῦν M

ἀρμόζει λέγεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν μεμαθηκότων τὰ περὶ τοῦ νόμου ὅτι θεῖός ἐστι, καὶ
 85 **v** βλεπόντων αὐτοῦ τὰ προστάγματα ὅτι εἰσὶ καλά, οὐδὲν δὲ ἤττον ὡς πεπρα-
 μένοι ὑπὸ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν καὶ σαρκικοὶ ὄντες, οὐ γινώσκουσι πῶς, ἐμπίπτουσιν
 10 ὑπὸ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν.

XLII.

vii 15 δ γὰρ κατεργάζομαι οὐ γινώσκω· οὐ γὰρ δ θελω τοῦτο πράσσω,
 ἀλλ' δ μισῶ τοῦτο ποιῶ.

87 ἀρμόζει τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα λέγειν τοῖς παλαίσασι πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας διὰ
 δὲ ἀσθένειαν λογισμοῦ πεσοῦσι, καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ θυμοῦ ἔσθ' ὅτε νικωμένοις καὶ
 ὑπὸ φόβου καὶ πράττουσιν ἅ μὴ θέλουσι καὶ ἅ μισοῦσιν· ὅταν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ
 λόγου ἐπάρσεως ἡττηθέντες νικηθῶμεν ἐκ τοῦ δοκοῦντος εἶναι ἀγαθοῦ οὐ μὴν
 5 ἀληθοῦς, εἰσφάμεν τῷ νόμῳ ὅτι καλὸς ποιούμεν δὲ τὸ καθ' ἡδονήν.

XLIII.

vii 22, 23 συνήδομαι γὰρ τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον·
 βλέπω δὲ ἕτερον νόμον ἐν τοῖς μέλεσί μου ἀντιστρατευόμενον τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ
 νοῦς μου καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζοντά με τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τῷ ὄντι ἐν τοῖς
 μέλεσί μου.

94 **v** ἐν τοῖς μηδέπω κρατύνασι τὴν ἑξίν ἐπὶ τὰ βέλτιστα διαγράφει ὁ Παῦλος
 τὸν παρόντα λόγον· ὥσπερ τοίνυν στρατιώτης κρατήσας πολεμίων αἰχμαλώτους
 ἄγει, οὕτως ἐν τοῖς προειρημένοις προσώποις ἐστὶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν αὐτῶν
 νόμος ἀντιστρατευόμενος τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ νοῦς αὐτῶν καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζων τὴν
 5 ταλαίπωρον ψυχὴν καὶ ἄγων ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς ἁμαρτίας νόμον ἐν τοῖς σωματικοῖς
 μέλεσιν.

XLIV.

vii 24, 25 ταλαίπωρος ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος· τίς με ῥύσεται ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ
 θανάτου τούτου; εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.

95 **v** ὡς κακίζων τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν τὴν περιέλκουσαν καὶ περισπῶσαν
 τὸν λογισμὸν καὶ προκαλουμένην ἐπὶ τὰ ἐναντία λέγει τὸ ταλαίπωρος ἐγὼ
 ἄνθρωπος· καὶ ὡς διὰ ἐπικουρίας θείας ῥυσθεὶς τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ὀνομασθέντος
 σώματος θανάτου διὰ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας, ἐπάγει τὸ εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ
 5 διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

XLII R. 584 d-585 A XLIII R. 585 c d XLIV R. 586 a XLIV R. 588 b

XLII 5. Rom. vii 16

XLI 7. μεμαθηκότων] + μὲν M περὶ *om.* M 8. πεπραμένοι VC : πεπραγμένοι
 B : πεπραμένων M 9. σαρκικοὶ ὄντες VBC : σαρκικῶν ὄντων M οὐ VM : καὶ BC
 γινώσκουσι VBC : γινωσκόντων M XLII *om.* M 1. λέγειν : perhaps λέγεσθαι,
 as in XLI 7. Turner 3. ἀπὸ λόγου ἐπάρσεως : possibly ἀπὸ (παρα)λόγου ἐπάρσεως
 with Ruf. 'in elatione subiti uel inopinati honoris.' Turner XLIII 1 f. *in* διαγράφει
 δὲ τὸν παρ. λόγον ἐν... βέλτιστα M 2. τοίνυν VBC : γὰρ M πολεμίων VBC :
 πολεμίοις M 5. ἐν... μέλεσιν *om.* M XLIV *om.* M 2. προκαλουμένην
 V : προσκαλουμένην BC

XLV.

viii 3, 4 τὸ γὰρ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου, ἐν ᾧ ἡσθένει διὰ τῆς σαρκός, ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν πέμψας ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας κατέκρινε τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐν τῇ σαρκί, ἵνα τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου πληρωθῇ ἐν ἡμῖν τοῖς μὴ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦσιν ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα.

μᾶλλον τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου τοῦ τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου ὧδε λέγει· 100 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ ἀρετὴ ἰδίᾳ φύσει ἰσχυρά, οὕτω καὶ ἡ κακία καὶ τὰ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀσθενῇ καὶ ἀδύνατα· κρατεῖ γὰρ οὐ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐκλύτων, οὐ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἰσχὺν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀδράνειαν· τοῦ τοιοῦτου νόμου ἡ φύσις ἀδύνατός ἐστιν· διὸ καὶ ἐνήργει ἐν τῇ ἀσθενεῖ σαρκί. ὃν νόμον κατέκρινεν 5 ὁ θεὸς πέμψας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν οὐκ ἐν σαρκὶ ἁμαρτίας τοιαύτης ἢ ὁ δουλεύων κατὰ νόμον ἁμαρτίας δουλεύει, ἀλλ' ἐν ὁμοιώματι τοιαύτης σαρκός. διὰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἦν ἁμαρτία ἡ σὰρξ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλ' ὁμοίωμα, ἐπεὶπερ οὐκ ἦν 100 v ἐκ σπέρματος ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ὑπὸ συνελθούσης. οὐκοῦν ὁ θεὸς κατεδίκασεν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν γενομένην καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἁμαρτωλόν, καὶ διὰ τῆς σαρκὸς 10 ἐπληρώθη τὸ τοῦ θείου νόμου δικαίωμα ἐν ἡμῖν, ὅτε μὴ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦμεν, ἐν ᾗ σαρκὶ ἐνεργεῖ τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἀσθενές, ὃ ἐστὶν ἡ κακία· ἀλλ' ἐπόμενοι θεῷ κατὰ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ πράττομεν πάντα, εἰς ἑαυτοὺς παραδεχόμενοι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.

XLVI.

viii 7 διότι τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς ἐχθρα εἰς θεόν, τῷ γὰρ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐχ ὑποτάσσεται, οὐδὲ γὰρ δύναται· οἱ δὲ ἐν σαρκὶ ὄντες θεῷ ἀράσαι οὐ δύνανται.

ἀφ' ὧν διδάσκει ὁ Παῦλος μανθάνομεν τίνες εἰσὶ κατὰ σάρκα, οἱ τὰ τῆς 102 σαρκὸς φρονούντες, καὶ τίνες οἱ κατὰ πνεῦμα, οἱ τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος φρονούντες. τὰ δὲ φρονήματα τῆς σαρκὸς εἰσι πορνεία, ἀσέλγεια, εἰδωλολατρεία, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια, ὅπερ αὐτὸ τοῦτο θάνατός ἐστι· τὰ δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀγάπη, χαρὰ, εἰρήνη, μακροθυμία, καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα, ἅπερ ἐστὶ ζωὴ. καὶ ἤδη ἐν τῇ ζωῇ 5 εἰσὶν οἱ τοιοῦτοι, καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ εὐφραίνονται· ἀκόλουθον οὖν τοῖς μὲν εἰς τὴν σάρκα σπείροντας θερίζειν φθοράν, τοὺς δὲ πνεύματι ζώντας σπείρειν εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα, ἀφ' οὗ ἐστὶ θερίσαι ζωὴν αἰώνιον· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἐχθροὶ εἰσι τοῦ θεοῦ οἱ τοῦ φρονήματος τῆς σαρκὸς. φρονοῦσι δὲ τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ ὅσοι 10 βούλονται πλουτεῖν ἢ ἐπιθυμοῦσι δόξης.

καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὸ γράμμα ζῶντες Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ τὴν ἐν φανερῷ περιτομὴν ἐν σαρκὶ ἀσκούντες, οὗτοι τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ νόμου φρονοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ κατὰ πνεῦμα, οἱ ἐν κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαῖοι, οἱ τὴν ἐν καρδίᾳ καὶ πνεύματι περιτομὴν ποιοῦντες,

XLV 5. R. 589 BC XLVI R. 589 c-590 b

XLV 1 Rom. viii 2 10. Rom. vii 13 XLVI 3. Gal. v 19 f. 4 f. Gal. v 22 6 ff. Gal. vi 8 7. Gal. v 25 11 ff. Rom. ii 28 f.

XLV 6. τοιαύτης VB C: perh. τοιαύτη XLVI 1. ἀφ' ὧν] + τοίνυν M 5. τῇ om. M 11. τὸ om. M ἐν φανερῷ om. M 12. ἀσκούντε VB αὐχοῦντες M 13. οἱ ἐν κρυπτῷ om. M

VOL. XIV.

C

(οὐ)τοι φρονοῦσι τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ φρονήματι τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ
 15 νόμου θάνατόν τις εὐρήσει καὶ ἔχθραν τὴν εἰς θεόν, ἐν δὲ τῷ φρονήματι τοῦ
 νόμου τοῦ πνεύματος ζωὴν καὶ εἰρήνην. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ τοῦ νόμου ὄντες
 θεῷ ἀρέσαι οὐ δύνανται, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ νόμου ὄντες ἀμφοτέροι
 γὰρ ἐπαγγελόμεθα τὸν Μωσέως νόμον, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν κατὰ σάρκα, ἡμεῖς δὲ
 κατὰ πνεῦμα· διὸ ἐκεῖνοι σαρκικὰς ἡγοῦνται τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, ἀκολουθῶς τῷ
 20 σαρκικῷ νόμῳ, ἡμεῖς δὲ πνευματικὰς, ἐν πάσῃ ἐγλῳγίᾳ πνευματικῇ ἐν τοῖς
 ἐπογραφοῖς.

XLVII.

viii 24, 25 ἐλπίς δὲ βλεπομένη οὐκ ἔστιν ἐλπίς· ὁ γὰρ βλέπει τις, τί καὶ
 ἐλπίζει; εἰ δὲ ὁ οὐ βλέπομεν ἐλπίζομεν, δι' ὑπομονῆς ἀπεκδεχόμεθα.
 114 ἀνθ' οὗ ἐν ἄλλοις εὗρομεν ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁ γὰρ βλέπει τίς ὑπομένει, ὅσον εἰ
 πρόθυμος γίνεται ὑπομένειν ὁ βλέπει· μέγα δὲ ποιεῖ ὁ ἐλπίζων εἰς μὴ
 βλεπόμενον, καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνο τῷ τετάσθαι τὸν νοῦν αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸ πᾶν ὅτι ποτ-
 οῦν ὑπομένων.

XLVIII.

viii 26 ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα συναντιλαμβάνεται ταῖς ἀσθενείαις ἡμῶν,
 τὸ γὰρ τί προσευξόμεθα καθ' ὃ δεῖ οὐκ οἶδαμεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑπερεν-
 τυγχάνει ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν στεναγμοῖς ἀλαλήτοις.
 115ν τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἂν πληροῖ τὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀσθενείας ἀντιλαμβανόμενον αὐτῆς,
 ἅμα δὲ μαρθάνομεν ὅτι πᾶσιν ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει διὰ τούτων δεδιλωται.
 (τοῦ αὐτοῦ)
 ἐν δυσεξαριθμήτοις τὸ πνεῦμα ἀντιλαμβάνεται τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ ἡμῶν, οὐκ
 5 ἔλαττον δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ προσεύχεσθαι ἡμᾶς, ἐπὶ ἀν διαβαίνωμεν ὥστε προσεγγέσθαι
 πνεύματι. τότε γὰρ τί προσευξόμεθα καθ' ὃ δεῖ οὐκ εἰδότες, ἀντιλαμβανο-
 μένου τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν ἀσθενείας, διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τούτου βοήθειαν
 προσεγγόμεθα πνεύματι· εἴτ' ἐφεπομένου αὐτῷ βοηθοῦντι τοῦ νοῦ προσεγγόμεθα
 116 καὶ τῷ νοῖ. ἐλλειπὴς δὲ ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦ μὴ προσευχομένου ἀμφοτέροις, ὡς δὴλον
 10 ἐκ τοῦ ἐὰν γλώσσαις λαλῶ τὸ πνεῦμά μου προσέχεται, ὃ δὲ νοῦς μου ἄκαρπος
 ἔστιν. ἵνα οὖν μὴ ἄκαρπος ᾖ ὁ νοῦς, προσεζόμεαι φησι τῷ πνεύματι, προσεγ-
 ζομαι δὲ καὶ τῷ νοῖ.

XLVIII 4. R. 601 d-602 A

XLVI 20 f. Eph. i 3 XLVIII 5., 8 f., 11 f. 1 Cor. xiv 15 10 f. 1 Cor. xiv 14

XLVI 14. οὗτοι M: ἦτοι VBC XLVII om. M 1 f. τίς... βλέπει om. BC:
 but even the text of V has suffered from an omission by homoeoteleuton, since it
 seems that we must clearly read εἵρομεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁ γὰρ βλέπει τις (τί καὶ ἐλπίζει, ὁ
 γὰρ βλέπει τίς) ὑπομένει; On this reading in Origen's text and commentary see
 von der Goltz *Eine textkritische Arbeit des neunten bzw. sechsten Jahrhunderts* p. 57.
 Turner 2. ὁ ἐλπίζων BC: ὁ ἐλπίζον V 3. τῷ V: τὸ BC XLVIII om. M 1. ἂν
 πληροῖ: read ἀναπληροῖ. Turner 2. πᾶσιν BC: πᾶσι V: perhaps πᾶσα or πᾶσα ἡ.
 Turner 4. δυσεξαριθμήτοις V: δεισεξαριθμήτοις (ois suprascr.) BC C m. Fort.
 leg. ἐν δεήσεσι δυσεξαριθμήτοις 5. ἐπὶ ἂν BC: αἰπὼν V 6. πνεύματι om. BC
 προσευξόμεθα BC 9. ἐλλειπὴς: ἐλλειπὴς codd.

XLIX.

viii 31, 32 τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν πρὸς ταῦτα; εἰ δὲ θεὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τίς καθ' ἡμῶν; ὅς γε τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν παρεῖκεν αὐτόν, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ χαρίζεται ἡμῖν τὰ πάντα;

ὥσπερ ἀνα(ε)φθαιόμενος τὰ προειρημένα καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνα ἀναφέρων ταῦτά 119 φησιν, οὐ παρὰ τὸ ἐναργὲς λέγων. ἑώρα γὰρ κατὰ τὸ καὶ ἔσσεθε μ(ι)σούμενοι ὑπὸ πάντων διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου ὡς πολλοὶ καθ' ἡμῶν, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἄνθρωποι ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἃ ἡ πάλη, ἀρχαὶ καὶ ἐξοχίαι καὶ κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους τοῦτο καὶ τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπογρανίοις καὶ αὐτὸς ὅλος 5 ὁ πλεονεκτεῖν ἡμᾶς θέλων Σατανᾶς· μὴ παρὰ τὸ ἐναργὲς δὲ λέγων τὸ εἰ δὲ θεὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, εὐτελὴς καὶ οὐδενὸς λόγου ἀξίος ἐστιν καὶ οὐδὲν δυνάμενος ἕκαστος τῶν καθ' ἡμῶν· μὴ οὖν εὐλαβεῖσθε μὴδὲ ταρασσέσθε· εἰ μὲν γὰρ μόνον ἦτε καὶ μὴ μετὰ θεοῦ πρὸς τοιοῦτους ἀντιστάμενοι, κἂν εὐλογόν τι ἔχειν ἐδοκεῖτε φοβεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς· νυνὶ δὲ θεοῦ ὄντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, εἰς τίνα μετρηθήσεται τὰ 10 τοσαῦτα καθ' ἡμῶν ἢ εἰς οὐδέν;

L.

viii 33 τίς ἐγκαλέσει κατὰ ἐκλεκτῶν θεοῦ; θεὸς δὲ δικαίων· τίς δὲ κατακρίνων;

δοκεῖ μοι τοῦτο ἀναφέρεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν διάβολον ὄντα κατήγορον καὶ τῶν 119 ἐκλεκτῶν οἷς ἐγκαλέσει· οὐδεὶς γάρ ἐστιν οὐ ἐκείνος μὴ κατηγορήσει καὶ ᾧ οὐκ ἐγκαλέσει, εἰ μὴ μόνος Ἰησοῦς, ὅς ἀμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, καὶ διὰ 120 τοῦτο λέγων νῦν ἔρχεται ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τοῦτο καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἔχει οὐδέν. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἐκείνος ἐξευτελίζεται ἐγκαλῶν καὶ κατὰ ἐκλεκτῶν θεοῦ· τοῦ γὰρ 5 θεοῦ δικαιοῦντος τίς κατακρίναι δύναται, κἂν ὁ κατήγορος φέρει εἰς μέσον τὰ ἀπηλιμμένα ἐφ' οἷς κατεκρίθησαν εἰ μὴ ἀπῆλιπτο; ἐδικαίωσεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ὡς νεφέλην ἀπαλείψας τὰς ἀνομίας αὐτῶν καὶ ὡς γνώφον τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν καὶ λεγκάνας τοὺς πρότερον ἡμαρτηκότας ὡς χιόνα.

XLIX R. 606 A B

L R. 607 A B

XLIX 2 f. Matt. x 22 4 f. Eph. vi 12 6. 2 Cor. ii 11 L 1. Apoc. xii 10
3. Pet. ii 22 4 f. Jn. xiv 30 8 f. Isa. xlv 22 9. Isa. i 18

XLIX om. B C M 1. ἀνακαίφαλαιόμενος V 2. μισούμενοι V 4. ἐξκοσμοκράτορες V 5. αὐτὸς ὅλος: the second word is so strange in this connexion that I suspect some corruption. Turner 7. ἡμῶν] + θν V 9. ἐδοκεῖτε: read ἐδόκει τό. Turner 10. εἰς τίνα μετρηθήσεται: perhaps εἰς τί ἀναμετρηθήσεται. Turner L 1. δόξετε [read δόξετε] δ' ἂν τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν δ. ἀναφ. M 2. οἷς ἐγκαλέσει om. M κατηγορήσει V M: κατηγορήσῃ B C 3. ἐγκαλέσει V M: ἐγκαλέσῃ B C μόνος V M: μόνον B C δ' Ἰησοῦς M ἐποίησεν] + οὐδὲ εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ B C 4. λέγων V B C: ἔλεγεν M νῦν om. M 5. ἐκλεκτῶν] + τοῦ M 6. φέρει V M: φέρῃ B C 7. ἀπηλιμμένα V B C: ἀπειλιμένα M κατεκρίθησαν V B C: κατεκρίθη ἂν M: possibly κατεκρίθησαν ἂν. Turner ἀπῆλιπτο V: ἀπέλιπτο B C: ἀπῆλιπτο M αὐτοὺς om. M 8. ἀπολείψας M καὶ ὡς γνώφον . . . αὐτῶν om. B C

LI.

viii 37 ἀλλ' ἐν τούτοις πᾶσιν ὑπερνικῶμεν διὰ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντος ἡμᾶς.

- 122 νικᾷ μὲν ὁ μετὰ ἀμφηρίστου ἀγῶνος τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις περὶ νίκης περιγεγόμενος τοῦ ἀνταγωνιστοῦ· ὑπερνικᾷ δὲ ὁ μὴδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπιτρέψας στήναι πρὸς αὐτὸν τῷ ἐναντιουμένῳ. τοιοῦτος ὁ Παῦλος καὶ οἱ τὴν ὁμοίαν αὐτῷ παρασκευὴν πρὸς τοὺς πειρασμοὺς ἀνειληφότες, τὸ θλίβον καταπατοῦντες 5 καὶ ἐντρυνφῶντες τῷ στενοχωροῦντι καὶ τὸ διώκον τῇ ὑπομονῇ διώκοντες, καὶ τὸν λιμὸν διὰ τὴν οὐράνιον τροφήν γελῶντες, καὶ τὴν γυμνότητα ἐν οὐδενὶ τιθέμενοι δι' ὃν ἐνδεδυνταί Χριστόν, καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ὡς οὐ κινδυνεύοντες καταπατοῦντες, καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν διὰ τὸν ζῶντα τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον οὐδὲν χαλεπὸν ἐργάσασθαι αὐτοὺς πειθόμενοι.

LII.

viii 38, 39 πέπεισμαι γὰρ ὅτι οὔτε θάνατος οὔτε ζωὴ οὔτε ἄγγελοι οὔτε ἀρχαὶ οὔτε δυνάμεις οὔτε ἐνεστῶτα οὔτε μέλλοντα οὔτε ὕψωμα οὔτε βάθος οὔτε τις κτίσις ἑτέρα δυηθήσεται ἡμᾶς χωρίσαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.

- 123 ὅρα εἰ μὴ εὐλόγως τὸ μὲν πέπεισμαι ὅτι οὐ δύναται ἡμᾶς χωρίσαι τάδε τινὰ ἔταξεν ἐπὶ τῶν μειζόνων ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον πειρασμῶν, τὸ δὲ τίς ἡμᾶς χωρίσει ἐξευτελίζων τοὺς ἀνθρωπίνοισι ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλαττόνων γυμνασίων τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς· καὶ ἐὰν ὑπερνικῶμεν δὲ τὰ πρότερα καὶ ἀνθρώπινα, οὐ χωρὶς συμπνοίας 5 καὶ ἐνεργείας κρείττονος αὐτ(ῶ)ν περιεσόμεθα· διὸ καλῶς ὁ Παῦλος προσέθηκεν τὸ διὰ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντος ἡμᾶς.

πρόσχες δὲ εἰ θάνατος μὲν παλαίει βυολόμενος χωρίσαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὐχ ὁ κοινὸς περὶ οὗ ἀνωτέρω εἴρηται τὸ ἐνεκέν σοι θανατούμεθα ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐχθρὸς Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐσχατος 10 καταργηθῆσόμενος· βουλήσεται μὲν γὰρ οὗτος χωρίσαι, φέρε εἰπεῖν, Παῦλον, οὐ δυηθήσεται δὲ καταργούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ Χριστοῦ· ζωὴ δὲ οὐχ (ῆ) τῷ θανάτῳ τούτῳ ἐναντία, τὰ γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἐναντία οὐ πέφυκεν ἐν καὶ ταῦτόν βούλεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἡ καθ' ἣν ζῇ τις τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ καὶ τοῖς εἰδεσιν αὐτῆς καὶ τῷ

LI R. 607 c-608 A LII 1-6. R. 608 D-b 7-11. 609 A 11-18. 609 B

LI 4 ff. Rom. viii 35 8. Heb. iv 12 LII 2, 3. 1 Cor. x 13 2. Rom. viii 35 4, 6. Rom. viii 37 9. Ps. xliii (xliii) 22; Rom. viii 36 9 ff. 1 Cor. xv 26

LI om. M 1. τοὺς perh. om. [Or read τοῦ. Turner] 2. περιγεγόμενος VB: περιγινόμενος C 5. διώκοντες must I think be wrong: perhaps simply νικῶντες. Turner 7. ὃν V: ἣν BC LII 1-6. om. M 5. αὐτῶν] αὐτὸν VBC 7. πρόσχες δὲ εἰ VBC: σὺ δὲ καὶ καθ' ἑτέραν ἐπιβολὴν πρόσχες εἰ M 8. θεοῦ VBC: Χριστοῦ M τῆς ἐν Χ. I. om. M 9. ἐσχατος καταργηθῆσόμενος VBC: ἐσχάτως κατακριθῆσόμενος M 11. δὲ] + καὶ BC οὐχ ἡ M: οὐχί VBC 13. ἡ BCM: εἰ ἡ V 13-15. καὶ τῷ ψεύδει . . . ζωᾷς om. M

ψεύδει· εἰ δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον εἶδος ἁμαρτία ἐστι τις φαῦλη ζωῇ, ἐπιστήσεις διὰ τὸ κρεῖττον τὸ ἑλεός σου ἢ πᾶς ζωῆς· αὕτη γὰρ βουλήσεται μὲν χωρῖσαι 123 v τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, οὐ δύναται δέ, καταργουμένη πῇ 16 μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου καθ' ὃν ἀποθνήσκει τις τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, πῇ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν ἣτις κέκρυπται σὺν τῷ Χριστῷ ἐν τῷ θεῷ. καὶ ἄγγελοι δὲ βούλονται ἡμᾶς χωρῖσαι τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, περὶ ὧν λέλεκται τοῖς ἐξ ἐγνωνύμων Ὑπάγετε εἰς τὸ πᾶν τὸ αἰώνιον τὸ ἡτοισμασμένον τῷ διαβόλῳ 20 καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ. τὸ δὲ οὔτε ἀρχαὶ ἐπὶ τὸ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἡ παλὴ πρὸς αἶμα καὶ σάρκα ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς ἀναφέρεται, καὶ εἰς τὸ ὅταν καταργῇ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν. ἐξῆς τούτῳ ἐστὶ τὰ ἐνεστώτα· ταῦτα δὲ ἐπισκεψαί εἰ δύναται ἀναφέρεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τούτου, καὶ οὐχὶ ἐπὶ τινι ἐνεστώτι ἀνθρώπινῳ· ἄλλος δ' ἂν λέγοι 25 τὰ ἐνεστώτα ἀναφέρεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ βλεπόμενα καὶ πρόσκαιρα. μετὰ τοῦτο ἴδωμεν τίνα τὰ μέλλοντα καὶ ἦτοι (τὰ) πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντα χρόνον παλαίοντα τῷ ἀποστόλῳ τῆς ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ παρεπιδημίας, ὡς πρὸς τὰς ἐνεστηκυίας αὐτῷ τῆς γραφῆς τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἡμέρας, ἣ τὰ μετὰ τὸν ἐνεστηκότα αἰῶνα καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐξοδὸν εὐθέως ἀπαντησόμενα, ὅτε ὁ ἀρχὼν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου καὶ τινες ὑπ' 30 αὐτῷ δυνάμεις βουλήσονται μὲν κρατεῖν τοῦ ἐκδημήσαντος, οὐ θυνήσονται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν προαναειληφότων τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. ἐξῆς δὲ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν τὸ οὔτε θυνάμεις, ὅπερ ἔοικεν εἶναι εἶδους τινὸς τῶν ἐξω θνητοῦ σώματος λογικῶν, (οὔτε ὕψωμα οὔτε βάθος). μήποτε (οὖν) ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ἐπιβουλεύεται ὑπὸ μὲν ὕψωματος κατὰ τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἐπογραμίοις πνευματικὰ τῆς 35 πονηρίας, ὑπὸ δὲ βάθους κατὰ τὰ καταχθόνια· ὧν οὐδέτερον τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ τοῦ θεοῦ ὀπλισάμενον χωρισθῆναι αὐτῆς ἐάσει. εἰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὴν βλεπομένην

LII 18–35. 609 C–b 37 ff. 609 d

LII 15. Ps. lxii (lxi) 4 17. Rom. vi 10, 11 18. Col. iii 3 20 f. Matt. xxv 41 21. Eph. vi 12 22 f. 1 Cor. xv 24 24 f. Eph. vi 12 26. 2 Cor. iv 18 30. Jn. xiv 30 35. Eph. vi 12 36. Phil. ii 10

LII 14. εἶδος ἁμαρτία ἐστι τις φαῦλη ζωῇ V B C : read εἶδος ἁμαρτίας ἐστὶ τις φαῦλη ζωῇ. Turner 16. ἐν X. I. om. M 17. ὃν V B C : ἣν M 18. ἡμῶν ἣτις M : ἡμεν ἣτις (sic) V B : ἡ μὲν τις C 19. τῆς ἐν X. I. om. M 20. ὑπάγετε V B C : πορεύεσθε M τὸ αἰώνιον om. M 21. αὐτοῦ om. C 22. ἀρχὰς] + πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας M καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς om. M 23. πᾶσαν 2^ο om. M τούτῳ V B C : τοῦτο V B C : either Origen uses ἐξῆς with the dative (cf. l. 32 below) or, as I think, we should read τούτων here and αὐτῶν in l. 33. Turner 25. σκότους] + τοῦ αἰῶνος M καὶ . . . ἀνθρώπινα om. M λέγοι V B C : σοὶ λέγῃ M 26. ἀναφέρεσθαι B C M : ἀναφέρεται V 27. ἴδωμεν M : εἴδωμεν V B C καὶ om. M ἦτοι τὰ M : ἦτοι V : εἰτι B C παλ. τῷ ἀπ. post ἡμέρας (29) M 28 f. τὰς ἐν. ἡμ. M : ταῖς ἐνεστηκυίας αὐτῷ ἡμέραις V B C 29. ἐπιστολῆς B C M : ἐπιστολαῖς V 30. ἀπαντησόμενα V : ἀπαντήσοντα M : ἀπαιτησόμενα B C 31. αὐτῶν : αὐτῷ V B C αὐτὸν M 33 f. οὔτε θυνάμεις . . . λογικῶν] οὔτε ὕψωμα οὔτε βάθος M : Rufinus shews that θυνάμεις is in its right place here, as well as the clause that follows it, 'subiungit deinde *Neque uirtutes* : species uidetur esse una ex pluribus rationabilibus creaturis non in corpore mortali uitam ducens'. But the words in M are also wanted for the sense 34. οὖν M : δὲ V B C 35. τὰ om. B C ἐπουρανίοις] + πρὸς τὰ M 37. θεοῦ] Χριστοῦ M .

ὄλην ταύτην κτίσιν ἐστὶν ἑτέρα κτίσις τῇ φύσει μὲν βλεπομένη νῦν δὲ οὐδέπω ὁρωμένη, ζητήσεις εἰ δύναται ἐπ' ἐκείνην ἀναφέρεσθαι τὸ οὔτε κτίσις ἑτέρα 40 δυνήσεται ἡμᾶς χωρίσαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ θεοῦ.

LIII.

xii 20, 21 ἔὰν οὖν πεινᾷ ὁ ἐχθρὸς σου, ψώμιζε αὐτόν· ἔὰν διψᾷ, πότιζε αὐτόν· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν ἄνθρακας πυρὸς σωρεύσεις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ. μὴ νικῶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ, ἀλλὰ νίκα ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ κακόν.

- 184 ▽ ἐπειδὴ ἡ πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ θεωρίαν ὀρεξίς δοκεῖ πείνη εἶναι καὶ δίψ(α ὡς) ὑγείας ἐμπειρητικὰ ψυχικῆς, ἔὰν τοιαύτην ποτὲ πείνην ἢ δίψαν ὁ ἐχθρὸς διψήσῃ μετὰ τὸ μετανοῆσαι ἐφ' οἷς ἡμαρτεν, δεῖ αὐτῷ τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον πεινῶντι 5 θρεῖναι τὸν ἐχθρὸν ποτὲ (μὲν) λόγῳ διδασκαλικῷ ποτὲ (δὲ) εὐχῇ τῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐπειδὴ παντός ἀνδρὸς κεφαλὴ ὁ Χριστός, οὐκοῦν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, ὡς μὴ ὄντος ἀνδρὸς διὰ τὸ ἀσεβές, κεφαλὴ ὁ ἀντίχριστος, ὃν χρῆ ἐξαφανί(ε)σθαι ὡς ἐναντίον τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ λογικοῦ πυρός, ὅταν ἀσεβῆς ὁ ἔχων κεφαλὴν τὸν ἀντίχριστον πεινῇ(σας φάγ)ῃ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου ἄρτον, καὶ 10 (διψήσας) ποτισθῇ τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας πηγῆς ὕδατι ζῶντι· διὸ καλόν ἐστιν ἔργον σωρεύσαι ἄνθρακας ὃ ἐστὶ λόγους ἐκλεκτοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ(ν) τοῦ ἐχθροῦ κεφαλῇ(ν)· ὃν ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἀναλοῖ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ σωτήριον πῦρ, περὶ οὗ εἶπεν πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀναλῶσαι καὶ ἐξαφανίσει πάνα τὰ σωματικὰ καὶ ὕλικα. πολλῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων 15 χρεῖα ἵνα ἡ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ κεφαλὴ ἐξαναλωθῇ· οἷτινές εἰσιν οἱ ἀληθεῖς λόγοι οἱ ἐξαφανίζοντες τὸ ψεῦδος· ὅταν οὖν ἀναλωθῇ ἢ χειρωθῇ ἡ κεφαλὴ ὑπὸ τῶν σωρευομένων ἀνθρώπων, ἐκ τοῦ τρέφεσθαι πεινῶντα τὸν ἐχθρὸν γίνεται ὁ ποτὲ ἐχθρὸς φίλος καὶ κέχρηται κεφαλῇ τῷ Χριστῷ.

LIII R. 654 c

LIII 4. Matt. vii 6 6. 1 Cor. xi 3 12. 2 Thess. ii 8 13. Lk. xii 49

LIII om. BC 1. δίψα ὡς M : δίψος V 2. διψήσῃ V : σχῇ M 5. μὲν ... δὲ M : om. V 7. ἐξαφανί(ε)σθαι M : ἐξαφανήσεσθαι V 8. θεῷ ... πυρός V : τοῦ θεοῦ λόγῳ, ὑπὸ τοῦ λογικοῦ πυρὸς τῶν ἀνθρώπων M ὁ ἀσεβῆς M 9. πεινήσας φάγῃ M : πεινῇ ἀβλαβῇ V τοῦ ἁγίου V : τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζας M 10. διψήσας M : om. V ἔργον] om. M 11. ἐκλεκτοὺς om. M τὴν ... κεφαλὴν M : τῆς ... κεφαλῆς V 16. ἡ χειρωθῇ om. M ἢ] + τοῦ ἐχθροῦ M 18. κεφαλῇ M : κεφαλῇ V

A. RAMSBOTHAM.

NOTES AND STUDIES

LITURGICAL COMMENTS AND MEMORANDA.

VIII

DOM CONNOLLY'S paper as to the 'Book of Life' (*J. T. S.* xiii p. 580) made me take out and again look at papers written by me in the spring of last year on this subject.

To say the truth, with mind intent at that time on clearing just one little item—the place of 'the diptychs' in the Liturgy of Constantinople—it was not until Comment VII was finally out of hand that I so much as noticed those three or four lines of Mr Brightman forming the text for Dom Connolly's article, in which (*J. T. S.* xii p. 321) on the strength of remarks of the Jacobite Barsalibi in the twelfth century Mr Brightman reconstructs for us a section of the pre-anaphoral part of the mass at Jerusalem in the fourth (?) century. My attention once alive to this brief sentence, I lost no time in testing (so far as I knew how) its validity; and on full consideration of the case, so far as information was then available, came to the conclusion that the practice among the Syrian Jacobites of reading the 'Book of Life' in the pre-anaphoral part of the mass was not a survival among them of a practice once observed in Jerusalem in the fourth (?) century and abandoned there, but was a native East Syrian one borrowed from the usages of the region (see *Homilies of Narsai* pp. 107–108, 112) in which these Jacobites dwelt, and imported by them into their Liturgy of 'St James'. I then dismissed the case from my mind.

Now, however, that Dom Connolly has exhaustively treated the question from the Syrian Jacobite writers themselves, it has seemed to me that it would be useful to print such part of what I wrote last year as embodies general considerations relating to the practice whereby mention came to be made in the course of the public mass, or eucharistic service, of the names of particular persons as specific subjects of public prayer. I therefore give this section practically *verbatim* (up to p. 28 n. 1 below), and then go on to say the things for the sake of which alone I originally took the trouble to deal in *Narsai*, Obs. III, with the subject of 'the diptychs' at all: things which last year I left in the state of inchoate jottings intelligible only to me, but here drawn out in full in a way I hope intelligible to others also.

Mr Brightman writes (*J. T. S.* xii p. 321) as follows:—

‘It is true that its diptychs [i.e. of the Greek “St James”] are now within the anaphora; but no doubt this is only a Byzantinism, for in the Jacobite rite [i.e. in the Syriac “St James”] the *Liber vitae*, when it was in use, was recited before the kiss of peace (*Barsalibi Expositio* 8).’

This sentence is composed of (a) a statement (‘no doubt’); (b) the reason or basis on which the statement stands. The statement under (a) when fully expressed is this: that in the rite of Jerusalem, the recital of the diptychs took place *outside* the anaphora, and that by and by, at a date not indicated, the recital of the diptychs at Jerusalem was, in imitation of the practice prevalent in the rite of Constantinople, transferred from some point outside the anaphora to a point *within* the anaphora, i.e. in the Great Intercession (which comes immediately after the Invocation) where we now find them.

Not being aware of any previous treatment in detail of this particular question (which, indeed, is new to me), and therefore being at a loss what to think of it, I propose to draw out the considerations occurring to me as having a bearing upon it and proper to illustrate it. This is done not in the idea of advancing any particular view of the subject, but in the intention of eliciting such detailed treatment of the case as may either solidly establish or render probable the view formulated above.

The examination I propose to make falls naturally into two parts: (1) a consideration of the conditions under which ‘the diptychs’ found an introduction into Christian public worship, in order to see, if possible, whether this may indicate any *prima facie* probability in favour of their use in one part rather than another of public divine worship; (2) a consideration of what Barsalibi says as to the *Liber vitae* (*Expositio* ch. 8). [This is omitted here; but it seemed to me that *Expositio* ch. 8 could be duly understood and appreciated only when treated in combination with ch. 15 on the diptychs; and it is in this way that I dealt with the case.]

To begin with a matter that may at first sight seem trifling. ‘The Diptychs’ is the later technical term for what in its beginnings simply was, and was simply called, ‘the Names’, or ‘recital’, ‘suggesting’, of the Names. ‘The Diptychs’ are this simple recital formalized, ritualized; a process completed by the early years of the fifth century (before which date, to my knowledge, this ritual term is not evidenced), with results which I have indicated elsewhere (*Hom. of Narsai* p. 102). But it is not a question of mere distinction of words; in the fifth century the interest centring round the subject of the public recital of names in the mass had become definitely ‘ritual’, ‘ecclesiastical’,

'formal', whilst in the earlier period, in its origins, such recitals of names are purely *religious*; and in dealing with those origins it is with *religious questions* that we are primarily concerned. It will be well also to make clear our limits: for place we are mainly concerned with the Greek-speaking East; for time with the fourth century or earlier. Moreover, what is ritually called 'the diptychs of the dead' alone will come into consideration; 'the diptychs of the living' may be dismissed.

As regards the practice of prayers for the dead in the early Christian Church, so far as these find expression in a liturgical service, there is a distinction to be borne in mind. We are particularly well informed as regards Africa in the third century¹; and there we find the system of special masses (anniversaries) for and in the name of specified dead persons, which friends or relatives instituted in their behalf; but these were of the nature of private celebrations, and had nothing to do with the ordinary public worship and common assemblies. In these 'private celebrations' the whole point and business of them was concerned with a definite individual person (or it might be more than one) of interest to those who had the service celebrated. But in the public prayers and common worship, in the public worship of the assemblies, at the 'Sunday mass' of the 'congregations', the commemoration of the departed was in general terms only, or at most with specification of groups and categories. This, indeed, is an inference from the system (it was no less) so indubitably and abundantly witnessed to, so far as Africa is concerned, of private, if we may so speak, 'domestic' celebrations for the dead on the one hand, on the other the entire absence of any indication at this period of 'recital of names' of dead at the public masses, taken in combination with a matter immediately to be adverted to. Moreover, there is, to my knowledge, in the first three centuries *nothing* to be found in the documents of *the nature of appropriation of the common and public mass service to private and personal intentions on behalf of particular and specified dead persons*.

The recital, indeed, of particular names in the public mass which we find by the middle of the fourth century already existing, at least in the Delta² (that is in a region not far south-west of Palestine), of which Serapion gives us a specimen, is quite a different thing; it is a new

¹ At the risk of seeming insistent I must again refer in this connexion to Dr F. Wieland's *Mensa und Confessio* (Lentner, Munich, 1906), and not merely to pp. 161-163 but to his whole treatment of the case of the African Church; adding that I think a knowledge of it is now a *sine qua non* for those who would deal with the ancient liturgy of that Church. Those who would wish to understand the matter in its full liturgical bearings will also peruse and consider (and it can only be with profit) the later controversy between Dr Wieland and Fr Dorsch, S.J., tedious and tiresome as this course may seem to be. (1912.)

² In *J.T.S.* vol. xii p. 391 and p. 397 n. 1 for 'Upper Egypt' read 'Lower Egypt'.

departure, and that not merely in a matter of form, but in religious idea. Here we find the religious mind, zealous on behalf of its dead, no longer content with the mere generalities of the prayers of the public liturgy, but the very public liturgy of the church and the common prayer of all the assembly, the mass now in course of being celebrated, is, by the introduction of a public recital of particular and individual names of dead, viewed as, and in some way intended to be, specially appropriated to the particular benefit (over and above the common scot and lot provided for by the traditional practice) of a few select and specified individuals. In what particular sense this innovation was conceived by its promoters it is not important, and might be vain, to define; the common experience of pious movements in all ages tells us that the very persons who initiate such kind of novelties are precisely those not in the habit of first thinking out the meaning of what they do and induce others to do. Certain it is that the introduction of the practice interesting us here has introduced also ambiguities and complications as to the *rationale* of the matter which the keenest theological wits have, up to the present, not been able quite fairly to smooth out.

Before we go further, it may be well that we should observe that the recital of names of 'offerers' existing in the fourth century in the West stands on quite a different footing, and has quite other implications than those attaching to the public recital of the names of a few select dead persons in the public mass.

This recital of names of dead persons at such public and common service could, it is obvious, have been made conveniently and suitably at many points of the service, or even before the service began, or else before the mass of the faithful. As a matter of fact the extant liturgical texts of churches of that region in which the recital of names of particular dead persons in the public eucharistic service or mass is first evidenced—I mean the region whose shores are washed by the waters of the Eastern Mediterranean—all agree in assigning this recital to one and the same place; namely that point of the General Intercession at which is made a commemoration of the dead in general terms, whether that Intercession be found (as in 'Mark') before the consecration, or after it.¹ In a word, in these liturgies the 'names', 'the diptychs', appear

¹ When writing Observation III on *Narsai* (1909) I said (p. 111) that there seems to be no evidence which would allow us to say positively at what point of the service 'the diptychs' were read at Antioch. But at the point which we have now reached (see *J.T.S.* April 1911, pp. 400-401; and, I may add, the present Comment) in clearing the history of 'diptychs' (a question which I did no more than open in that Observation), the reservation made in 1909 is no longer necessary, and I feel that we may now assert with some confidence that the diptychs must have been in use at Antioch by the close of the fourth century, and that their place was at the point of the Great Intercession indicated above in the text. (1912.)

as an extension (in another sense, as a special orientation) of that general commemoration of the dead in special classes or categories found in the liturgical forms of 'Great Intercession', and expressed in a summary way by Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech. myst.* v 9) as 'for the deceased holy fathers and bishops and in a word all of ours who have already fallen asleep' (ἀπλῶς τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν προκεκοιμημένων)—all *our* dead.

As regards this combination of the diptychs of the dead with the Great Intercession, the contrast afforded by Serapion is, I think, of special interest in view of the unanimity on this point of the other Greek Liturgies.¹ And this contrast is heightened in that Serapion is the only one of those Liturgies in which the Great Intercession falls outside (and also before) the anaphora. Moreover, in Serapion instead of one continuous 'Great Intercession' there is a series of separate prayers (Nos. 22-27) for different classes of persons; and no General Intercession is embodied in Serapion's 'canon' or 'anaphora' (εὐχὴ τοῦ προσφύρου it is called in Serapion, title at p. 4, cf. p. 21 l. 1, Wobbermin's edition in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, N. F. ii 3^b, 1899). These separate Prayers of Intercession (or of blessing) were, according to the order of Serapion's liturgy, all said *before* the 'canon' or 'anaphora'; and in order that there should be no mistake about this there is that rarity in earliest liturgical books,² a special rubrical direction on the subject: 'All these prayers are performed before' the 'anaphora' (πρὸ τῆς εὐχῆς τοῦ προσφύρου p. 21); this is one of only two rubrics in the book; the other relates to the recital of the names of the dead in that clause of the anaphora which is a prayer for the dead.

In the 'anaphora' of Serapion, immediately sequent on the Invocation for the descent of the Logos on the gifts, comes a prayer for communicants; thus:—

'That the cup may become the blood of the Truth' [S. P. C. K. volume, p. 63; with these words ends the Invocation; the text then

¹ In what follows I adopt the translation of the lately deceased Bishop of Salisbury: *Bishop Serapion's Prayer-Book*, Brown & Co., Salisbury, 1899, a reprint 'in a limited issue', and with a 'tentative Introduction' (pp. 3-14), from the *Salisbury Diocesan Gazette*; and eleven years later (1910), with the advantage of mature consideration, and other help, the second S.P.C.K. edition in the series of 'Early Church Classics'; the Introduction occupies pp. 7-59. What follows in the text is written with the little S.P.C.K. volume always in hand and under my eye. I would specially mention in this connexion the following:—The titles or headings within square brackets, whatever the type used, pp. 63-64, 83, 89, introduced with a view to bringing the prayers under the scheme of Liturgical Systematics; and in the Introduction the fully elaborated *schema* for Serapion at pp. 36-41. (1912.)

² It is worthy of notice that in the 'Clementine' Liturgy the 'rubrics' are (comparatively speaking) both numerous and full.

proceeds:] 'and make all who communicate to receive a medicine of life for the healing of every sickness, &c. . . . For we have invoked thee, the uncreated, through the only-begotten in holy spirit. Let this people receive mercy . . . let angels be sent forth as companions to the people for the bringing to naught of the evil one and for the establishment of the Church' [then comes the clause of prayer for the dead; and then the 'anaphora' proceeds:] 'Receive also the thanksgiving [εὐχαριστίαν] of the people, and bless those who have offered the offerings and the thanksgivings [τὰ πρόσφορα καὶ τὰς εὐχαριστίας], and grant health . . . of soul and body to this whole people through the only-begotten Jesus Christ' &c. (doxology). (S. P. C. K. volume, pp. 63-64.)

What are we to think of these two pieces of prayer which are disjoined by the prayer for the dead? Who are the subjects of it? Who are those described as 'this people', 'the people' (twice), 'this whole people'?¹ The question may be asked: do the two portions of text, disjoined by the clause of prayer for the dead, really relate to one and the same class of persons, and those persons the people present in church, the communicants?

Before attempting to frame an answer to this question, the following considerations occur as necessary to be borne in mind:—

(1) Any one acquainted with the Greek Liturgies, 'James' and 'Basil', 'Clement' and 'Chrysostom', and the Egyptian 'Mark', will recall how there comes immediately sequent on the Invocation for the 'making', &c., the Body and Blood of Christ by the descent of the Divine Spirit, the Holy Ghost, a formal prayer for communicants.

(2) Moreover, it is important to recall the earliest history of the practice and duty of holy communion, how it was (at all events up to Serapion's time) an incident, an inevitable incident, of attendance at the ordinary Sunday service of divine worship; how all those baptized and in full enjoyment of church fellowship present at the service were actual communicants, even the children.

(3) There is a third point, and it needs to be dealt with at some length, namely, that 'congregationalist' sense (if I may so speak) characterizing the Christian life and the Christian assemblies and the Church services, which is clearly perceptible in documents of the second and third centuries, the expression of which, however, is singularly weakened by the close of the fourth. A ritual sign of this 'sense' which should appeal to the liturgist is the stress laid on the offerings of the people, especially of the bread and wine for the communion. A living and convincing expression of what I have called the 'congregationalist' sense in early Christian church life is given by the Syriac Didascalia.

¹ What follows has been written this year after I took out the old papers to look at again. (1912.)

'There is', says H. Achelis, who had studied the book more carefully, perhaps, than any one else, 'a particular charm in drawing out the picture of Christian life which the Syriac Didaskalia affords us; for there is no other ancient Christian document from which we are able in anything like so complete a way to gain such accurate information as to all sides of the congregational life (*Gemeindeleben*)' (*Die syrische Didaskalia* p. 266). In his second dissertation on the work he has carefully gathered together for us all the details; yet, to gain a due and just impression of the life, the book itself (from, at all events, ch. 10, that is) must be read. It is true that a sense of the 'Catholic Church', and of a Catholic communion, is present as a living and real idea, as the sum and expression of the one communion and common belief of the Christian churches throughout the world, but not yet that organized realization of the idea, that 'Catholic and Apostolic Church', that 'Catholica', exclusive and proscriptive, as found subsequently to the legislation of Theodosius I by the closing years of the fourth century. Full as is the account of 'Church life' in the Didascalia, we look to it in vain for a description of the Church services themselves, their details, and the kind of prayers said at them; of the Eucharist itself what is said is indeed curiously meagre; although—and this (for a reason already indicated) is, I think, quite significant—the most important and interesting passage relating to the subject deals with the question of the offering of the bread and wine by the people.

I venture to think that so far as the Eucharistic Service is concerned, at least from the Eucharistic (or Consecration) prayer to the end, the Prayer-Book of Serapion (after allowing for certain Egyptian or Alexandrine features which can be distinctly specified and perhaps circumscribed) presents us accurately with a specimen of the sort of prayers said in this part of the Eucharistic Service in the quarter where the Didascalia was written; not, I hasten to add, of course, verbally the same, but in spirit (I might almost add, as if in date) identical. We have not, indeed, textually the anaphora of the Didascalia community, but the next best thing, a veritable own brother. However it may be with such an obviously personal 'view', one thing will be clear to the attentive reader of Serapion: namely, that it is the dominantly 'congregational' phase of Christian developement which still finds full religious-ritual expression in his 'Prayer-Book', late as is its date. Of this I think no one will entertain a doubt who will compare the first six items of the 'Prayer-Book' (= the consecration and communion prayers) with the corresponding portion of (say) the 'Liturgy of St James', whether in its Greek or in its Syriac form (Br. pp. 50 sqq., 85 sqq.). In the prayers following the consecration prayer in 'Serapion' (No. 1 of the Book) we have the same sort of mention of

'the people', 'this people', in the obvious sense of this congregation, the people here present, a congregation of communicants (Wobbermin, p. 7 ll. 1-3, 5-6, 13-14; p. 8 ll. 7-8). When, then, it is said in the concluding portions (Wobbermin, p. 6 ll. 5-12, 15-24) of the consecration-prayer of Serapion (separated as they are by the clause of prayer for the dead, ll. 13-15): 'let this people receive mercy' (l. 10), 'let angels be companions to the people' (ll. 11-12), 'receive the eucharist of the people' (l. 18), 'grant health . . . and advancement of soul and body to this whole people' (ll. 20-21): the kind of people which the composer of this prayer has in mind when writing, is (so it seems to me) one and the same in both of the parts of the prayer which are now separated by the 'dead' clause; namely, those here present and about to be receivers of that Eucharist upon which the blessing of God had just been invoked.

It appears to me, then, that to treat the concluding portion of the 'eucharistic' (or consecration-) prayer of Serapion which follows the Invocation (as is done in the late Bishop of Salisbury's little volume¹) as if it were an incipient 'General Intercession', a first elementary sketch of this sort of prayer, is not merely to obscure, or even to obliterate, the real nature of this part of Serapion's eucharistic prayer, but it is also to introduce a wrongly conceived suggestion, calculated to lead the reader astray in regard to that particular detail in the eucharistic service of this 'Prayer-Book' which is, if not the most singular, yet precisely the most important liturgical feature of this precious relic of Christian antiquity. The most singular feature, that which seems chiefly to attract our attention to-day from its bearing on disputes, is doubtless the Invocation of the Logos; but the feature which is most important for the history of Greek liturgical developement in the critical period (that is, the fourth century) is the placing of the Intercession in the service before the canon, with an express rubric on the subject. For by this the 'Prayer-Book' preserves the earlier order of the eucharistic service antecedent to the developement found e.g. in the Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions; an order (as I consider) which must have been universal in the third century. I mean one 'in which the passage from the consecration to the communion is direct and without intervening "Great Intercession"', the intervening prayers (if any) 'relating to and bearing on the communicants themselves and their approaching act of communion' (*J. T. S.* xii p. 395). Such order is preserved for us still quite clearly in the Anaphora of the Ethiopic Church Ordinances

¹ See the titles lettered D E F pp. 63-64, and cf. also pp. 40-41. It will be observed that the references given at this latter place to the liturgies of 'Mark', 'Coptic Jacobites', and 'Abyssinian Jacobites', are references to quite other parts of the service.

(Br. pp. 189 sqq.), and (if I may venture to refer to a document which seems so greatly, or even generally, discredited among the liturgical experts) the Roman Canon.¹ This is also substantially the case (though not so obviously) in the primitive and native liturgy of the East-Syrian Church, called the Liturgy of Addai and Mari or of the Apostles (Br. pp. 288 sqq.). It is the case also with the liturgies of Gaul and Spain.

If I had then to give a name to and classify the concluding part of

¹ The precise character of the (now proverbial) 'dislocation' of this prayer can be expressed in a simple formula which will make the case obviously clear. On the revival of liturgical studies consequent on the Oxford movement, the late Dr J. M. Neale gave two specimens of parallelizing the Liturgies: in the *Tetralogia Liturgica*, 1849; and (in translation) in the *Introduction to the History of the Eastern Church*, 1850. In the former work he printed in parallel columns 'St Chrysostom', the Mozarabic, 'St James' and 'St Mark'; in the latter (pp. 380-459), for the preanaphoral part of the liturgy, 'St Chrysostom', the Armenian, 'Coptic St Basil', and, 'as the connecting link of the Eastern and Western Rites' (p. 379), the Mozarabic; for the anaphora (pp. 530-703) eight texts are given: 'St Chrysostom', the Armenian, 'St James', 'St Basil', 'St Mark', 'Coptic St Basil', the Mozarabic, and, as representative of the rite of the Eastern Syrians, the Liturgy of 'Theodore', which hitherto had 'never appeared in English' (p. 529). The *Tetralogia* seems to be now a forgotten book, and the *Introduction*, besides being rather scarce, seems, so far as the translation and parallelizing of the liturgies are concerned, in much the same plight. But they both seem to me still very useful to the liturgical student, and not the less so inasmuch as they present so much mere white paper. In the preface to the *Tetralogia*, with that simplicity and candour of his which altogether counterbalances all the ignorances and errors which at this time of day may be easily objected to him, Dr Neale expresses the results on his own mind of the task he had undertaken: 'At quam primum me huic operi accinxi (he says) vix dici potest quam paene molestiarum undique molibus obruebar . . . tam immane inter se differunt Liturgiae Orientales ut vix communis ratio conferendi eas inveniri possit' (pp. xl, xli); and on this note he continues to the end of the Preface. A generation later another method was entered on, that adopted by the Rev. C. E. Hammond in *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford 1878). This method consisted in cutting up the Liturgies into sections (to each of which a more or less technical name was given), eighteen in all, designed to exhibit the 'Rationale of the Service', the sections being (for purposes of formulation) designated by the letters A to T. The portion corresponding to the Roman Canon in the correct formula is: L + M + N + O. The Roman Canon on this system results in the formula:

O(a) + [†N] + L + M + [†N] + O(b).

The only difficulty that I find in this newer method, which evidently shews the 'dislocation' of the Roman Canon at a glance, is that it proceeds on the basis of a late development in the history of Liturgy; and hence, however convenient for the delivery of a 'Lehre der Liturgik', or a 'System of Liturgick' in the lecture-room of a theological seminary, when used as a Ductor Dubitantium through the obscurities and perplexities of the earlier history of the Eucharistic service, I must confess, judging from my own experience, that it positively increases those perplexities as we try to thread a way through the mazes of that history.

the Eucharistic Prayer of Serapion (Wobbermin, p. 6 ll. 5-12, and l. 15 to the end; S. P. C. K. volume, p. 63 l. 17 'and make all' to p. 64 l. 6, and l. 16 to end of page) I should describe it as Prayer for the Communicants, instead of, as in the Bishop of Salisbury's volume: 'C. [part of] Invocation'; 'D. The Intercession for the Living'; 'F. Prayer for those who have offered.'

Before going on to consider Serapion's clause of intercession for the dead I should like to make two remarks.

1. First for some words as to 'the diptychs', and I should like to think of them as the last I shall have to write on this particular subject. No one can be more sensible of its dull and wearisome character than I, no one can be more thoroughly tired of it; though it is also true that the subject has a side of human interest, which would prove attractive to the philosophic mind of cynical tendencies. But, liturgically, there was absolute necessity to put 'the diptychs' in their right place in the service in the different rites, before it could become so much as possible to deal with a firm hand with a matter of vital importance for the true appreciation and understanding of the early history and development of Christian liturgy, namely, the place of what the systematists call 'the Great Intercession' in those rites. Looking round now I think that, so far as I can see, the question of 'the diptychs' has been cleared, with a single exception; that is, 'the diptychs' and Serapion. In turning to the Bishop of Salisbury's volume I find at No. 27 (one of the pre-anaphoral intercession prayers, p. 89) this title in brackets: 'Prayer and fixed diptychs on behalf of those who make offerings', and a dozen lines below, between these words of the prayer 'Receive us, O God of truth' and 'Receive this people', the following sub-title inserted in brackets: 'Fixed diptychs'; see also the *schema* in the Introduction, p. 39 (B). I find in the volume no explanation of any kind whatever of this title and sub-title, and thus am thrown back on myself to find the meaning or justification of them. This being so, I observe (a) that there is no ground or evidence whatever in Serapion's Prayer-Book itself for supposing that any 'diptychs' were said in the course of the pre-anaphoral intercessory prayers; (b) that the general history discountenances any such idea as the use of 'diptychs' in Serapion's days, inasmuch as the recital of names at this time was in the still elementary stage of a practice of piety and devotion, whereas the ritualism of 'the diptychs' is unknown to history until the fifth century. My intention, however, is not to criticize but to do something else. Needless to say that any treatment of the subject of Serapion and 'the diptychs' in which evidence, or reasons that will bear reflexion and examination, may be adduced, will receive from me careful and respectful consideration. But meantime I would—may

I say, as a layman writing in a journal professedly theological?—earnestly and most respectfully beg that questions of this kind or novelties proposed, in a subject so difficult and obscure as Early Liturgy, may not be treated as the case of the diptychs is treated in the late Bishop of Salisbury's little volume.

2. I should like to observe that the considerations which have been developed in this Comment generally are not such as concern merely those persons commonly nowadays designated by the name of liturgical experts. On the contrary, they are a matter of concern to all enquirers who are interested in and pursue the study of the early history of the Christian Church, and in particular of early Christian religious life; whereof public worship and the church service is an item of (as I believe) primary importance. And I would add that it is precisely this class of enquirers, in touch with many sides of early Christian feeling, thought, and belief, to whom in the last resort it will fall to pass a definitive judgement on the sort of questions and ideas—essential part though they are of the strictly liturgical 'discipline'—that have been dealt with above.

Duly to understand the questions that arise out of Serapion's Intercession for the departed, which comes in so abruptly in the middle of a prayer for the communicating congregation, there should come in here a preliminary enquiry on one point, one small point, of detail, namely, *the manner and style of formulation* in the Greek Liturgies of the items and clauses of the '*Great Intercession*', and the form of words introducing each clause, but more especially the first. But I prefer to hold over this enquiry to form the subject of Comment IX. That enquiry will be concerned with a mere comparison of texts, and may be felt to delay the 'action' of the present argument unduly; and so I come at once to give the reader my 'view' or 'conclusion' in regard to *the place* of the clause of intercession for the dead in Serapion's Eucharistic Prayer, with its specification of names of individual persons. But here it is necessary to say that I can do no more than offer my opinion, my 'view', and explain how I come by it; for no means exist, so far as I can see, for applying to the case any process that can justly be termed a real *verification*. I would add, however, that slight and unimportant as on the surface the matter to be enquired into may seem, it is on this one matter of prayer for the dead in the Eucharistic service that the actual line of developement taken in Christian Public Worship depends more than on any other single factor.

What I have now to say falls under three heads: (1) a passage of St Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech. Myst.* v 9-10), as to which see already in *Narsai* p. 101 n. 3; (2) the conditions and circumstances in which we

find the Intercession for the dead in Serapion; (3) the position held by the Church of Jerusalem in the mind and esteem of the new 'Christian World' when Constantine had built the church of the Holy Sepulchre there.

1. In *Narsai* (*loc. cit.*) it was said that Cyril had not in view in the passage there quoted 'an objection to prayers for the dead as such', and that 'no word of condemnation or disapproval comes from him of the "many"' whose objections he undertakes to meet. In this connexion it will be instructive to compare and weigh the treatment of the case of prayer for the dead by Epiphanius *Haer.* 75, against Aërius. Of course, I need hardly say that the whole of this section, this 'heresy', must be read and considered before we are in a position to profit by that part of it which concerns us; and that we must bear in mind Epiphanius's habitual tone and temper which come out remarkably well in *Haer.* 75. Two points stand out as of interest: (a) the way in which, the words by which, he introduces the subject; (b) the way in which he meets the objection made. As regards (a): Epiphanius represents Aërius as making his objection thus: *τίνι τῷ λόγῳ μετὰ θάνατον ὀνομάζετε, φησὶν, ὀνόματα τεθνεώτων . . .* (Migne *P. Gr.* xlii 502 A); and when he comes to the confutation of Aërius, Epiphanius introduces the case thus: *Ἐπειτα δὲ περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματα λέγειν τῶν τελευτησάντων . . .* (col. 513 B). From the statement of both the objection and the case it would seem clear that the occasion, the cause, of the objection being taken was recital of *names*. As regards (b): in comparing the manner in which the two apologists meet objectors, we find Cyril and Epiphanius agree in classifying the dead of whom *ποιούμεθα τὴν μνήμην* into two classes, though in the latter writer the distinction is not made with the same sharpness and clearness of point as in the former. One class is the class of 'sinners', our brethren deceased for whose salvation we hope, and these we make mention of that we may entreat the mercy of God on them; the other class we mention is that of 'the just': fathers and patriarchs, prophets and apostles, &c., that we may glorify God on account of them. It is in the reasons given by the two writers that the contrast between them is so significant. To Epiphanius (whilst, of course, insisting on the profit to dead brethren of our prayers for them) a chief and principal recommendation of the practice, that which he puts in the forefront, is that it helps to strengthen the belief of the survivors in the communion of saints, of which St Cyril says nothing; whilst on the other hand Epiphanius is entirely silent on the point of the consideration which Cyril puts forward, namely, that such prayer is of the greatest service *μεγίστην ὄνησιν* to the dead if made when the Holy and Awful Victim is lying there and then on the altar after the consecration (*ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡ δέξις ἀναφέρεται, τῆς ἁγίας καὶ φρικωδεστάτης προκειμένης θυσίας*) (*Catech. Myst.* v 9).

It is only he, having delivered this point of definite teaching in a positive and simple manner to the new converts, that St Cyril lets them know they must be prepared to hear 'many' who do not share this point of view; and will hear it said: 'What is the profit to a soul departed from this world in his sins, or even without sins'—not, be it observed, if we pray for him or her, but—'if mention be made of him in the prayer?' (ἐὰν ἐπὶ τῆς προσευχῆς μνημονεύηται). Is the προσευχή here 'prayer' in a general way? or that prayer whereof it is said 'intra in cubiculum tuum', &c. (Matt. vi 6)? or is it prayer said in the Christian assembly for public worship? Seeing that this lecture of St Cyril to the new converts is exclusively designed as, and is devoted to, an explanation of public worship, of what these new Christians will see and hear in the celebration of the mass, it seems to me more reasonable to suppose that when he says ἐπὶ τῆς προσευχῆς, what Cyril means is public prayer, is, indeed, the 'canon' itself of the 'mass' which he is actually explaining. And on a consideration of §§ 9 and 10 of *Catech. Myst.* v, it will be seen 'that we are in fact here in Cyril in presence of those ideas possessing the mind of Chrysostom at Antioch and Constantinople a generation later', for which see *J. T. S.* xii pp. 394-395, 400-401.

Indeed, left to myself, and until the whole case, with all its conditions taken into account, is otherwise and better explained to me, I consider that the phrase of Cyril τί ὠφελεῖται ψυχὴ . . . ἐὰν ἐπὶ τῆς προσευχῆς μνημονεύηται refers not to prayer for the dead, in general and as such, but to what Aërius (in Epiphanius) means when he says ὀνομάζετε ὀνόματα τεθνέντων, and Epiphanius when he says περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματα λέγειν; and that it finds its due explanation in the assumption that already at this date the names of persons recently deceased and known to the congregation were read out at this point of the mass in the church of Jerusalem.

2. But I feel indefinitely strengthened in such an idea on consideration of the case of Serapion's Eucharistic Prayer. The clause of intercession for the dead occurs, as it were wedged in, without connexion, either verbal or by suggestion in thought, with what goes before or after; it occurs, as already pointed out, between two parts of the prayer for one and the same living 'people', the congregation, communicants. Moreover Serapion's is a service in which prayer of *intercession* is over and done with before the specifically eucharistic part of the service so much as begins; and his service is the liturgy of a church (Thmuis) dependent on and in the near neighbourhood of an Apostolic Church, Alexandria, which, even in the later developement of its liturgy, when it had freely adopted elements derived from the liturgy of Jerusalem, admitted no intercessory prayer after the consecration,

but from that point onwards is concerned only with communion and the communicants.¹ Moreover, this clause of Serapion particularly arrests attention inasmuch as it, for the first time in Christian antiquity, evidences, and that in a clear and unmistakeable way, the recital of particular names in the intercession for the dead. It seems to me then that the indications all point to one thing, namely, that the Intercession for the dead as found nearly at the end of Serapion's Eucharistic Prayer is an interpolation; a novelty introduced from without, a practice not in accordance with the tradition of the region in which Thmuis is situated, that is the Alexandrine patriarchate. But, if so, whence was this novelty derived, from what church was it borrowed? This brings us to our third point, a consideration of what the church of the Holy Sepulchre built by Constantine meant for the Church of Jerusalem and (to use a modern expression) for the Christian World of that day.

3. Whatever we may be disposed to think of Dr Heisenberg's reconstruction of Constantine's church of the Holy Sepulchre, his volume is of the highest value and importance for the way in which he brings out the 'epoch-making' character of that edifice in the history of the Christian religion and Church.² This was the case in two respects. First, because this edifice, a marvel of splendour in the eyes of all the world, was by its very site, as the builders themselves (cf. Eusebius) and the immediately succeeding generations (cf. Jerome) were loud to declare, an outward and visible sign of the triumph of the new religion on the spot of an actual sanctuary—a temple of Astarte, of the Syria

¹ It might be well here simply to read 'St Mark', Br. 134. 22-139. As to the scrap of diaconal (intercessory) litany, pp. 138. 20-139. 6, left-hand columns, I need hardly add that this is in my opinion no part of the native and authentic 'Markan', that is Alexandrian, rite. Everything cannot be done at once; I hope to give to the subject of 'litanies' consideration and treatment in due time and place, when a few other questions have been dealt with and in some measure (I trust) cleared.

² *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche, zwei Basiliken Konstantins*, J. E. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1908, vol. I. The directly relative portions for the present question are: pp. iv-v; the 'Introduction', pp. 1-4; the section on Eusebius, pp. 16 sqq.; cf. p. 46; and the final chapter, pp. 197-235. There is in this last much to be found that will be distasteful or even repugnant in respect of the author's view, emphasized with repeated insistence, how, on this spot so specially holy in Christian eyes and to the Christian sense, the old, the non-Christian, survived, and is, in a way, represented in the new; and how it is here, once again, a case of the infusion of new ideas into old and enduring forms. Readers quite naturally, justifiably, may stop for very impatience, or even pain; but it may be useful to remember that this, at bottom and in principle, is but a manifestation, however displeasing it be *in casu*, of that idea of continuity which within the last fifty years or so has come to affect, in some respects to dominate, our fundamental conceptions. I mention all this because such patience with Dr Heisenberg in pursuing his favourite ideas is a necessary condition of really profiting (for our present purposes) by his book.

Dea—of the older and native Palestinian cult in its most characteristic manifestation. But there is another feature of the case, and of enduring interest: the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was the starting-point for a new religious development in Christianity itself; it was for the great body of Christians, and in reference to the ordinary and traditional Christian mind, the embodiment of a new idea—it was a pilgrimage-church. And, from the very site itself, the pilgrimage was one with which no other could by any possibility compete.¹ We are in these latter days so much accustomed to the idea of Christian pilgrimage to holy places that it may perhaps be somewhat hard for many of us to realize all that this pilgrimage-church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem means in the history and development of Christian piety and devotion. Those who can recognize and realize what have been the effects in the past half-century in the Roman Catholic Church as a whole of the pilgrimage of Lourdes in the region of devotional ideas, thoughts and notions, will be on the road to enter into an understanding of the effects of the new Church in Jerusalem in respect of the piety and worship of that day. There is a third consideration which must not be lost sight of here. The church of the Holy Sepulchre was an embodiment and expression too of the ideas and feelings in regard to cult and public worship of Constantine himself and of so many other converts, that class of persons of rank and influence who in the course of the fourth century 'joined the Church', became sometimes, indeed, main pillars and chief protectors, without, however, formally taking upon themselves the responsibilities implied by Christian baptism. In many senses, then, this church of the Holy Sepulchre was a new creation.

Now at the very beginning of the Intercession of 'St James' we meet (so it seems to me) with an indication of the presence in the Liturgy itself of the new cultural spirit. It begins not with prayer for the Catholic Church as in the 'Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions' (Antioch) and in 'St Mark' (Alexandria), but thus: 'We offer (them) also to Thee, O Lord, for Thy Holy Places which Thou hast glorified by the divine manifestation of Thy Christ and by the advent of Thine

¹ We may here usefully recall how it was not until the glory of the Holy Sepulchre church had departed on the taking of Jerusalem in 614, that the vogue of pilgrimage to the church of St Peter in Rome, for the west, fairly began; and how it was not until the early years of the seventh century that there began to make their appearance those Pilgrims' Guide Books for Rome illustrated by G. B. de Rossi in vol. i of his *Roma Sotterranea*, and those collections of Roman inscriptions brought together in vol. ii of his *Inscriptiones*. To these latter must now be added the inscriptions (four, or seven?) found by Professor Levison in the Cambridge MS Kk. iv 6 of the *Liber pontificalis*, printed by him *Neues Archiv* xxxi pp. 352 sqq. (1910), and conveniently brought together with remarks by Mgr Mercati, *Rassegna Gregoriana* 1910, coll. 47-50, as having 'a most special interest for us Romans'.

All-holy Spirit, especially for the glorious Sion, the Mother of all churches' (Br. 54. 24-27); and the Intercession only then has: 'And for Thy holy Catholic and Apostolic Church throughout all the world' (*ibid.* ll. 27-29).

Whether this kind of localism is in accord with the tone and temper of the Christian mind and piety as exhibited in the writings of the second and third centuries, is a question the decision as to which falls to be made, not to the liturgical specialist, but rather to those who have given their attention to the history of the Christians, in its widest sense, during that period. For my own part, until better instructed, I cannot but think this localism accords neither with the general character of the Christian religious sense or Christian piety generally in those centuries, nor with the case of Jerusalem in particular; and that it is a novelty. However that may be, one thing is certain, namely, that this feature of the Intercession of 'St James' entirely agrees with the spirit manifested in the *Catecheses* of St Cyril, which are full of a doubtless pardonable local self-consciousness and, it may be permissible to add, self-complacency. To me it appears that this item of the Intercession in which Jerusalem is put in the forefront as being the place glorified by the footsteps of God made Man, of the Redeemer of Mankind, and 'Sion' (whatever precisely this word was understood by the composer of the prayer to mean) as the Mother of all churches, is itself a speaking witness to and exemplification of what I have called elsewhere 'the new sense, feeling, religious sentiment induced by, or following on, the triumph of the Church' ('On the History of the Christian Altar', *Downside Review*, July 1905, pp. 160-161; separate print, pp. 9-10).

When novelty meets us (as in the case of the rubric in Serapion as to recital of names of dead in the Consecration Prayer and after the consecration) I should be naturally disposed (especially in view of St Cyril's *Catech. Myst.* v §§ 9-10) to ask myself whether Jerusalem may not have been the source of inspiration to Serapion for this novelty. We know how at once (the Pilgrim of Bordeaux of A.D. 333 is speaking testimony as to matter of fact here), whilst it was in course of building (326-336) and before it was yet quite complete, this new church in Jerusalem excited both deep admiration and piety through the Christian world. For its dedication troops of bishops came from all parts, from the Nile Delta as well as from elsewhere; and for men like Serapion of Thmuis this New Jerusalem was a church close at hand and was visited.¹ As said above, it is possible in a case like the present one to do no

¹ We can recall e.g. the visit of St Athanasius to Jerusalem (see *Itinera Latina* ii pp. 54-55, Société de l'Orient Latin); St Athanasius and the Council of Tyre 337, with a phalanx of 49 Egyptian bishops (Tillemont *Mém.* vii 34-35, Venice ed.).

more than give a conjecture, propose a hypothesis, and leave it for what, on a consideration of all the circumstances, it may be considered worth. If I must express an opinion in regard to the immediate subject of our enquiry, I should say that both the presence of a clause of intercession for the dead at the close of the consecration prayer in the Egyptian liturgy of Serapion, and the prescription of the recital of particular names, are an imitation of what the person responsible for this clause and rubric had seen and observed at Jerusalem.

Having thus far dealt with the question of *the place* of the clause of intercession for the dead in Serapion's Eucharistic Prayer, I now proceed in a separate Comment to consider the question of *the manner and style of formulation* in the Greek Liturgies of the items and clauses of the Great Intercession, and the form of words introducing each clause, but more especially the first. And this mere formal, verbal, enquiry will, if I mistake not, be found to lead up naturally into the very heart of the questions which await solution as to the development of the Greek Liturgies in the centre and principle of their life, namely, the Epiklesis.¹

IX

In a previous Comment (see *J. T. S.* xii 394-395) attention was called to the importance in the story of liturgical developement of the place of the 'Great Intercession' in the Eucharistic service; and I had proposed to submit this particular question to a detailed examination so far as the first three centuries are concerned (*ibid.* pp. 395-396). But on reflexion I consider that, thanks to the labours of two of those invaluable persons, our forerunners—I mean Probst and Theodor Kliefoth—this is really not necessary; that the time and space required for such examination are much better given to other matters; and that a brief statement of conclusions will really be enough, when supplemented by such a list of references to the pages of these writers as will enable any one who has at hand the two books referred to, with a set of the Fathers and writers of the first centuries, to investigate the subject and come to a conclusion for himself. But in order to do this a few words here as to these writers themselves and their respective attitude as ecclesiastics (and theologians) in regard to the ancient Church and its worship, are desirable and perhaps necessary.

Probst was the restorer of liturgical studies among German Catholics. Brenner and Binterim were men of the old school, and they left no successors; Probst had to make his own way for himself as best he could in the days of renewed ecclesiastical learning of all kinds in

¹ This is the only occasion on which I use the word 'Epiklesis' in these two Comments. When I resume—as I hope to do shortly—No. X will be a brief memorandum on the words 'Epiklesis' and 'Invocation' and their use.

which his lot was cast, the second half of the last century. The first great task to which he addressed himself was truly appropriate for a teacher of Pastoral Theology (first in the University of Tübingen, then of Breslau). It was a detailed and comprehensive survey of the church life and discipline of the first three (specifically the second and third) centuries. This was at first designed to occupy five volumes but eventually accomplished in four, whereof one was devoted to liturgy.¹ In regard to this subject Probst's fundamental position was quite simple, and his conviction was whole-hearted and entire: to him the Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions was in substance a Liturgy to be referred back to the Apostles themselves; and whatever the more recent minor modifications of wording, yet (a) in the general ordering of the service, (b) in the order and succession of the prayers, and (c) in the ideas and general run of thought of particular prayers, it is to be referred back to the prescriptions of the Apostles themselves (p. 233). In these circumstances, then, the reader of Probst has to remember that to him the place of the 'Great Intercession' after the consecration was of apostolic ordinance, it was the apostolic norm; and the reader will easily observe for himself how readily and naturally in discussing the liturgy of each writer of the second and third centuries, Probst finds, in regard to the place of the Intercession in the service, a satisfactory explanation of any hard passage, or a serviceable supplement to information, in the reflexion that the Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions gives a decisive interpretation of difficulties or obscurities. But it is to be added that this consideration does not affect his resolve to discuss with care and conscientiousness the actual texts bearing directly or indirectly on the Intercession; these discussions are doubtless tedious, but they are not infrequently quite instructive from more than one point of view. In any case his reader has, in Probst's minuteness and simple-mindedness, a good opportunity for correcting that author's views and drawing conclusions, in each case, for himself.

Kliefoth, in addressing himself to the question of the Eucharistic sacrifice, comes from the very opposite point of the ecclesiastical compass. He was, so far as certain periods in the history of divine service both ancient and modern are concerned, extraordinarily learned and competent; like Probst his habit was to examine and discuss texts of ancient writers with exactness and care. But Kliefoth was not only a man of learning; he was also the leader of an ecclesiastical party and

¹ He was fully, and in a way justly, impressed with the character of the book he produced. It gave, he said, 'durchweg Neues' even in regard to his materials; inasmuch as now for the first time those materials were by him 'vollständig benutzt' (pref. p. 1). And it is true that he was the first (even when compared with the elder Harnack) to sift them through and through.

an embodiment of the highest type of churchmanship in the Lutheran High Church movement of the last century. Unlike G. C. E. Harless of Erlangen, he did not concern himself with the deeper problems of Christian life and thought, but devoted a life-long labour to a liturgical and ritual revival in the genuine and traditional sense and spirit of the religious communion to which he belonged. In this way he inherited and cherished a deep and keen mistrust of whatever approached that conception of the Eucharist as a propitiatory sacrifice which to Probst seemed clearly expressed in the Christian liturgy already of the sub-apostolic age. Kliefoth for his part found reasons for suspiciousness—for a suspicion of departure from primitive conceptions—even in the 'transfer' (so he considered it) as early as the third century of the General Intercession for all sorts and conditions of men from a point of the service outside to a point just within the 'Mass of the Faithful'.

It was necessary to enter into these details in order to explain precisely how and why I consider that a series of references to the work of these two writers¹ will dispense me from instituting a detailed enquiry, in a special Comment, as to the place of the Intercession in the mass or Eucharistic service of the first three centuries; and why I believe that the statement of a conclusion on the subject is enough. That conclusion is: that in the Liturgy of those centuries its place (so far as it is witnessed to by, or may be inferred from, the extant documents of that period) was *outside and before* the *anaphora*, *canon*, or special '*consecratory*' *prayer*; and *not* in the course of it or after it.

This posited we may now come to the particular subject of the present Comment as defined above. I propose to take the Greek Liturgies in the following order: the Egyptian Serapion, 'St James', 'St Clement', 'St Basil', 'St Chrysostom', and finally the Egyptian 'St Mark'.

I. *Serapion*. As is stated above (p. 27) Nos. 22–27 of this Prayer-Book when taken together form the equivalent of the 'Great Intercession' of the other Greek Liturgies. No. 27 (from the variety of its subject-matter the most nearly approximating to that Intercession) falls into ten sections, each of which (except one) is introduced by the simple words *παρακαλοῦμεν* or *δεόμεθα*; the exceptional case is the first section (for 'us', 'this people', i. e. the 'congregation'), the introduction to which is somewhat elaborated: *Ἐξομολογούμεθά σοι . . . καὶ προσρίπτομεν . . . καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν* (Wobbermin, p. 19. 1–3). Each of these sections comprises a series of subordinate clauses beginning with an 'imperative', like 'Pardon', 'Grant', 'Let them become', &c. But of course this stylistic form as here used is the same in idea as the form

¹ See Supplementary Note A, p. 50 below.

'We beseech Thee to . . . and to . . .'. The same simple method of formulation is observed in Nos. 22, 23, 24, 25; whilst No. 26 has imperative forms only, the first whereof is 'receive this supplication'.

On the foregoing this observation has to be made: that a form of prayer of this kind, and these prayers, as found in Serapion, are in place not merely in any part of the Eucharistic service but also at any other time of assembly of the faithful for purposes of worship; or, indeed, even in private worship also. By their terms they import no special connexion with the Eucharist at all.

II. *The Liturgy of 'St James'*. In this Liturgy the prayer for the communicants follows, as usual, at once on the Invocation: 'that it may be to those that partake of them for the remission of sins, &c. . . for the bringing forth good works'; but this usually simple prayer is in 'St James' complicated with another, a general and impersonal idea, for it continues: 'for the confirmation of Thy Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church', and for its deliverance from all heresies, &c., although prayer for the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church is found at the beginning of the immediately ensuing Intercession itself, making thus a sort of doublet.

Next, the form of the Intercession is now quite regular: it is as if quite ritualized; and it is in the wording of this form—in the initial words of the clauses and especially the first—that the importance of the Intercession of 'St James' (when compared with Serapion) consists. It begins: Προσφερόμεν σοι δέσποτα καὶ ὑπὲρ κτλ. (Br. 54. 24); and throughout the prayer each subsequent section begins with the invariable formula: 'Remember, O Lord', this or that class of persons.¹ What precisely are we to understand by this word introductory to the whole Intercession: 'We offer'; 'offer' what? The Syriac 'St James' extends the phrase thus, the priest saying: 'Wherefore we offer unto Thee, O Lord, this same fearful and unbloody sacrifice for', &c. (Br. 89. 30-32); and the deacon at the same time addresses the people thus: 'Let us pray and beseech our Lord and our God at this dread and holy moment for', &c. (*ibid.*); of course this diaconal utterance is a later and local addition, but it is not without significance for the particular 'genius' of the Liturgy of 'St James'. The late Dr Neale (*Hist. of the Eastern Ch.* i 591) has in his translation of the Greek 'St James': 'We offer them also to Thee, O Lord, for', &c.—'them' being the just consecrated gifts, the Sacred Body and Blood of our Lord. Both extensions are really one and the same thing; and fortunately we have in St Cyril (*Catech. Myst.* v 10) a touchstone whereby we can test for ourselves what is the genuine or original sense and meaning and

¹ Or once or twice: 'vouchsafe to remember.'

intention of the verb *προσφέρωμεν*, with object left unexpressed in the Greek text of the Liturgy. I have no intention of drawing out here in detail what (it appears to me) is the full sense and value of the words of St Cyril addressed to his neophytes,¹ those 'converts' of his who had just two or three days before been for the first time admitted to the full 'communion' expressed and enjoyed in the Christian Eucharistic Service. This must be reserved for another occasion and a different connexion—an occasion, however, to which the present Comments directly lead up. It is enough here to say that Cyril's explanation of what (in the Liturgy) 'we offer' is that it is 'Christ, who has been slain as a victim' (*Χριστὸν ἐσφαγιασμένον*), and that 'we offer' Christ so slain to be 'propitiatory' (*προσφέρωμεν ἐξιλεούμενοι . . . τὸν φιλόανθρωπον Θεόν*) for others as well as for ourselves (*ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν*).²

I hasten to add that I (for one at all events) must express a sense that Cyril herein is not typical (so far as I can see)—not typical even when his words are attenuated as far as possible—of the religious sense and feeling of the time, about A.D. 350, when he delivered these lectures of instruction; that he is (as was the Liturgy used by him, and evidenced in our 'St James') in advance of his age; that his expressions in the point both of the Eucharistic Presence and the Eucharistic Sacrifice are an 'early anticipation' of the *quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, not that was but that was to be. The Great Intercession as described in St Cyril pleads as 'propitiatory' the sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ lying on the altar (cf. bottom of page 34 above).

III. *The Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions* ('St Clement'). Here we find as usual (Br. 21. 9–13) the prayer after the Invocation solely concerned with the communicants; and the anaphora passes thence directly to the 'Great Intercession' with the simple connexion: "Ἐτι δεόμεθά σου Κύριε καὶ ὑπὲρ . . . (Br. 21. 15), as if it were formally a mere continuation and extension to other classes of persons of the prayer for the communicants, and without any special reference, so far as concerns those others, to the Eucharist or to the Sacrifice at all. But further on there is a significant variation. The Intercession consists of ten clauses; clauses 2, 3, 7, 8, 10 begin like the first "Ἐτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε καὶ ὑπὲρ

¹ See Supplementary Note B, p. 57 below.

² I think it good, however, to add here Dr Darwell Stone's translation (*History of Doctrine*, &c. i 114) of St Cyril's text: ' . . . we also, when we offer our supplications to Him on behalf of those who have fallen asleep . . . offer Christ sacrificed on behalf of our sins, propitiating the merciful God for them as well as for ourselves.' Provisionally I have ventured on an attempt to give the sense of St Cyril as it must have been understood by his hearers, and (what is to the point here) seems required by the Liturgy as understood by those who used it; but, as said above, I shall have to return to this matter in a later Comment.

(the 6th equivalently with Ἐτι ἀξιούμεν σε καὶ ὑπέρ); whilst the 4th, 5th, and 9th begin Ἐτι προσφέρομεν σοι καὶ ὑπέρ . . . In other words the Intercession of 'St Clement' offers a combination of the form of Serapion and of that found in 'St James'.

IV. *The Liturgy of 'St Basil'*. The Invocation (Br. 329, 330. 1-11) is as usual at once followed (ll. 13-20) by prayer for communicants, the Intercession proper beginning at p. 332 l. 3. The mode of passage from prayer for communicants to Intercession (i.e. the transitional clauses, Br. 330. 21-331. 10) deserves attention. The terms used are ' . . . but that we may find mercy and grace with all the saints who have been well-pleasing to Thee from the beginning of the world, the forefathers, fathers, &c., . . . in faith made perfect, especially . . . our Lady the Mother of God and ever-Virgin Mary, the holy John the forerunner . . . and all Thy saints through whose prayers do Thou look down upon us, O God'. And then comes the Intercession, the first clause of which (for dead) begins thus: 'And remember all those who have fallen asleep in hope . . .' (p. 332. 3); the second clause begins: 'Again we beseech (δεόμεθα) Thee remember, O Lord . . .' (p. 332. 6). Then follow seven more clauses each of which is introduced by the simple word 'Remember', as in 'St James'. But with this the resemblance to 'St James' ends; and the text of the Intercession of 'St Basil', when looked at from the standpoint of 'St James', in tone, style, conception is seen to be (in spite of the identity of fundamental subject-matter) something quite different.

Of course we can, if we like, understand as 'implicit' in the Intercession of 'St Basil' what is found 'explicit' in that of 'St James'; that is, all that is involved in the προσφέρομεν as interpreted in St Cyril (see above, p. 43). But this idea is entirely absent from the text of the redactor of the Intercession of 'St Basil'; which is in itself as independent of Eucharistic connotation as, say, the pre-anaphoral Intercession prayers of Serapion (see p. 42 above).

But, I should like to go further and illustrate the case of 'St Basil' by an analogous case; and I must be excused (for the purposes of the present explanation only) if it be drawn from the Roman Canon; a text, however, which has the advantage of being known and indeed familiar to every one seriously interested in liturgical enquiries. But first it is necessary that I should repeat once more that the clause of intercession for the dead 'Memento etiam . . .' was in Rome not recited in the public masses of Sundays; that is those masses which in particular had to be attended by the people in fulfilment of their elementary religious duty; but it is an intrusion into the text as it were from without: not originally an essential and regular element of the Canon; and it came into regular use in Rome, in every mass as now, not before the ninth

century.¹ This elimination made, the last part of the Roman Canon will be found, in the combined general character and sequence of the two ideas expressed, a case parallel to that of 'St Basil'. In the Roman Canon, however, the second 'idea' of fellowship with the Saints (the 'Nobis quoque peccatoribus' clause) is (so commentators seem, with rare exceptions, to agree, and I think with reason) particularly appropriated to the clergy, whilst in 'St Basil' these fall under the term of the generality *ἡμᾶς δὲ πάντας . . . καὶ μηδένα ἡμῶν* (Br. 330. 13, 17): a differentiation which such readers as are students of that most important

¹ The case has been set out in the *J.T.S.* iv 571 sqq., cf. xii 391 (e). I now carry this matter back further and also approach it from another side. In the Penitential of Theodore (a source for the history of liturgy which has not yet been exhausted; or perhaps the value of which is not yet fully recognized), lib. ii cap. v, *De Missa Monachorum* § 4, is found this somewhat enigmatical pronouncement: 'Missae (or "missas") quoque monachorum fieri per singulas septimanas et nomina recitare mos est' (Haddan and Stubbs *Councils* iii p. 194). In the so-called 'Canones S. Gregorii urbis Romae', first edited by Kunstmann (*Die lateinischen Pönitentialbücher der Angelsachsen*, Mainz 1844, p. 129), is a canon (No. 108 p. 138) which runs thus: 'Missam monachorum per singulas septimanas nomina recitare. Secundum Romanos die dominico nomina mortuorum non recitantur ad missam.' Kunstmann edits these Canons of St Gregory from a St Emmeram MS, which he describes (p. 29) as written in 'Anglo-Saxon' script, and he assigns it (p. 28) to the end of the eighth, or at latest, the beginning of the ninth century. Whether this MS be with the other St Emmeram MSS now at Munich I cannot tell, and it is clear that H. J. Schmitz, who had searched so sedulously for MSS of Penitentials, had never seen it, and speaks only after Kunstmann (*Die Bussbücher und das kanonische Bussverfahren*, Düsseldorf 1898, p. 522). This piece was reprinted by Wasserschleben (*Bussordnungen* 1851), p. 160, from Kunstmann's text with collation of another copy, Paris MS 2123 s. ix, which, however, he considers affords a less authentic text than the MS used by Kunstmann. From Wasserschleben's edition of the 'Canones' it appears that this whole document is to be referred, canon by canon, for its original and source to Theodore; to which its text also affords at times a useful explanation or gloss, inasmuch as the script of the St Emmeram MS, no less than the title itself of the document, shews that it must have been drawn up in England and at a date certainly not far removed from the redaction of the document known to us as Theodore's Penitential. That the Canon 108 is an authentic and trustworthy gloss of the relative text of Theodore I do not, for myself, in view of the other testimonies as to the non-recital of names of dead in the Sunday mass at Rome, see any ground for doubting; and England, in the first, or even second, half of the eighth century would be as good and trustworthy a source of information in regard to Roman liturgical practice as could possibly be found.

The meaning attached by the person responsible for the redaction of 'Theodore's Penitential' to the passage quoted from it above is quite another matter; but I would suggest that the tenor of the enquiry put to Theodore was of this kind: 'The monks say masses for the dead every day of the week, and recite the names of dead, Sundays included, which the Romans do not do; what are we to say as to the continuance of this local, this English, practice?' And Theodore's answer was to the effect: 'Leave the monks in peace and let them go on in their own way.'

but rather neglected subject, the history of the Roman Church in Rome, may be not disinclined to view as characteristic.

It is to be clearly understood that I do not mean to imply or suggest that there is a historical connexion between the two texts, that one was borrowed from the other; but I do think that as they stand they both proceed from the same stage of liturgical idea and development. I would put the case summarily thus: When the necessary eliminations have been made (that is the Memento of dead in the case of the Roman Canon, and of course all question of names in both documents are set aside) the Eucharistic prayers in 'St Basil' and the Roman Canon end in the same way; but in 'St Basil' a 'Great Intercession', without organic connexion with that ending, has been pieced on.¹

V. *Liturgy of St Chrysostom.* This Constantinopolitan liturgy, in the substitution in its Invocation of the word *ποιήσον* for the *ἀναδεῖξαι* of 'St Basil' (also Constantinopolitan), gives us already a warning note of that perfecting of the Greek liturgical development which is evidenced by the addition to the Invocation of the decisive and explicit words 'changing them by Thy Holy Spirit'.² We cannot be surprised therefore at finding a distinctly marked modification in the initial words of the Intercession also. 'St Chrysostom' passes straight to this latter from the prayer for communicants without any transitional text as in 'St Basil', and the Intercession begins: *"Ἐτι προσφερόμεν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν ὑπὲρ κτλ.* (Br. 331. 12-13). What was in the mind of the composer of this liturgy when he wrote these words? what, of what kind, was the 'reasonable service' we are here supposed to be 'offering'?³ Unfortunately we have not at hand in this case, as in the case of 'St James', a faithful commentator like St Cyril who will give us assurance of the real and intended sense, import, and value of the vague text of the prayer. In these circumstances we are left to do the best we can for ourselves and then can attain perhaps to no more than a 'view' or opinion. The words are also found in the (earlier) Constantinopolitan liturgy of 'St Basil'; in this latter, however, not after the consecration, not as introductory to the Intercession, but only in the Preface: *καὶ σοὶ προσφέρειν ἐν καρδίᾳ συντετριμμένη καὶ πνεύματι ταπεινώσεως τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν ἡμῶν* (Br. 322. 7-10). When we look at and consider the text itself of that Preface as a whole, the only 'reasonable service' found to be evidenced therein is a 'sacrifice of praise' and of

¹ The case receives some further illustration, and a point of the Liturgy of 'St James' is brought into connexion with it, in Supplementary Note C.

² Of course in writing as I do of the 'Liturgy of St Chrysostom' I do not forget fasc. 35 in Dr Lietzmann's series of texts.

³ The same formula is verbally repeated at the beginning of the fourth clause of the Intercession (Br. 332. 25-26).

thanksgiving ; and from the point of the text just cited (Br. 322. 7-10) onwards, and through the long-drawn consecratory prayer, it is not until we come to the ritual formula of offering in the Anamnesis (Br. 329. 14 seqq.) immediately preceding the Invocation that we find any allusion to, any suggestion of, the idea of sacrifice, and then it is unmistakably eucharistic: 'taking courage we draw near to Thy holy altar, and presenting the antitypes of the Body and Blood of Thy Christ we pray and beseech Thee . . .' (Br. 329. 21-26).

When then the 'Liturgy of St Chrysostom', for the first time in the history of the rite of Constantinople (some time probably in the later sixth century or more probably in the seventh), introduces its Intercession with the words: 'We offer to Thee this reasonable service on behalf of' &c.,—does the writer here mean: 'We offer to Thee the reasonable service of *our* praises and thanksgivings'? Each enquirer into the earlier history of the Christian Divine Service in its gradual developement must be left to answer this question in his own way ; but for my own part I have no doubt that the composer of the Intercession in 'St Chrysostom', though retaining a text traditional in the liturgy of Constantinople, intended to express here neither more nor less than what we have already found to be meant in the Hierosolymitan Liturgy of 'St James' at as early a date as the middle of the fourth century (see pp. 42-43 above).

The subordinate clauses need not delay us here ; but the details are thrown into a footnote.¹

VI. With *The Liturgy of 'St Mark'* we come back at length to the region in which Serapion composed his own Eucharistic Prayer. It is a commonplace to say, but it is useful to repeat, that the 'Great Intercession' of 'St Mark' is at the beginning of that prayer, and comes before not only the consecratory part thereof, but even before the *Sanctus* is approached. It is lengthy (Br. 126. 12-131. 16) ; but this only makes the great simplicity of its construction the more remarkable. It begins with a form and in a style we have already found so common in Serapion: καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν . . . Κύριε. This in 'St Mark' is never repeated ; but regularly thereafter (except in the section Br. 130. 7-26, of which presently) to the end, its clauses are formulated in the 'imperative mood' ; there are between seventy or eighty of these 'imperatives' : not with a continual recurrence of one and the same word like the Μνήσθητι of 'St James', but they are words of the most varied character : indeed the Intercession of 'St Mark' makes use of a *natural* style, and does not run like 'St. James' into a regularized and so to speak ritualized formulation of prayer.

¹ The Intercession of 'St Chrysostom' consists of eight clauses. The incipit of the first and fourth have been already mentioned above (in text and in note 3 p. 46). Nos. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8 begin Μνήσθητι ; No. 3, Ἐτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε μνήσθητι.

In the section Br. 130. 7-26 the style changes, or rather another style is adopted—that familiar to us in ‘St James’; and all the six clauses of this section are introduced by the invariable *Μνήσθητι*. It has been already pointed out in this JOURNAL (vol. x pp. 597 sqq.; cf. xi pp. 68-70) how at times the text of ‘St Mark’ is a sort of cento of passages taken from other liturgies; and (p. 601) how desirable from more than one point of view would be a competent investigation of its text. To me it seems that in the twenty lines now under consideration, we have an example of the *modus operandi* of the person or persons responsible for the Marcan text that has actually come down to us. I do not profess to be able at this moment to refer to its source every item of Br. 130. 7-26; but what is said in footnote¹ will I hope be sufficient to give countenance to the opinion I now express; namely that these lines form no part of the genuine and native Alexandrine ‘Mark’, but are an interpolation by a late improver.

But this is not all. In Dr Swainson’s Introduction to his edition of the Greek Liturgies (1884) he expressed a hope (p. xxxvi) that one ‘result of this publication will be, that the dates of the introduction . . . of some rites and phrases . . . will be more accurately fixed’. The hope thus expressed has not to my knowledge as yet found a happy fulfilment; and indeed his book has been rather envisaged from quite another point of view. He himself was, however, able to point out one piece of evidence (p. xl) shewing the presence in ‘St Mark’ of elements ‘of extreme antiquity’, and he parallelized in a wholly convincing way the final clause of the Intercession of ‘St Mark’ (Br. 131. 10-16) and a passage in the then recently recovered liturgical prayer (as it is commonly allowed to be) in the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians (c. 59. 4). But I think there is more to be said; and although this ‘more’ relates not to words and texts but to a matter of form, it deserves, I think, careful attention. Any one who will turn to this ‘liturgical prayer’ of St Clement of Rome (capp. 59-61) and then read and consider the Intercession of ‘St Mark’ (omitting of course Br. 130. 7-26) will see that both are framed on the same kind of form² or model. Or, as I should prefer to put the case, *both* exhibit the type and form of intercessory prayer commonly in use in the early

¹ For ‘St Mark’ p. 130. 7-9, cf. the Clementine Liturgy, p. 21. 31-22. 1 (though this relates to the well-pleasing dead); for p. 130. 10-13 cf. ‘St James’ p. 55. 9-11; for p. 130. 14-16 cf. ‘St James’ p. 55. 27-29, there is also in St Mark a doublet here, see p. 127. 5; for p. 130. 23-25 cf. ‘St James’ p. 55. 4-5; on p. 130. 17-22 I have no remarks to offer.

² Cf. the introductory *Ἡμεῖς δὲ αἰτησόμεθα* (c. 59. 2); the glorifications of God in § 3; then § 4 *ἀξιούμεν δέσποτα . . . σώσον . . . ἐλέησον*; and so cc. 60 and 61. Of course the Intercession of ‘St Mark’ presents a more developed, a more ‘advanced’, specimen of this kind of prayer.

Christian assemblies for worship in the late years of the first, and in the early years of the second, century. This is a matter for the formation of a competent opinion on which liturgical 'expertise' is not necessary, but only some real and sympathetic acquaintance with the religion and beliefs of Christians in the first three or four centuries as manifested in their writings that have come down to us.

I now add as regards the Intercession of 'St Mark' the one remark that is of practical importance for us here; namely that, (a) deduction made of Br. 130. 7-26, and (b) with the exception of two specific passages,¹ the Great Intercession of 'St Mark' is, like Serapion's, on the face of it conceived on the form and model of a prayer that would be in place not merely in any part of the Eucharistic service but also at any other time of assembly of the faithful for purposes of worship; or, indeed, even in private worship also.²

I might here leave the reader to draw his own conclusions from the foregoing examination as to the manner in which the Intercession is introduced and formulated in the Greek Liturgies; but I prefer to add a few words in order that there may be no mistake as to my own interpretation of the phenomena presented by the documents.

My own conclusion from the foregoing investigation is that we have in Serapion and 'St Mark' an Intercession which, whether in regard to its manner of formulation or its position in the service, represents the earlier phase in the development of the liturgy in Greek-speaking regions; that is, the state of things up to the fourth century. 'St James' (Greek and Syriac) affords a complete contrast; it not only embodies a presentment which marks the extreme limit of liturgical development in the sense of both Presence and Sacrifice up to to-day, but it is also at once the earliest and most perfect specimen of that phase in the history of Liturgy which I have called the development (some persons might prefer the term 'revolution') of the fourth century. That the two liturgies, 'Serapion' and 'St James' (as represented in St Cyril), were in use at one and the same time in churches not far apart is a fact full of instruction for the enquirer into the history of liturgical development. Between the two limits, Serapion-'St Mark' and 'St James'-Cyril, the other liturgies reviewed range themselves in different ways.

Before finishing this Comment I should like to make an observation

¹ That is Br. 128. 25-28 καὶ τῶν κτλ., and of course the immediately following commemoration of the Blessed Virgin with the diptychs; and p. 129. 20-32, the passage as to offerers.

² Of course I do not mean to imply that the Intercession in 'St Mark', any more than Serapion's, was *in fact* used at any other service than the Eucharist; and only point out that in its terms it has no specifically eucharistic connotation.

of a general character. I think it desirable to emphasize the value—the extraordinary value—and importance of the extant formal liturgies, Oriental, Greek, Latin, that have been so long in print, inasmuch as I seem to have observed in some quarters a tendency to throw them in a body as it were over the border into the fifth century, as material practically negligible (for one reason or another) for the reconstruction of the liturgical history of the first four centuries, and to rely upon Church Orders, &c.

Elsewhere (Obs. VI on *Narsai* p. 128) it has been said how the liturgies of the Eastern rites exhibit ‘unmistakeable marks of development; yet the detailed stages of that developement commonly escape us from its very rapidity and the want of adequate and contemporary materials from which to reconstruct the details of a complex and lost history’. But even if we confine our attention to the narrow range of the Greek Liturgies only, when the texts are carefully examined and their differences noted and such differences made starting-points of special enquiries, it is remarkable (such at least is my experience) how much of that ‘lost history’ is still to be detected on record in them. When, of course, to the investigation of the Greek Liturgies in themselves is added a further comparison with the Oriental and Western forms, I for one feel no doubt that in time, as investigation proceeds, that ‘lost history’ will be recovered;—so much of it, that is to say, as is best worth knowing, all perhaps that it really ‘matters’ to know.

EDMUND BISHOP.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE A.

(See p. 41 n. 1.)

The references are as follows: Kliefoth (*Liturgische Abhandlungen* iv, Schwerin 1858): Justin pp. 296–297, cf. p. 323; Tertullian pp. 372–374, cf. p. 384; Cyprian pp. 430 seqq.; Origen pp. 432–433; *Ap. Const.* ii 57 p. 470. Probst, not more interested in this question than Kliefoth, but with a thesis to prove and obvious difficulties in the way of it, goes much more elaborately to work (*Liturgie der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, Tübingen 1870): Clement of Rome pp. 56–58, 62; Ignatius of Antioch pp. 72–73, 83–84 (§ 3); Martyrdom of Polycarp pp. 73–74; Justin pp. 94–98, 111–114; Irenaeus pp. 125–129; Clement of Alexandria p. 140 (cf. p. 136 top of page); Tertullian pp. 192–196, 201–204; Cyprian pp. 221–223, 226–228; Origen pp. 154, 155, 167–170, for due understanding of which, however, it is necessary to consider also pp. 141–152.

One point calls for special notice. From a passage in Cyprian *Ep.* lviii (ed. Baluze = *Ep.* lxi ed. Hartel) Kliefoth infers (p. 432) that besides

the Gemeindegebet or Great Intercession in its traditional place at the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful there was a novelty in Cyprian's liturgy, a second Intercession, which, with a reference to *Const. Ap.* ii 57 he places just before the Eucharistic or Consecratory Prayer (cf. pp. 431, 439, 473). This seems to me a very forced conclusion from Cyprian's words, but quite in accord with Kliefoth's notions, which he elaborately explains in and out of season, as to the gradual developement of the idea of sacrifice in the celebration of the Christian Eucharist, and in accord with the view of so many German and especially Lutheran writers that Cyprian is, if not responsible for, yet the first witness to the Eucharistic service as a sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ. Moreover, this inference of Kliefoth from Cyprian's *Ep.* lviii is (so far as I know) peculiar to himself. But in any case such second Intercession as he assumes was made before the Consecratory Prayer so much as begins.

But the order of service described in *Ap. Const.* ii cap. 57 and referred to by him in dealing with Cyprian is a much more serious matter. To this part of the chapter there is nothing corresponding in the Didascalia (see Funk, pp. 164-167). That order of service is as follows: prayer after the dismissal of the catechumens;—collecting, seemingly, the gifts; and after monition by the deacon, kiss of peace;—καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο προσευχέσθω ὁ διάκονος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης καὶ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ μερῶν καὶ ἐκφορίων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς καθόλου εἰρήνης (Funk, § 18);—then with a blessing the anaphora is entered on.

It will be seen that this is a different order from that of the Liturgy of the Eighth Book of the Constitutions (see Br. pp. 9-14). It is interesting to observe how this matter has been dealt with by the writers. Kliefoth examines it carefully (pp. 470-473) and concludes: 'This form is therefore a transitional form'—a sort of half-way house between the old and traditional place of the Great Intercession at the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful and the place in which it is found (i.e. after the consecration) in the Eighth Book. Probst (p. 175) mentions the order in the shortest way, but has nothing to say on the subject. Schmiedel (*Lehrbuch der Liturgik* vol. i 1900, pp. 282, 283 top of page, and p. 286 (m) end of small print) just ignores the difficulty. Funk (*Const. Ap. et Didascalia* 1905, i p. 166 foot-note) says that the order of the liturgy is not accurately given in ii 57 and that the kiss of peace nowhere else comes before the Prayers of the Faithful. I observe, however, that in the liturgy of Narsai and in that of the Areopagite the names are read after the Kiss of Peace, and that in the 'Liturgy of Addai and Mari' (Br. 281. 30 seqq.) there is in the same place a quasi prayer of intercession. It seems to me, however, evident on the surface of things, when we read the two texts together, that the order described

in *Ap. Const.* ii 57, so clearly different from that in the Eighth Book, deserves more attention than is accorded to it by writers on these subjects.

As the opportunity may not easily occur again, and the point has been dealt with by Kliefoth in view of its bearing on the place of the Great Intercession in the service, I take advantage of the present occasion to consider the case in some detail and on its merits. *Ap. Const.* ii 57 is printed, and with numbering of lines, in Mr Brightman's volume (pp. 28-30) at the end of the Liturgy of the Eighth Book, so that the task of exact reference to both documents is greatly facilitated and any reader who wishes to follow what has to be said can easily do so.

As already indicated, there is nothing whatever in the Syriac Didascalia (of which this part of the Apostolic Constitutions is a re-write) corresponding to what is printed Br. p. 30 (the page that will occupy our attention) except for the last five words of line 3, and the quotation *προσευξάσθωσαν . . . ἀνατολᾶς* lines 4-6 (which comes from the Didascalia, Funk, p. 162 ll. 1-2).

Probst puts the difficulty that concerns us clearly and simply. At the end of cap. 11 of the Eighth Book (he says, p. 276) the giving of the kiss of peace is minutely described; then with cap. 12 just before the beginning of the Thanksgiving (= Preface) occurs this proclamation of the deacon: 'Let no one (have aught) against another, let none (be) in hypocrisy' ¹ (Br. 13. 30). This is obviously a monition in preparation for the Kiss of Peace. But the Kiss of Peace among the people has already taken place; there is therefore something wrong here. He concludes that the whole passage as to the Kiss of Peace and the long rubric after it (Br. 13. 5-23) is a later interpolation and no part of the genuine document. The case being thus opened other critics followed and new difficulties were pointed out; an account of these discussions may be found in Br. pp. xliii-xlv; they need not be noticed here; but one point is really of moment; namely, that in this connexion *Ap. Const.* ii 57 is not so much as mentioned ² (but cf. Br. p. xlv 39), although it might reasonably have been anticipated that this is the first quarter to

¹ I do not know why Mr Warren (see note 2) translates (p. 268): 'Let no hypocrite remain.'

² I have not read the articles of Brückner and Kleinert (1883)—see Br. pp. xliii-xlv—though I well remember the flourish of trumpets (from some camps) that accompanied their publication. It is, I think, much more important, however, to bear in mind and attend to two little popular works issued by the S.P.C.K.: Mr Cresswell's *The Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions* in the series 'Early Church Classics' (in which I think pp. 5, 12, 25-26, 27-28, 31, with 51-53 interesting to note for the present purpose) and the Rev. F. E. Warren's more important book *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Ante-Nicene Church*, 2nd ed. 1912 (see pp. 254-

which recourse would be had in any attempt to elucidate the case and solve the difficulties that had suggested themselves. I therefore propose to see what, if any, light may be thrown on the question from this quarter. It will be convenient to give the order of service of the two accounts in parallel columns.

<i>Ap. Const. viii</i>	<i>Ap. Const. ii</i>
I. dismissal of catechumens Br. 5. 29. dismissal of energumens Br. 7. 2. dismissal of φωτιζόμενοι Br. 7. 26. dismissal of those in penance Br. 9. 21.	I. μετὰ τὴν τῶν κατηχουμένων καὶ τὴν τῶν μετανοούντων ἔξο- δον Br. 30. 4. ¹
II. long diaconal litany Br. 9. 25- 12. 8.	II. προσευξάσθωσαν τῷ Θεῷ . . . Br. 30. 4-5 (κατὰ ἀνατολὰς Br. 30. 3).
and prayer of the bishop Br. 12. 10-13. 3.	
III. Kiss of Peace.	
IV. rubric as to duties of deacons in regard to (a) collecting offerings of people (this is implied by Br. 13. 20- 21 combined with Br. 30. 33- 34) ;	III. duties of deacons in regard to (a) collecting offerings of people Br. 30. 10-11 ² ;

259'. Such books as these really deserve attention, as it is by them that ordinary educated opinion among clergy and laity too is really formed.

¹ It will be observed that in *Ap. Const. viii* there are four separate dismissals, of four different classes of persons ; in *Ap. Const. ii* only two are mentioned, of catechumens and of penitents. In the 19th Canon of the Council of Laodicea (between 343-381), in which is given a brief description of the order of the Eucharistic service, dismissals of catechumens and of penitents alone are specified. It may be added that from an interesting document written between 532 and 538 recently published in translation (*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* xiv, 1909, pp. 47-48, and in separate print, Fasc. III of abbé Nau's *Ancienne Littérature Canonique Syriacque*, Paris, Lethielleux, 1909, pp. 47-48, with lithograph of Syriac text), it would appear that at that time there existed still in the liturgy of the church of Constantinople dismissals of two classes, catechumens (called in translation 'auditeurs') and penitents, and the prayers are given.

² οἱ μὲν τῇ προσφορᾷ τῆς εὐχαριστίας σχολαζέτωσαν ὑπηρετούμενοι τῷ Κυρίου [al. Χριστοῦ] σώματι μετὰ φόβου (Funk, p. 165. 22-4 ; Br. 30. 10-11), and cf. *Didascalia* p. 162. 2-5 : 'Diaconorum autem unus semper adstet oblationibus eucharistiae . . . et postea, cum vos offeretis, simul ministrent in ecclesia.'

<i>Ap. Const. viii</i>	<i>Ap. Const. ii</i>
(b) ordering the people Br. 13. 16-19;	(b) ordering the people Br. 30. 11-12.
(c) guarding the doors Br. 13. 19-20.	
V. Five proclamations by the deacon Br. 13. 24-32 (the fifth is as opposite).	IV. Λεγέτω δὲ ὁ παρεστὼς τῷ ἱερεὶ διάκονος τῷ λαῷ Μὴ τις κατὰ τινός, μὴ τις ἐν ὑποκρίσει Br.
.	V. Kiss of Peace Br. 30. 16-17.
.	VI. diaconal litany of intercession Br. 30. 19-23. See p. 51 above for text: 'Funk, § 18.'
VI. salutation (blessing) by the bishop Br. 14. 8-13.	VII. salutation (blessing) of people by the ἀρχιερεὺς Br. 30. 24-28. followed by another by the bishop Br. 30. 28-31.
VII. The anaphora begins.	VIII. The anaphora: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γινέσθω ἡ θυσία ἐστῶτος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ προσευχομένου ἡσυχῶς Br. 30. 34-35.

In the order of service presented in the right-hand column (Book ii) none of the difficulties occur that trouble Probst and the other critics after him; it proceeds in a reasonable and intelligible way: after the expulsion of the catechumens and penitents (I) the Mass of the Faithful begins with prayer (II); then comes a direction what the deacons are to do to make all things ready for the sacrifice: to collect from the people the gifts to be used at it, and to see that they stand in a decent and orderly manner (III); the deacon specially assistant on the celebrant (?) gives them a monition for a due ordering of their minds also (IV) in preparation for that sign of Christian communion, fellowship and charity, the Kiss of Peace, which now follows (V); the monition and the Kiss of Peace are therefore here in their right place. There is said what seems evidently a diaconal litany (VI) to cover (as it seems reasonable to presume the time of the collection of gifts and the Pax. Then come salutations of blessing on the people (VII) and the anaphora begins.

When so much has been observed other points begin to attract our attention, further comparisons suggest themselves.

For instance the origin of a piece of rubric in *Ap. Const. viii* is clearly to be traced back first to *Ap. Const. ii* and thence to the Syriac Didascalia; thus:—

<i>Book viii</i> (Br. 13. 17-19)	<i>Book ii c. 57</i> (Br. 28. 26-27)	<i>Didascalia</i> (Funk, 166. 2-3)
καὶ ἄλλοι διάκονοι . . .	ὁμοίως ὁ διάκονος ἐπι-	similiter diaconus
σκοπεῖτωσαν τοὺς ἄνδρας	σκοπεῖτω τὸν λαὸν	provideat
καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας		
ὅπως μὴ θόρυβος γένηται	ὅπως μὴ τις ψιθυρίσῃ ἢ	ne quisquam susur-
καὶ μὴ τις νεύσῃ ἢ	νυστάξῃ ἢ γελάσῃ ἢ	ret vel dormitet vel
ψιθυρίσῃ ἢ νυστάξῃ.	νεύσῃ.	rideat vel nutet.

Again it has been pointed out by the critics that the first two of the five monitions of the deacon (see above in Table, *Ap. Const.* viii No. V): 'Let none of the catechumens, none of the hearers, &c., stay. Ye who have prayed the former prayer depart' (Br. 13. 26-29), are out of place here; the catechumens have been dismissed long ago (Br. 5. 29), and there is no dismissal or expulsion here to which such words could apply. It is to be noticed also that the third diaconal monition or proclamation reads as at the least an odd element in a liturgical service (though it may prove of value in an eventual estimate of the personal character and idiosyncrasies of the redactor of the Clementine Liturgy); it runs: 'Mothers, take up your children' (τὰ παῖδια προσλαμβάνεσθε αἱ μητέρες Br. 13. 29). But here again we can refer the redactor's work to its sources, the same as those above. Book ii in describing the way in which the deacons are to range the people says: τὰ δὲ παῖδια ἐστῶτα προσλαμβανέσθωσαν αὐτῶν οἱ πατέρες καὶ αἱ μητέρες (Br. 28. 21; Funk, 165. 4-5); and this again goes back on the Didascalia (Funk, 164. 4-5): 'pueri autem stent seorsum [cf. with this Br. 13. 16], aut patres ac matres eos ad se assumant.'

Other points might be dwelt on, but they cannot be exhibited at length here.¹ Those persons, however, who will take the trouble to compare the details of the rubrical portion of Br. 13. 5 to 14. 10 with what is to be found of a correspondingly preceptive nature in Book ii c. 57, Br. pp. 28-29, and this again with the corresponding text of the Didascalia, Funk, pp. 158-166, will, I think, find material for instructive meditation on a subject which is of primary importance in all historical enquiry into the developement of Christian Liturgy, namely, the process and stages whereby the primitive form of a *rationabile obsequium* was, in some churches at least of the Greek-speaking portions of the Patriarchate of Antioch, by the close of the fourth century coming to assume the character of a ritualized function.

Here I can make only two or three brief remarks applicable to the particular enquiry made in Comment IX on the subject of the Great Intercession.

¹ For instance, the question of the deacons guarding the doors so that they should not be opened and no one should go out during the anaphora (Br. 13. 19-21), &c.

(1) However attractive Kliefoth's theory that the Intercession prayer in Book II of the Apostolic Constitutions (VI in the Table above) marks a stage of transition may appear, it is, I think, not admissible; for there is nothing to shew that the prayer No. VI of the Table (lib. ii c. 57) was the Great Intercession at all; rather it would seem to be merely a diaconal litany; and accordingly so far as the text of *Ap. Const.* ii 57 is concerned, there is no ground for asserting that in the liturgy there described the Great Intercession was not said after the consecration as in the Liturgy of the Eighth Book.

(2) Moreover, it would be rash to-day to venture to assign (as did Kliefoth quite excusably in his day) the liturgy described in Book ii c. 57 to as early a date as the third century at all. As a matter of opinion, and as at present advised, I should personally think it better to assign it to some time in the fourth century rather than to any time in the third.

(3) Those who are acquainted with the liturgical literature of the last thirty years will have observed how often Egypt is made (largely through 'Church Orders') a source of liturgical inspiration for other lands. To me, I must own, it has appeared that the contrary is rather the case, and it is Egypt which is the recipient—the rather late recipient—of liturgical documents originating elsewhere. Be this as it may, I would at least point out here an example of what I mean from the 'epoch-making' articles of Brückner and Kleinert. The latter considered that the redactor of the Liturgy of the *Apostolic Constitutions* Book viii had before him as one of his documentary sources (see Br. xlv. 6-8) 'a rubrical scheme reproduced by the Egyptian document Append. A 1, which is prior to *Ap. Const.*' This presumed-earlier document Append. A 1 is (see Br. 462 sqq.) a 'Mass at the consecration of a bishop' in cap. 64 of the 'Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons'.¹ And certainly the rubrics of the Liturgy of the *Ap. Const.* viii, Br. 13. 10-21, and those of the presumed-earlier mass, *ibid.* 462. 24-463. 2, are a translation (with a very few slight variants or additions) one of the other. Which, then, is the original, and which is the translation? It has been explained above that we can find some of the rubrics of *Ap. Const.* viii actually in the making, inasmuch as they can be referred first to *Ap. Const.* ii 57 and thence finally back to the Syriac Didascalia of the third century. In these circumstances, there surely can be no doubt that here the mass in the Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons is merely translating the mass in the *Apostolic Constitutions* Book viii. Needless to say that in the former mass the absurdity of the diaconal proclamation: 'Mothers, lay hold of your children' (Br. 462. 11), is duly reproduced.

¹ Called in Mr Horner's volume the 'Saidic Text' of the 'Statutes of the Apostles': see this mass at pp. 342-343.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE B.

(See p. 43 n. 1.)

I think it necessary to insist on this point (cf. *J.T.S.* xii pp. 393-394 : 'But on the other hand', &c.). I have somewhere read of St Cyril's Catecheses as being representative of the normal teaching for educated people and the more thoughtful clergy of the times ; as if (to put the case in a modern way) a series of lectures at a Summer School of Theology at one of the Universities, or of higher class Divinity Lectures in one of our great towns. This of course is a point of view which may deserve consideration, but I think it is a completely mistaken one ; and that for two reasons. Elsewhere I have said that the Hierosolymitan piety represented by St Cyril is the last quarter in which I should look for a true and untroubled rendering of the tone and spirit of Christian piety of the first three Christian centuries ; and this, in my opinion, holds good in regard to the doctrinal level and contents of the Catecheses,—so far, that is, as concerns what is particularly characteristic of them, and differentiates them from any writings that have survived of the period up to c. A. D. 350. I would emphasize most distinctly that so far from being a course of instructions for the more thoughtful clergy and the educated laity, they are in spirit, intention, form and fact what they give themselves out to be,—namely, instructions in Christian belief and practice designed for intending converts, and for those who had just but two or three days before been admitted for the first time to Christian communion ; and this from their tenor, their simplicity and their positiveness is particularly clear in the five Mystagogic Catecheses with which alone we are immediately concerned at present. Of course their doctrine throughout is 'high' doctrine ; so 'high' that it is, and (short of some unexpected discovery) it must always remain to some extent a subject of wonder that such discourses could have been delivered in the middle of the fourth century ; and there seems some cause to feel a certain sort of sympathy with, or compassion for, those Protestants who (like André Rivet and Aubertin) said they could not be productions of the fourth century but were of a later date (see Toultée's *Diss.* 2^{1a}, cap. iii).

As the question is important I take leave to consider the matter a little more at length, and to refer to St Basil's treatise on the Holy Ghost, which is classical, and has been well called supreme for its age and value. This case has been otherwise, and, as I conceive, also justly, touched on by the Bishop of Moray, when he says it 'may be called a treatise on the doxology' (*Ancient Church Orders* p. 126). I would add further that its full drift, meaning, and value is to be duly estimated only when it is taken in conjunction with, and is set in the

background supplied by, a full and detailed review of doxological history and practice in East and West in the third and fourth centuries (*J.T.S.* xii 399 n. 1); for it is only so, to begin with, that we can come to recognize St Basil's embarrassment shewn in this lengthy attempt to justify himself in the eyes of, at all events, some of his own people; for this,—and not the composition of a set theological treatise in a genuinely theological manner as by a Gregory of Nyssa,—was St Basil's immediate object. The points indicated in another connexion (see *Narsai* p. 140 notes 1 and 2) are to the purpose here. I wrote those notes because in at least some quarters qualified to speak, the essential conditions of St Basil's case seem not to be realized. Thus Dr Schermann (a man whose training has been first-rate, and who has since shewn how well qualified he was to profit by it) writes (*Die Gottheit des heiligen Geistes nach den griechischen Vätern des vierten Jahrhunderts*, Freib. im Br. 1901, p. 95): 'Basil never in his sermons or writings distinguished the Holy Ghost with the predicate "God"'; and for this he refers to Harnack's *Dogmengesch.* II¹ p. 280.¹ But this precisely was what Basil had done, and in a distinct and emphatic way, in his earlier days, in 360; in a letter only indeed, but a sort of open letter, and not addressed to a mere private individual. When he came later to deal with the matter with the experience and responsibilities of a bishop, and also of a theologian, there came, too, his well-known reserve, and also the anger of his lay friends. An Essay by the late Cardinal Newman, which missed its mark at the time and in the circles concerned, and if mentioned to-day is probably little, if at all, read, is however of the highest value in regard to the case we are considering. He points out how, amidst the hesitations or the fears of bishops and theologians, it was the laity who were at bottom the efficient means of the full triumph of the full Nicene doctrine. As I have said elsewhere, the laity though thus practically effective (and effective perhaps for this very reason) are not unnaturally apt to overlook difficulties in a situation that are perceptible or clear to the eye of the theologian; one, that is, who bears in mind the *données* of what is called nowadays 'Positive Theology'. This was the difficulty—a difficulty as regards the production of testimony and witnesses from the past—that was present to St Basil's mind (cf. *Narsai* p. 141 latter part of note 1).

¹ I must own that I cannot find this in Harnack; who, however, does say (2nd ed. 1888, p. 282): '... im Grunde sind sie (the 'Cappadocians'), wenigstens Basilius, auch schon mit der Anerkennung zufrieden, dass der Geist kein Geschöpf sei', and *ibid.* note 2 that Basil by and by when bishop (that is after 370) 'sich hütete den h. Geist öffentlich "Gott" zu nennen'; but all this is a different matter. These statements are simply repeated in the 3rd ed. (1909) p. 292, and note pp. 292-293.

The very great value of the Catecheses of St Cyril generally seems to me to lie rather in this, that we have in them a specimen of the kind of teaching in some quarters imbibed by such persons as those zealous lay friends of St Basil a little later, who felt so greatly scandalized at him ; a kind of teaching, however, which in the case of St Cyril, so far as some parts of the Mystagogic Catecheses are concerned, I for one cannot conceive of as, at the date *c.* A.D. 350, 'normal',—in the sense of the *quod ubique*. But they explain very well how there existed an 'informed' laity, a very effective laity, a sort of advance-guard. In the formulation of his teaching in regard to the idea of the Eucharistic Presence, St Cyril for his age stands alone ; there is (I think I am safe in saying) no other text that can be put beside his from antiquity. To me—a plain and simple transubstantiationist without shadow of minimism, and one who has reason to know from within what Transubstantiation is and what it is not, and what it means both in its religious sense and in its theological conception—St Cyril's teaching—in the terms in which it stands in his text, and therefore in terms which must be supposed to say what he means—is neither more nor less than what a Roman Catholic recognizes, cannot but recognize, as simple Transubstantiation. I know, in reading the Fathers, when the doctrine which I believe is fully and adequately expressed ; or when the language used is such as to be reconcilable with that doctrine. St Cyril's teaching had to be mentioned and it will come for consideration later as a starting-point in view of its bearing on the matter that concerns us—the liturgical developments of the fourth century.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE C.

(See p. 46 n. 1.)

It is worth while to put the substantial portions of the two texts referred to at pp. 44–46 (those, namely, of 'St Basil' and the Roman Canon) in parallel columns.

'St Basil'

and cause that no one of us
partake | of the holy Body and
Blood of Thy Christ unto con-
demnation, |

but that we may | find mercy
and grace | with all the saints
well-pleasing to Thee from the
beginning, forefathers, &c.

Roman Canon

ut quotquot ex hac altaris par-
ticipatione | sacrosanctum Filii tui
Corpus et Sanguinem sumpseri-
mus omni benedictione caelesti et
gratia repleamur. | Nobis quoque
peccatoribus | . . . partem aliquam
et societatem donare digneris |
cum tuis sanctis apostolis . . . et
omnibus sanctis tuis . . .

Here we are not concerned with verbal coincidences. We have two presentments of a common idea, or rather of a succession of two ideas, not a case of literary borrowing; and what is profitable to note is the tenor of the two prayers, their place in the service, the sequence of ideas and the note on which both end: that those who partake of the Body and Blood of Christ may have mercy, grace, blessing, and be admitted to the society of the saints, all and particular.

If we turn now to the Liturgy of 'St James', we find, both in the Greek and in the Syriac (Br. p. 65. 25 sqq. right-hand column; p. 104. 27 sqq.), a prayer which is the precise equivalent of these two prayers given above from 'St Basil' and the Roman Canon. It also is a prayer for the communicants; but to be said after the communion instead of before it, and the verbs referring to the reception of holy communion are in the past tense instead of the future. Let us first take the Syriac form which begins: 'We give thanks unto Thee, O Lord our God, and especially we give thanks unto Thee for the abundance of Thy great and unspeakable mercy and love towards mankind, O Lord, who hast accounted us worthy to partake of Thine heavenly table. [Thus far is thanksgiving; the prayer goes on:] 'Condemn us not by reason of the reception of Thine holy and immaculate mysteries but preserve us, O good, in righteousness and holiness that being worthy to partake of Thine Holy Spirit we may find a portion and a lot and an inheritance with all the saints who have been well-pleasing unto Thee since the world began.'

The Greek has not those words at the beginning which are expressive of thanksgiving (namely, 'We give . . . heavenly table'); and adds at the end (after 'began') 'in the light of Thy countenance'.

When this prayer in 'St James' is compared with that from 'St Basil' above, in its full text Br. p. 330. 13-24, I think it will appear that in this case there is something more than an agreement in mere thought and ideas. The two prayers have every appearance of being in historical and literary relation to one another. The same scripture phrases are utilized: the communion of the Holy Spirit (Eph. iv 4; 2 Cor. xiii 14); judgement and condemnation for unworthy reception of the Eucharist (1 Cor. xi 34); the saints who from the beginning (*ἀπ' αἰῶνος* Lk. i 70) have been well-pleasing. 'That we may find mercy and grace' (Heb. iv 16) in 'St Basil', is represented by an exactly parallel scripture phrase, 'That we may find a portion and a lot' (Col. i 12), in St 'James'.¹

It may be matter of opinion whether this substantially identical prayer for the communicants is more at home and comes more naturally

¹ Cf. also 'St Mark' Br. p. 129. 17-19. This is noted here merely as 'record': the case of 'St Mark' is not to be mixed up with the case we are discussing, which in its turn is not to be complicated by 'St Mark'.

before the communion, as in 'St Basil' and the Roman Canon, or after it, as in 'St James'. For myself I should be inclined (in view of what has already been said in the text) to give the preference to those rites which place it within the anaphora or canon, rather than to that rite which uses it in the place of a thanksgiving after communion; and my 'view' is that the prayer as it appears in 'St James' has been removed from its original position immediately after the Invocation, and has been worked up into the form of a thanksgiving after communion by the simple expedient of changing the reference of the verbs from the future to the past time. Attention has already been called (see p. 42 above) to the fact that in 'St James' the prayer for communicants immediately following the Invocation seems in some way to have been tampered with. There is certainly trouble of some kind there, something that needs explanation.¹ On the other hand it is certainly singular, it seems something requiring explanation, that in this same Liturgy the 'thanksgiving' after communion should take the form precisely of such a sort of prayer for communicants as is to be found elsewhere just after the Invocation. Have these two facts anything to do with each other? My own 'view' (so far as I am at present informed) is already stated above.

E. B.

¹ The passage of 'St James' in question is that beginning *eis στηριγμὸν τῆς ἀγίας σου καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἣν ἐθεμελίωσας κτλ.* (Br. 54. 16-21). It may perhaps be possible even to see how this passage came into the prayer for communicants after the Invocation in the Liturgy of 'St James'. In the corresponding passage of Serapion are these words (quoted above p. 28): 'Let this people receive mercy . . . let angels be sent forth as companions to the people for bringing to nought the Evil One *and for establishment of the Church* (καὶ εἰς βεβαίωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, Wobbermin, p. 6 l. 12; Bishop of Salisbury, p. 64). As already explained 'the Church' in the mind of the writer in Serapion appears from the tenor of the prayer to be not the Catholic Church diffused throughout the world, but 'the Church', the congregation, the people in assembly here present. The question arises whether, at the time when the Intercession was first being removed from the pre-anaphoral part of the service to a place after the Invocation and its accompaniment the prayer for communicants, this last in the Liturgy of 'St James' did not contain a passage for the establishment, confirmation, upbuilding, or what not, of 'the Church' (like that now found in Serapion), which at the period of liturgical revision in Jerusalem served as a cue for the present text . . . 'for the confirmation of Thy holy Catholic and Apostolic Church', &c.

I only mention this in passing; but it may serve as a specimen of the sort of enquiries which will frequently arise, a work of 'internal criticism', when the main lines of early liturgical history have been laid open and made clear.

Τάξει IN PAPIAS.

(THE GOSPELS AND THE RHETORICAL SCHOOLS.)

AMONGST the host of critics who have discussed either briefly or at length the meaning of the statement of Papias that Mark wrote his Gospel οὐ τάξει, no one, so far as I can ascertain, has attempted to connect the words with the technical use of τάξις in the rhetorical schools. Probably this is due to the fact that the subject of ancient rhetoric, which a hundred or two hundred years ago was, I should say, regarded as an indispensable branch of classical learning, has since then been forgotten and ignored by the average classical scholar. It is not now sufficiently understood that behind the many trivialities of the rhetorical schools and the rhetorical exhibitions during the imperial period, there lay a theory of rhetoric which was perfectly sound and scientific. Just as the ancients formulated the laws of *coherent and intelligible* speech or writing into a system of grammar which still holds its own, so they formulated the laws of *effective* speech or writing into a system of rhetoric which has somehow or other become obsolete. At the very foundation of this system of rhetoric lies the division of the processes of composition into εὑρεσις, τάξις or οἰκονομία, and λέξις or φράσις, the processes, that is, of (1) providing the material, (2) arranging and marshalling it, (3) expressing it in suitable language. To these processes have to be added for the speaker ὑπόκρισις (or delivery) and μνήμη; but these do not concern our purpose. When, then, a writer who uses rhetorical terms is found to state that a book is written οὐ τάξει or οὐ κατὰ τάξιν, he may be understood to mean that the matter of the book does not conform to the laws of rhetorical τάξις; in other words, is not so arranged, marshalled, or organized as to make a really interesting, readable, or satisfactory work. We have, therefore, to ascertain (1) whether a rhetorician could or would say this of our Second Gospel, and (2) whether Papias would be likely to use a rhetorical term.

Before, however, attempting to answer these questions, there are two subsidiary matters which require clearing up.

Firstly, as to the dative τάξει,¹ it may be said that if Papias meant what I believe him to mean, he would rather have said οὐ καλῶς τῇ τάξει or something of the kind. Certainly no one could say that a book was

¹ The dative is in any case odd for κατὰ τάξιν or ἐν τάξει. It occurs, however, in Clem. Rom. 40 πάντα τάξει ποιεῖν ὀφείλομεν.

written οὐχ εὐρέσει or οὐ λέξει, meaning that it was defective in subject-matter or style. But it must be remembered that τάξις differs from εὐρεσις and λέξις, in that it connotes not merely a process but a quality, or perhaps rather a result. That is to say, before the growth of rhetorical terminology τάξις had in other spheres come to mean not only arrangement, but good arrangement, or the result of good arrangement, in other words, order. Thus Xenophon couples it with κόσμος as 'controlling the world'. To put it in another way, τάξει in Papias does mean, as it has always been translated, 'in order'; but, if my view is right, the order is rhetorical order, that ordering which will produce a satisfactory and readable work.

The other point is this. I have already said that the rhetoricians use οἰκονομία as a synonym for τάξις, and some scholars may be inclined to go further, and say that οἰκονομία had by Papias's time superseded τάξις. This was certainly the view of so great an authority as Ernesti, who gives us, *s. v.* τάξις, a quotation from Aristotle, and then adds 'quae alibi οἰκονομία dici solet'. But on examination of the facts as they appear in Volkmann¹ and elsewhere, they do not appear, in my opinion, to bear out this view. Without going fully into the matter, I think the facts are roughly as follows. There are three main uses. In some schools οἰκονομία and τάξις are retained together. In this case τάξις is said to mean 'naturalis ordo' and οἰκονομία 'artificiosus ordo'. The meaning of this is that when you follow the ordinary arrangement you use τάξις, but when for some special reason you depart from it you use οἰκονομία. Thus in oratory there is a normal order, preface, narration, proof, disproof and conclusion, and to follow this is τάξις; but to depart from it, as was sometimes held to be expedient, is οἰκονομία. The *Iliad* has τάξις, the *Odyssey* and *Aeneid* have οἰκονομία. This is the system which Philo presumably follows when he speaks (*de Somniis* 1 § 35) of the wise man as weaving into one whole the contributions of every science, and says that he derives from rhetoric εὐρεσις, τάξις, οἰκονομία, φράσις, ὑπόκρισις, and μνήμη. In other systems, notably in that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, οἰκονομία is the general term, while τάξις is a subdivision. I shall have to return to this system later, and need not dwell on it here. But there is also a third usage in which the Aristotelian term τάξις is preserved for the whole department or process, and οἰκονομία is not used. That there was such a usage is shewn by Diogenes Laertius, who says (vii 43) that the Stoic terminology was εὐρεσις, φράσις, τάξις, ὑπόκρισις. This usage appears, I think, in Clement of Alexandria, where he says that the Στρωματεῖς οὔτε τάξεως οὔτε φράσεως στοχάζονται (*Strom.* vii 18. 111). It also appears in an important passage in Lucian,

¹ *Die Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer* pp. 29, 362.

de Cons. Hist. § 48, which may be given in full. After describing how the historian should select his material, Lucian proceeds thus: καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἀθροίσῃ ἅπαντα, ἢ τὰ πλείστα, πρῶτα μὲν ὑπόμνημά τι συνυφαινέτω αὐτῶν καὶ σῶμα ποιεῖτω ἀκαλλὲς καὶ ἀδιάρθρωτον. εἶτα ἐπιθείς τὴν τάξιν, ἐπαγέτω τὸ κάλλος, καὶ χρωνίστω τῇ λέξει, καὶ σχηματίζετω, καὶ ῥυθμίζετω. 'When all or nearly all is collected, draw up a rough sketch, a body as yet without beauty, and unorganized. Then introduce τάξις, and then add beauty,¹ the colouring of style and figures and rhythm.' Now it is clear that in this passage Lucian, who was originally a rhetorician, is applying the rules of the schools to history. It is clear that he has in his mind the three processes: εὔρεσις, he tells us, will leave us with a body without organization of material (ἀδιάρθρωτον) and without beauty of style (ἀκαλλὲς). The τάξις will then supply the διάρθρωσις and the λέξις the κάλλος. It thus appears that τάξις rather than οἰκονομία was the term he used for the organization of the material. To these passages may be added the probability that the assonance in -ις would serve to maintain τάξις rather than οἰκονομία in popular use.

Assuming then that these two terms are interchangeable, I return to the question as to what were in the eyes of the rhetoricians the conditions of good rhetorical τάξις, and whether Mark fails to satisfy them. Now, although there is abundant evidence that the rhetoricians considered that history and literature are in general to be judged by the same canons as oratory, the last-named subject occupied so much of their attention that we hear very little of what they thought about τάξις in history or biography. There are, in fact, only two passages of any length which I have come across. One of them is the above-quoted passage from Lucian, which tells us indeed that there were canons of τάξις for history, but does not state what they were. The other is a long passage from the *Iudicium de Thucydide* of Dionysius (ch. 10-20) which is in fact the main foundation on which my theory rests. Dionysius, who takes up a very critical attitude towards Thucydides, begins with discussing his εὔρεσις, comparing the nature of his subject and the methods by which he got his information with those of Herodotus and others. He then proceeds to discuss his οἰκονομία which he subdivides into διαίρεσις, τάξις, and ἐξεργασία. The meaning of these terms will become clear as we proceed. Thucydides's διαίρεσις is faulty because he divides his work by summers and winters. Thus, e.g., he gives us a bit of the Plataean story in the second book, and then does not finish it till the third. This

¹ Or, I think, better: 'introduce beauty of style (κάλλος), adorn it with choice diction (λέξις), figures, and rhythm.' In this case κάλλος is the generic term for the third process and it is then subdivided as usual into (1) ἐκλογὴ τῶν ὀνομάτων, (2) σχηματισμός, (3) σύνθεσις ὀνομάτων, the main importance of which lies in *rhythm*. To use λέξις in a limited sense for (1) is not uncommon.

has not much bearing on my subject, but we may perhaps note that Matthew's well-known fivefold division would constitute in the eyes of a rhetorician a *διαίρεσις* which is absent in Mark. He then proceeds thus:—

αἰτιῶνται δὲ καὶ τὴν τάξιν αὐτοῦ τινες, ὡς οὐτ' ἀρχὴν τῆς ἱστορίας εἰληφότος ἦν ἐχρήν, οὔτε τέλος ἐφηρμοκότος αὐτῇ τὸ πρέπον· οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μέρος εἶναι λέγοντες οἰκονομίας ἀγαθῆς, ἀρχὴν τε λαβεῖν, ἧς οὐκ ἂν εἴη τι πρότερον, καὶ τέλος περιλαβεῖν τὴν πραγματείαν, ᾧ δόξῃ μηδὲν ἐνδεῖν.

'Some blame his *τάξις* on the grounds that he did not adopt the proper beginning for his history, or give it its proper conclusion. For they say that it is one of the most important elements in good *οἰκονομία* to open at a point which nothing could possibly precede, and to round off the subject with an ending which is felt to leave nothing lacking.' Now, to take the matter of the ending first, if we assume—as is surely most probable—that Papias knew Mark without the last twelve verses, the two cases are really almost identical. For Thucydides also ends his book quite abruptly and in the middle of a narrative. We might have expected so good a critic as Dionysius to have realized this, and to have attributed the abrupt ending to some accident instead of to bad *τάξις*. But he does not do so, and we may safely assume that if he could have seen the Second Gospel he would have said *αἰτιῶμαι τὴν τάξιν· οὐ γὰρ τέλος ἐφήρμοκε τὸ πρέπον*.

The matter of the beginning of the two books does not go quite as well on all fours, for Dionysius's objection to Thucydides on this score is that, after stating that the growth of Athenian power was the true cause of the war, rather than the Corcyraean business, &c., he proceeds to describe the latter first, and then goes back to the former in his lxxxix chapter. But what is wanting here is supplied by an interesting passage in the rhetorician Theon (*Progym.* 190). Theon is discussing the principles which should govern a narrative or an anecdote as opposed to a history or a biography, and points out that in the latter case it is necessary to give information as to the 'ancestry and parentage of the personages, and many other such things'. He proceeds to cite the treatment of the story of Cylon by Herodotus and Thucydides. Theon was probably a contemporary of Papias, and it is not, I think, too much to assume that in his time critical opinion would have declared that the *τάξις* of Mark's Gospel was deficient in that it did not open with an account of the birth and ancestry of the Lord.

It will be seen from the quotation from Dionysius that he appears to use *τάξις* in the limited sense of completeness of scheme, especially at the beginning and the end, and the whole tone of the passage in Papias suggests that the main cause of his dissatisfaction with Mark was due to its incompleteness. It may, therefore, possibly be the case that he

uses the word in the limited sense of Dionysius ; but it seems to me more probable that he is following what I believe to be the popular use of the term as an equivalent to Dionysius's *οικονομία*, which includes, besides *διαίρεσις* and *τάξις* proper, a third department called *ἐξεργασία*. This term is perhaps peculiar to Dionysius, but it clearly represents what we may call the balancing of the material, giving due importance to the important matters, and omitting or minimizing the unimportant. This side of *τάξις* or *οικονομία* appears in Julius Victor (19), where speaking of 'dispositio', the accepted Latin equivalent, he says: 'Omnia non solum ordine, sed etiam momento quodam atque iudicio disponenda et componenda sunt.'¹ It appears also in a better-known passage which has been recalled to me by Mr W. A. Cox, in the *Ars Poetica*, lines 40-44. There Horace says—

Cui lecta potenter erit res,
Nec facundia deseret hunc nec lucidus ordo.
Ordinis haec virtus erit et venus, aut ego fallor,
Ut iam nunc dicat iam nunc debentia dici,
Pleraque differat et praesens in tempus omittat.

Here clearly Horace (1) indicates the three processes, (2) for metrical reasons adopts 'ordo' instead of the more usual 'dispositio', and (3) defines it very much in the sense of Dionysius's *ἐξεργασία*. Dionysius criticizes Thucydides's *ἐξεργασία* at considerable length. He shews how Thucydides describes various sets of operations with what he considers disproportionate length or brevity, and then he attacks the supposed trivialities of the preface. Why should he tell us, he asks, that the Athenians wore grasshoppers in their hair, or that the Lacedaemonians smeared fat on their bodies when they did gymnastics? The application of these remarks to such a passage as Mark's description of the Temptation is obvious, nor need I stop to shew that his realistic touches—his fuller, green grass, pillow, and story of the young man in the linen cloth—would have seemed trivialities to Dionysius ; for it is a commonplace of criticism that Matthew and Luke definitely set themselves to improve Mark's *ἐξεργασία* (and therefore his *τάξις*) in this respect.

Two other points may be noted here. It seems to me probable, in view of the, I believe, almost universal fact that ancient history is interspersed with set speeches, that a critic of the time would have held that Mark's *τάξις* was faulty through its lack of this element. It may, no doubt, be said on the other hand that ancient taste, to judge from Plutarch, did not demand such speeches in biography. Still, as it has

¹ A somewhat similar conception of 'order' as applied to language or style appears in Augustine *de Ordine* ii 13.

often been said, the Gospels are not mere biographies. Perhaps more importance is to be attributed to the contrast between Matthew and Mark in the matter of grouping. It has been often pointed out that Matthew's preference for triplets corresponds with Jewish literary methods; but I do not think that it has been observed that it also appears to correspond with the methods of the rhetorical schools. I base this statement on a passage from Pliny, *Épp.* ii 20. Pliny is telling his correspondent stories of the informer Regulus. At the end of the second he says 'Sufficiunt duae fabulae, an scholastica lege tertiam poscis?' 'Would you like me to follow the rule of the rhetorical schools and give you a third?' I can see no satisfactory meaning for these words unless there was a principle laid down in the schools that, in illustrating a point, three examples should be given. So far as I know, no such rule is to be found in the extant text-books, but it is not probable that these books exhaust all that was actually taught in the schools.

On the whole then I think it may be laid down with some confidence that if a critic of the second century had been asked to give his opinion on Matthew and Mark, he would have proceeded as follows: In the matter of λέξεις, he would have said, the two books are much on a par. In σχηματισμός, in ἐκλογή ὀνομάτων, in σύνθεσις ὀνομάτων (which are the usual subdivisions of λέξεις) they are both equally undistinguished. But in τάξις there is a striking difference. Mark, by reason of (1) his abrupt beginning, (2) his incomplete ending, (3) his habit of emphasizing trivial points and occasionally dealing inadequately with important ones, (4) the comparative absence of set speeches, (5) his inferior grouping, presents a complete contrast to the other. In fact, he has practically no attempt at τάξις.

It may be added that such a judgement probably reflects the feeling of Christians at all times. While it is true that the very defects of Mark's *ἔξεργασία* commend him to those who have the spirit of historical criticism, because they bear the signs of primitiveness and simplicity, it is none the less true that they weigh against him with the general reader. Mark has never been a favourite: note, for instance, his practical exclusion from our series of liturgical Gospels.¹ And if I am not mistaken this is largely because he has the characteristics mentioned above.

The question now arises whether such a view is likely to have been reproduced by Papias.

Now Papias lived in an age in which the atmosphere, partly owing to the abundance of rhetorical schools, but still more to the fact that

¹ In our Gospels if we exclude the last 12 verses, Mark appears five times, and of these two are the Passions in Holy Week, where his presence is inevitable. Another is in Baptism, where clearly he was chosen because he alone records 'how He blamed those that would have kept them from Him'.

rhetorical exhibitions were the one absorbing intellectual interest, was saturated in rhetorical ideas. Then, as now, men formed literary impressions of what they heard and read, but unlike us they also analysed and pigeon-holed their impressions. Their attitude was, as Saintsbury says, a perpetual 'distinguo', and it was so because they had at their back what we have not—a cut and dried theory of rhetoric. An ordinary man now knows whether a speech or a novel is well written and interesting. He can pick out a good phrase or an amusing incident, but he seldom stops to ask whether what he admires belongs to *τάξις* or to *λέξις*. But to people used to analysis of this sort, the classification of literary phenomena under these two heads is really an elementary operation, and it seems to me more than improbable that in the Church of the early second century there should not have been a considerable number of persons capable of performing it. The personality of Papias has not much to do with it. He may or may not have been what we should call of 'very small intelligence'; but if he was, it does not follow that he had not been himself a rhetorician (schoolmasters of all ages have sometimes been men of limited intelligence), or that he had not at some time attended a rhetorical school or rhetorical exhibitions, and heard the criticisms that were passed there. Or again, he may merely have picked up a phrase which was in common use, and one which he may only partially have understood. I do not know whether there is any need to deal with the objection that the words are not, strictly speaking, those of Papias but of John the Elder. It no doubt requires a greater stretch of imagination to suppose that the latter understood the meaning of *τάξις*, but there is no need to suppose that Papias is giving more than the substance of John's criticism, which he has clothed in his own words.

If my explanation of the term has any value it has perhaps this further importance, that it suggests that rhetorical considerations had more to do than we usually realize, if not with the formation, at any rate with the acceptance of our Gospels. When Matthew, finding in Mark, in Lucian's phrase, a mere *ὑπόμνημα*, a *σῶμα ἀδιάρθρωτον*, proceeded 'to add *τάξις*', he was carrying out admirably the precepts of the schools, though it is perhaps improbable that he did so consciously. Luke may very well have had a tincture of rhetoric, but his *τάξις* does not seem to me so good, and perhaps the same may be said of the fourth Gospel. On the other hand, the preference which generally seems to have been given to Matthew may very probably have been largely influenced by the rhetorical training of the readers. To say this is not to say that such readers thought lightly of historical truth. There is no real opposition between rhetoric, as the ancients understood it, and true history. That we should think there was such an opposition is largely

due to our debased use of the term in the sense of speaking *for* effect rather than speaking *with* effect.

F. H. COLSON.

PS.—Since writing the above, I have been pleased to find in Dr Moffatt's *Introduction to the literature of the N. T.* the following note on the passage in Papias (pp. 188, 189):—

'In the light of the well-known passage from Lucian (*de hist. cons.* 16 f) *τάξις* here seems to imply not order or consecutiveness, in the modern sense of the term, so much as the artistic arrangement and effective presentation of the material. The latter, in their unadorned and artless sequence, are *ὑπομνήματα*. Set *ἐν τάξει* they are orderly, harmonious. The criticism passed by Papias on Mark refers to the *style*, then, rather than to the chronological sequence. . . . When *τάξις* is translated "order", therefore, the reference is to "orderliness" rather than to historical sequence.'¹

I deprecate the word *style*, which suggests rather *λέξις*, which I take to be tacitly excluded by the use of the word *τάξις*; but otherwise this expresses substantially, though somewhat indefinitely, my view. Moreover, to connect Papias's use of the term with Lucian's is practically to admit its connexion with technical rhetoric; for no one acquainted with rhetorical terminology can doubt that Lucian is using the language of the schools. As Dr Moffatt does not appear to recognize this, or to be aware that the term has a history, I hope my suggestions, though more anticipated than I had supposed, may still be of value.

F. H. C.

CASSIODORUS'S COPY OF EUCHERIUS'S *INSTRUCTIONES*.

IN the ninth chapter of his *Institutio* Cassiodorus names the 'introductores' to Holy Scripture, whose works he has in his library, and among them appear Tichonius the Donatist and Eucherius. In the JOURNAL for July 1910 (vol. xi pp. 562 f) I was able to shew that one of Cassiodorus's pupils had appreciated his master's recommendation of Tyconius, and had quoted the *Rules* in the commentary on *Second Thessalonians*. The commentary referred to is part of the Anti-pelagianized edition of Pelagius's commentary on the Epistles of St Paul prepared by Cassiodorus and his pupils, and long ago published under the name of

¹ Dr Moffatt's reference does not correspond with my copy of Lucian: but I cannot doubt that he refers to the same passage.

Primasius. My object in this paper is to shew that Eucherius was also used in the preparation of this compilation, though his name is not mentioned at all in it.

The best way will be to print the extracts as they will appear in my Vienna edition of Cassiodorus's commentary, and to append notes, where necessary, in illustration. It is noteworthy that Cassiodorus himself does not appear to have used Eucherius in his commentary on *Romans*, the only part of the commentary prepared by himself.

A.

(In 1 Cor. xi 20-22 = Migne *P.L.* lxxviii 533 C = Eucherius, ed. Wotke, p. 127, 11-18.)

Apud Corinthios quondam, sicut aliqui asserunt, praua inualuerat consuetudo ecclesias passim dehonestare conuiuuiis, in quibus uescebantur ante dominicam oblationem, quam¹ cenam noctibus offerebant, cumque diuites ebrii ad eucharistiam uenirent, uexabantur inopes fame. mos uero iste, ut referunt, de gentili² adhuc superstitione ueniebat, unde etiam quibusdam locis Aegypti³ uel Syriae die sabbati nocte post cenam dicitur ad ecclesiam conueniri.

¹ quam] *add.* post *Eucher.* ² gentium *Eucher.* ³ Aegypti] per Aegypti rura *Eucher.*

B.

(In Eph. i 10 = Migne *P.L.* lxxviii 609 C, D = Eucherius, ed. Wotke, p. 129, 8-17.)

Reparatur *in caelo*¹ illa, quae cum principe suo cecidit, angelorum portio per augmentum et societatem² sanctorum, de quibus scribitur : *Sed sunt sicut angeli in caelo.* reparantur quoque omnia *in terra*, cum etiam loco³ deficientium Iudaeorum admittuntur credentes ex gentibus. et aliter : Restaurantur⁴ *quae sunt in terra*, dum nos per mediatoris nostri sanguinem reconciliationemque reparamur. reparantur caelestia, cum de salute nostra gaudium nascitur angelorum.

¹ The second and third words are paraphrastic, as *Eucher.* has actually 'reparatur ergo secundum opinionem quorundam illa etc.'. ² societatemque *Eucher.* ³ in locum *Eucher.* ⁴ Instaurantur *Eucher.*

C.

(In Eph. iii 14-15 = Migne *P.L.* lxxviii 615 D = Eucherius, ed. Wotke, p. 129, 21-22.)

Quia, cum ille nobis pater primus¹ et uerus sit, ab illius nomine deriuatur, a quo² alii patres appellantur.

¹ primus nobis pater *cod. Cassiod. Gratianop.* ² a quo] quando *Eucher.*

D.

(In Col. ii 22-23 = Migne *P.L.* lxxviii 656 D, 657 A = Eucherius, ed. Wotke, p. 131, 19-p. 132, 14 with omissions.)

Aliqui sic accipiunt, contra eos dici¹ qui ex Iudaeis² crediderant et docebant legis caerimonias obseruandas.³ ideo et³ *doctrinas hominum* uocat⁴, quia *praecepta* ipsa carnaliter intellegant, docentes⁵ in lege prohibita non manducari. hoc⁶ uult intellegi: omnes illae obseruationes licet aliquam *sapientiam*⁷ praeferre uideantur lege praecepta,⁸ tamen *in superstitione sunt, non in aliquo honore* dei, quia sunt ad explendam uoluntatem obseruantiae carnalis.⁹

¹ paraphrastic: disputat contra eos *Eucher.* ² paraphrastic: Christiani propriis contendebant caerimoniis inhaerere *Eucher.* ³ ideo et paraphrastic. ⁴ dicit *Eucher.* ⁵ praecipientes *Eucher.* ⁶ hoc est quod *Eucher.* ⁷ obseruantiam aliquam sapientiae *Eucher.* ⁸ lege praecepta] quia putentur legem praeceptorum tenere *Eucher.* ⁹ obseruantia carnis *Eucher.*

E.

(In 1 Tim. ii 1 = Migne *P.L.* lxxviii 662 D = Eucherius, ed. Wotke, p. 132, 20-24.)

Obsecrationes fiunt pro peccatis praeteritis uel praesentibus, *orationes* pro adipiscendis quae speramus, *postulationes* cum pro aliis interuenimus, *gratiarum actiones*, cum ea quae poscimus impetramus, uel certe cum pro immensis dei beneficiis gratias laudesque referimus.¹

¹ rependimus *Eucher.*

F.

(In 1 Tim. v 24 = Migne *P.L.* lxxviii 669 C, D = Eucherius, ed. Wotke, p. 133, 3-13 with one omission.)

Praecedentia ad iudicium peccata sunt,¹ dum omnibus nota sunt. *quosdam autem et subsequuntur*,² dum postea in iudicio conprobantur. Item aliter: *Praecedunt nos in iudicium*³ illa *peccata*, quae ante hic unusquisque commiserit; *subsequuntur*⁴ illa, quibus nos⁵ causas dedimus, sed⁶ post nostrum transitum⁷ consummantur⁸: ergo *subsequuntur* nos huius modi peccata. si, uerbi gratia, alicui¹⁰ inopiae¹¹ causas attulimus, et¹² fame atque egestate post obitum nostrum¹³ consumitur.¹⁴

¹ 'quorundam hominum peccata manifesta sunt praecedentia ad iudicium' utique *Eucher.* ² subseq.] *add.* utique *Eucher.* ³ praecedere ad iudicium *Eucher.* ⁴ subsequi uero *Eucher.* ⁵ nos] *add.* quidem *Eucher.* ⁶ sed] *add.* iam *Eucher.* ⁷ transitum nostrum *Eucher.* ⁸ consummata intelleguntur *Eucher.* ⁹ *add.* in iudicium *Eucher.* ¹⁰ cui *Eucher.* ¹¹ inopiae] *add.* nos *Eucher.* ¹² et *om.* *Eucher.* ¹³ post obitum nostrum atque egestate *Eucher.* ¹⁴ consumptus sit *Eucher.*

Enough of the Cassiodorian copy of Eucherius's *Instructiones* has been preserved in these six extracts to indicate its real character. Practically all the variants between the Cassiodorian and the genuine forms are to be explained as conscious alterations by the Cassiodorian school. Their methods will be sufficiently well known to any one who compares a text used by them with the form into which they alter it. A study of

the above extracts shews that Cassiodorus's copy was a very good one, closely related to the more or less contemporary Sessorian MS of the sixth century, which has been rightly followed by Wotke in preference to the other (later) MSS.

This Pseudo-Primasius commentary, now restored to Cassiodorus, provides material of the utmost interest, not only to shew us how his library was used by himself and his pupils, but also for the discovery of the relationship between existing copies of various works of Augustine, &c., and the Cassiodorian copies used in the commentary. For instance, the extracts from Augustine's *Diuersae Quaestiones ad Simplicianum* are so extensive as practically to have the value of a sixth-century MS of that work, the comparison of which with the oldest MS of that treatise, Petersburg Q, v 1 No. 3 (saec. v) (formerly of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and Corbie), ought to prove most instructive.

A. SOUTER.

ON TWO HAGIOGRAPHICAL MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

THE Latin MSS preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, have never yet been properly catalogued. The descriptions given by Dr T. K. Abbott in 1900¹ are so incomplete and so inaccurate as to render necessary a thorough re-examination and study of all these MSS.² It is hoped that the following account of two hagiographical MSS may prove of interest to those concerned with this branch of mediaeval literature.

I. MS B. 1. 16 (Bernard³ No. 793; Abbott No. 171).

Folio (33.2 × 23 cms.). Thick vellum. Entirely in the one hand of saec. xiii. Double columns with 34 lines to the column. 125 folios. Quaternions numbered in the lower margin from i to xv. Pages recently numbered 1 to 252.⁴ Titles frequently illuminated in red and blue. Many large and beautiful initials in red, blue, green, lilac and gold. A few marginal notes in the lower margin in a contemporary

¹ *Catalogue of the MSS in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin*, 1900.

² I commenced this work in 1908 (cf. *Hermathena*, 1909, xv p. 380; 1910, xvi p. 79). In describing hagiographical MSS Dr Abbott has made no attempt to identify the separate Lives.

³ The descriptions given in Bernard's *Catalogi* published in 1697 are sometimes better than Dr Abbott's.

⁴ I regret to say that this recent numbering of the MS has been performed according to a system which is followed in no other library at the present day. Moreover this system has not even been consistently adhered to.

hand, most of which have been partially cut away in binding. This MS was formerly in the Cistercian abbey of Jervaulx in Yorkshire, where it appears to have been written. It contains Lives and Passions of the Saints whose days fall in March and April, and one belonging to May (S. Germanus episcopus et confessor).¹

p. 1: The former press-marks, C. 2. 11; AAA. 5; C. 42.

p. 2: An index to the contents of the MS. The last three items are: *Passio S. Torpetis iii. Kl. Maii*; *Passio S. Maximi ii. Kl. Maii*; *Vita S. Germani episcopi et confessoris v. Kl. Iunii*. These last three items are now no longer in the MS owing to the loss of a number of folios at the end. At the bottom of the page in very large letters: *Liber Sæ. Marie De Ioreuallæ*.

pp. 3-8: Vita S. Albini = BHL.² 234, omitting the prologue.

pp. 8-28: Vita S. Guinwaloei³ = BHL. 8964 b.

pp. 28-31: Passio SS. Perpetue et Felicitatis = BHL. 6634.

pp. 32-37: Passio SS. Quadraginta Militum = BHL. 7539.

pp. 37-39: Passio S. Maximiliani = BHL. 5813.

pp. 39-58: Vita S. Patricii⁴ = BHL. 6507.

pp. 59-70: Narratio cuiusdam de Purgatorio Hibernie, &c. It ends abruptly on p. 70, col. 2, *Sicut enim in locis*, ed. E. Mall (*Romanische Forschungen* vi, 1889, pp. 147-187, line 4) from a MS at Bamberg. The missing portion amounts to about two-and-a-half folios of Mall's MS. A folio of the MS has been lost after p. 70, and the recent pagination absurdly omits the numbers 71 and 72.⁵

p. 73; col. 1-77: . . . to et dixit, &c. = [Vita S. Geretrudis] = BHL. 3490 = *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. 3, Martii tom. 2, p. 592 E, *iuramento et dixit*, &c.

pp. 77-82: [Miracula S. Geretrudis] = BHL. 3495 omitting the prologue.

pp. 82-93: Passio S. Eadwardi = BHL. 2418.

pp. 93-95: Vita S. Iohannis = BHL. 4420.

pp. 95-106: Vita S. Wlfranni = BHL. 8738, omitting the prologue.

¹ This latter Life is no longer in the MS. The last Life, that of St Vitalis, is in reality part of the Passion of SS. Gervasius and Protasius, which is assigned to June 19.

² By BHL. I designate the Bollandists' invaluable *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* (3 vols. Bruxellis, 1898, 1901, 1911).

³ This MS was quite unknown to Horstman, who printed this *Vita* from MS Bodley 240 of the end of saec. xiv (*Nova Legenda Anglie* vol. ii, 1901, pp. 558-573). There are some verbal differences.

⁴ This copy was collated by Bury (*Trans. R. Irish Academy*, vol. xxxii, section C, 1903, p. 201).

⁵ Later on in the MS, between pages 220 and 221, another folio has been torn out, but the person who paginated the MS has failed to notice this, and the numbers run on continuously.

- pp. 106-108: Passio S. Hyrenei = BHL. 4466.
 pp. 108-122: Passio S. Theodosie = BHL. 8090.
 pp. 122-133: Vita S. Nicetii = BHL. 6089.
 pp. 133-138: Passio SS. Agapis, Chionie et Hirenis = BHL. 118.
 pp. 138-164: Vita S. Gudlaci = BHL. 3723, omitting the prologue and ending somewhat differently. A large ornamental letter has been cut out on p. 138, damaging the text on p. 137.
 pp. 164-167: Vita S. Godeberte. Hitherto unknown.¹
 pp. 167-170: Passio S. Wassii = BHL. 8500.
 pp. 170-177: Passio S. Eleutherii = BHL. 2451.
 pp. 177-182: Vita S. Ursmari = BHL. 8416.
 pp. 182-220: Osberni Vita S. Elphegi = BHL. 2518, 2519.
 pp. 220-222: Passio S. Epipodii = BHL. 2574. After p. 220 a folio has been torn out. P. 220 ends *passiones presentis tem*, and p. 221 commences *os colimus quos*, &c. (cf. *Acta Sanctorum*, Aprilis tom. 3, pp. 8 B, 9 A).
 pp. 222-228: Passio S. Georgii. Tantas itaque ac tales . . . et pariter uno momento flammeo deuorati sunt. Et exultus est in persecutoribus repentino. Martyr uero Georgius ab angelo coronatus est in celis regnante Domino nostro Iesu, &c. Cf. BHL. 3374.
 pp. 228-230: Passio S. Alexandri = BHL. 2575.
 pp. 230-250: Vita S. Yuonis = BHL. 4622.
 pp. 250-252: Passio S. Vitalis² = Passio SS. Gervasii et Protasii = BHL. 3514. The MS breaks off abruptly at the bottom of p. 252, col. 2, *ubi obrutus* (cf. Migne *Patrol. Lat.* xvii 745 line 27). The rest of the MS is lost.

II. MS B. 4. 3 (Bernard No. 478; Abbott No. 174).

Small folio (28 × 17.5 cms.). Vellum.³ Apparently in one hand of saec. xiii. Single columns with from 38 to 51 lines to the page. 125 unnumbered folios. The first five quaternions are numbered i to v, but the remaining numbers have been cut away by the binder. A few headings and initial letters are illuminated in red. There are a few contemporary marginal notes. At the end is bound in a single vellum leaf of another MS, written in a very small and close hand of saec. xiv, containing medical matter. There is no indication of the origin of this MS, which contains Lives and Passions of the Saints.

¹ Apparently an adaptation of the first two chapters of the *Vita* very doubtfully ascribed to Radbodus (*Acta SS.*, Aprilis t. ii, 1675, pp. 32-34), of which I have not been able to trace any MS. I hope to publish the Trinity College *Vita* elsewhere.

² The scribe wrongly adds the date *iiii Kl. Maii*. This is a confusion with St Vitalis of Ravenna. The Passion of SS. Gervasius and Protasius is assigned to June 19.

³ Dr Abbott (*Catalogue*, &c., p. 23) describes it as a *paper* MS!

f. 1 a : In a modern hand, B. 4. 16 ; B. 4. 3.

f. 1 b : Blank.

f. 2 a : An index to the Lives in the MS in two different hands of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries respectively, followed by the former pressmarks, HHH. 53 ; N. 8 ; H. 5.

f. 2 b : Blank.

ff. 3 a¹-11 a : Liber Miraculorum S. Andreae² = BHL. 430.

ff. 11 a-12 a : [Passio S. Andreae] = BHL. 429.

f. 12 a : Prologus in laude Luce euangelistę = BHL. 4976 d. This little tract has not yet been printed.

ff. 12 a-14 b : Expositio Decorosi presbiteri in laudem Luce euangeliste = BHL. 4973.

ff. 14 b-17 b : Sermo in laude beati Barnabe apostoli = BHL. 985, 986.

ff. 18 a-18 b : Sermo S. Augustini de S. Vincentio = Migne *Patrol. Lat.* xxxviii 1255-1257.

ff. 18 b-19 a : Item alius sermo Vincentii martiris sancti fortissimam et gloriosissimam passionem celebrare sollempniter et non segniter predicare. Vidimus animo . . . ad futuram gloriam quę reuelabitur in nobis.

ff. 19 a-21 b : Reuelatio de reliquiis S. Stephani = BHL. 7854.

ff. 21 b-23 a : Passio SS. Eufemie et Sostenis ac Victoris. Di[o]clitiano imperatore ac Prisco Europe proconsule erat congregatio Christianorum in ciuitate Calcedona. Huic Prisco familiariter aderat Apellianus nomine sofista gentilium . . . posueruntque quasi mille passibus a ciuitate Calcidonensium in honore glorię Domini nostri, &c.

ff. 23 a-24 b : Martirium Didimi et Theodore virginis = BHL. 8072.

ff. 24 b-25 b : Passio S. Lucei = BHL. 4980.

ff. 25 b-28 a : Passio SS. Virginum Spei et Fidei et Caritatis et matris earum Sapientie = BHL. 2970.

ff. 28 a-32 a : Passio S. Tecle Virginis. Non est quidem miraculum quod apostolus Paulus eos quos sibi in amicitia³ adiunxerat sit expertus in fide quando ipsi Domino Deo nostro Dei filio fidem fregerit. Iudas nec apostolatus accepti gratiam pre oculis habens ad necem usque prodiderit . . . cumque illa nichil responderet sed silentium haberet, Thecla uero testata est hec et abiit in Seleutiam ubi multorum

¹ Folios 3, 4, and 5 are in a rather dilapidated condition. Folio 3 is inserted sideways.

² This is the well-known work of Gregory of Tours. Dr Abbott (*Catalogue, &c.*, p. 23) absurdly attributes it to William of Malmesbury. Stubbs (*William of Malmesbury*, Gesta Regum, Rolls Series, vol. i, 1887, p. cxx) has committed the same blunder in describing some British Museum MSS.

³ *Anicitia cod.*

animis celestis cognitionis lumen infundens postea cum bona uoluntate requieuit in pace.¹

ff. 32 a-34 b: [Passio SS. Afrae et Hilariae] = BHL. 108, 109.

ff. 34 b-43 b: Vita S. Eufraxie = BHL. 2718.

ff. 43 b-45 a: Passio SS. Victoris et Corone = BHL. 8561.

ff. 45 b-46 a: Passio S. Crispine = BHL. 1989.

ff. 46 a-46 b: Passio S. Theodote et filiorum eius = BHL. 8096.

This short tract has not yet been printed.²

ff. 47 a-50 a: Fortunati Vita S. Paterni = BHL. 6477.

ff. 50 b, 51 a: Blank.

f. 51 b: An index to the second part of the MS in an early hand.

ff. 52 a-54 a: Vita beati Egidii abbatis edita a Fulberto episcopo = BHL. 93.

ff. 54 a-58 a: Sermones de S. Nicholao. Cf. BHL. 6190.

ff. 58 b-59 a: In natale S. Iuliani confessoris. [B]eatus itaque Iulianus Romana generositate clarissimus, lingua facundus, iusticia insignis, merito fidei percelebris, primus apostolus Cenomannicę urbis a Deo destinatur . . . Mox ergo pater eius Anastasius cum omni familia credidit et baptismi gratiam consecutus numero fidelium applicatus est.

f. 59 b: Blank.

ff. 60 a-61 b: Natale S. Servatii Tungrensis episcopi. Cf. BHL. 7614.

ff. 62 a-64 b: Vita S. Leonardi = BHL. 4862.

ff. 64 b-65 b: [Miracula S. Leonardi] = BHL. 4863, 4864.

ff. 66 a-74 b: Passio SS. Iuliani et Basilisse = BHL. 4529, omitting the prologue.

f. 74 b: In natale sancte Baldhilde regine capitulum. [B]eata Baldhilde de partibus transmarinis diuina prouidentia depredata et uili precio sed incomparabili³ commercio uenundata, hic et uenit ipsa preciosa et optima Dei margarita atque a⁴ principe quodam Francorum, uiroque clarissimo Hercinoaldo qui tunc palatium gubernabat constat esse recepta. In cuius ministerio ipsa adolescens ita decentissime conuersata est ut honesta eius . . . The rest has not been copied, the remaining third of the page being left blank.

ff. 75 a-87 a: Vita S. Gutlaci = BHL. 3723.

ff. 87 a-87 b: Sermo S. Athanasii episcopi Alexandrię de mirabilibus que sicut imago Domini moderno tempore in Byritho ciuitate . . . audi-

¹ This version of the Passio S. Theclae does not appear to be known. It seems closely related to the A and Ca recensions published by O. von Gebhardt (*Texte und Untersuchungen* xxii Heft 2, Leipzig 1902, pp. 2-127).

² The language is excessively corrupt and obscure. This tract is apparently the original form of the version printed by the Bollandists (*Acta Sanctorum*, Augusti t. i, pp. 153-154).

³ Incomperabili *cod.*

⁴ *Ad cod.*

uimus quia acoetum et fel dederunt ei porrecta . . . A folio of the MS has here been torn out. = Migne *Patrol. Graeca* xxviii 819-821 D.

ff. 88 a-96 b: Vita S. Amelberge = BHL. 323.

ff. 97 a-98 a: Sermo S. Augustini in natale S. Stephani = Migne *Patrol. Lat.* xxxix 2147-2149.

ff. 98 a-99 a: Cuius supra de eodem martire = Migne *Patrol. Lat.* xxxviii 1431-1434 omitting the last nine lines.

ff. 99 a-100 b: Item sermo de eodem martire = Migne *Patrol. Lat.* xxxix 1684-1686.

ff. 100 b-105 b: Item sermo S. Augustini de S. Stephano. Quotiens caritatem uestram secundum preceptum Domini ad diligendos inimicos prouocare debemus . . . in eternam requiem permansurus prestante Domino nostro, &c.

ff. 106 a-109 a: Passio S. Cypriani = BHL. 2041, omitting chapters 15 to 19 inclusive (Migne *Patrol. Lat.* iii 1481-1494).

ff. 109 a-116 b: Passio SS. Rufini et Wa[lerii] = BHL. 7374.

ff. 116 b-118 a: [Gaudentii] tractatus de Machabeis martyribus = Migne *Patrol. Lat.* xx 948-955.

ff. 118 a¹-123 a: Passio S. Achatii = BHL. 20, omitting the prologue. The end differs slightly from the printed version (*Acta Sanctorum*, Junii t. iv, p. 187). Then follow a few very brief biblical extracts.

ff. 123 a-125 a: Title and commencement torn away. Portion of a theological work: . . . Filium quoque de substantia patris sine inicio ante secula natum nec tamen factum esse fatemur, quia nec pater sine filio nec filius aliquando extitit sine patre . . . Sub qua fide et resurrectionem mortuorum ueraciter cred[imus] et futuri seculi gaudia [ex]pectamus. Hoc tantum nobis orandum est et peten[dum] ut cum peracto finitoque iudicio tradiderit regnum filius Deo patri partici[pes] nos efficiat regni sui ut per hanc fidem qua illi inhesimus cum illo sin[e] fine regnemus. Amen.

f. 125 b: A fragmentary prayer in five lines.

M. ESPOSITO.

¹ Folios 118 to 125 are in a somewhat damaged condition.

EVAN. 157 (ROME. VAT. URB. 2).

I

THIS most beautiful MS was prepared with the utmost care, and its readings deserve to be put on record in their entirety. Birch is our authority for what we know of it, and although largely used since his day in our critical apparatus, its testimony has never been fully presented.

For a technical description of its contents readers are referred to the catalogue of the MSS of *Cod. Urb. Graec.* by Cosimus Stornajolo, Rome 1895.

The MS claims to have been revised according to the most important documents known at Jerusalem in the beginning of the twelfth century (? : but the notices to this effect may have been copied from the parent MS). There is a date in it of 1128, but it is by a hand later than that of the original scribe, and it was inserted on a blank leaf long after the MS left the hands of its scribe. It might easily be considered that the MS was somewhat older than 1128, but we have a check from its miniatures. See the same author, Cos. Stornajolo, in a separate publication *Miniature delle Omilie di Giacomo Monaco (cod. Vat. gr. 1162) e dell' Evangelario greco Urbinate (cod. Vat. Urb. gr. 2)*, Rome, 1910, where facsimiles are given, including a double page of the text, and after following the scribe over his ground, I see no reason to challenge this date in any way. On plate 83 of this publication is given a reproduction of the miniature of our Lord (attended on either side by figures representing Mercy and Justice) laying His hands upon John Comnenus, the Emperor (reigned 1118-1144), and upon his son Alexios (born 1106, died 1142). The learned author of this recent publication on some of the precious Vatican miniatures calls attention to the New Palaeographical Society's plate of Urb. 2 and text, where there is confusion between Alexios, son of John II, and Alexios, father of John II (1081-1118), and he points out that there can be no question as to the proper interpretation of the plate.

On the one hand the inscription on the miniature against the figure on the right of our Lord (the elder figure) says (some *compendia* expanded):—

Ἰωάννης ἐν χῶ τῷ θῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς πορφυρογέννητος καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ
Ῥωμαίων ὁ Κομνηνός :

and down the side of the other figure (on the left of our Lord):—

Ἀλέξωσ ἐν χῶ τῷ θῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς πορφυρογέννητος ὁ Κομνηνός.

The subscriptions to each Gospel have been given by former editors,

and are of course reproduced by Stornajolo. The claim above mentioned is there specifically set forth four times in slightly different language.

The rarer and strange readings occur as smoothly as possible. In addition to those already known I have recovered a number of others. I would therefore like to add to this very brief notice that whenever the scribe made the slightest lapse in copying a letter or letters the place was carefully whitened with paint before he rewrote the letter or letters needed to repair the oversight. All that stands in the MS therefore is deliberate, with the exception of lapses which were not detected, or of idiosyncrasies of which the scribe is guilty,¹ as he was his own corrector almost entirely. Grave peculiarities and harmonistic preferences must, therefore, be due to the ancestors of this MS.

A feature which I think is of considerable interest in the MS (as in Evan. 28) is its concurrence with the *textus receptus* for verse after verse (more in Matt. and Mark than in Luke), sometimes running for 10, 15, 20, or even 30 verses without practical variation,² before we are treated to a rare reading. Thus, before the most interesting addition of καὶ θέλω at Mark v 23, we run about 8 verses before and 20 verses beyond without practical deviation from the common text. This must lend a curious force to these exceptional readings, for they occur in the smoothest possible way—all of them—and exhibit no signs of scribal infirmity or wilfulness in A. D. 1128 or whenever the MS was actually penned.

There can be but two explanations of this addition of καὶ θέλω in Mark v 23. One is that the addition is a literary one, intended to complete the otherwise somewhat faulty Greek sentence, carrying ἵνα ἐλθῶν [for which there is no variation among Greek MSS]³ without introduction of any kind. This is what Erasmus intimated when, in his Latin translation, he supplied the less imperative *Oro* before *ut venias*, and what Horner shews in his translation of the Coptic.⁴ Or as White, in his edition of the philox. syriac 1778, who supplies *Rogo*.

The other explanation would be that this is perchance a genuine lost reading, excluded in a very early age from the Greek text on account of the impression that an order to or a demand upon our Lord, couched in such imperious language, was out of place. This left the ἵνα ἐλθῶν in an almost untenable position, so much so that the MSS αδ alone

¹ This is seen in the frequent doubling of λ in words like εβαλλε. It has no significance, as the accentuation generally shews.

² Yet of rare readings supported by B or D or *syr sin* not a vestige remains in other cursives. One can consult page after page of Scrivener's collations to this effect.

³ D^{ss} alone makes the change to ελθε αψαι, merely the equivalent of *syr* and *lat*, while *copt* and *sah* appear to follow the usual Greek.

⁴ *Pers^{int}* has 'peto', but it is noticeable that Evan. 157 avoids a softer Greek expression such as αἰτέω or δέομαι, nor uses a more classical verb to express mere request.

preserve in the Latin *ut venias*, the others, with the Syriac, softening the imperiousness of the order in our MS 157—

καὶ θέλω ἵνα ἐλθὼν ἐπιθῇς . . .

but maintaining a semblance of it by their unanimous—

Veni tange . . .

Veni could grow out of καὶ θέλω ἵνα ἐλθὼν, while καὶ θέλω could not possibly grow out of *veni*.

The *Diatessaron* says: ‘*But come* and lay thy hand upon her.’ The ‘*But*’ is, perhaps, suggestive of something very ancient lying behind it all. It also occurs in *aeth* and one *syr* MS, while *arm* is also reported to have ‘*sed ut venias*’.

May we not also see in such a demand on the part of Jairus a robust and overwhelming *faith* in the great Healer’s powers to be exercised for his beloved θυγάτριον, and an open order on all his worldly possessions, if need be, as the price of the favour?

There is something particularly striking about this reading when we remember how the scene opens and how this important personage is described as: (v 22) εἷς τῶν ἀρχισυναγῶγων.

Note that in St Matt. (ix 18) the expression is ἀλλὰ ἐλθὼν ἐπίθες . . . and in St Luke (viii 41) παρεκάλει αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ.

Akin in some respects, however, to the addition of καὶ θέλω in Mark v 23 is another addition in Luke xviii 9 of καὶ λέγει where some recensor did not like the position of τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην without a further introduction. See *sah* and *syr* which put these words further back in the verse, and *aeth boh* which add *loquutus est* or *dicens* (as *cor vat* and the Sixtine *vg*) after τὴν παραβ. ταύτην.

Again, to take one other instance, at Mark xii 7 and 8, we run at least eight verses previously and some dozen verses beyond without any serious divergence. Yet here we have a pair of startling readings incorporated in the running text without sign of deliberation or critical editing. I refer to this passage (although already reported by Birch) because it bears directly on the question of a Greek *Diatessaron*, referred to recently in Dr Vogel’s publications.¹

In Mark xii 7 our MS reads: καὶ κατὰσχομεν (not κατασχωμεν as Birch and Scholz) αὐτοῦ τὴν κληρονομίαν (*pro* και ημων εσται η κληρονομια) [cf. Matt. xxi 38], following this in verse 8 by the substitution of ἐκβαλλόντες αὐτὸν for καὶ ἐξέβαλον [cf. Luke xx 15].

This is clearly not Tatian at all, and I think the question of a Tatianic Greek or Latin *diatessaron* must be kept separate from that of a simple

¹ *Die Harmonistik im Evangelientext des Codex Cantabrigiensis*, Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1910, and *Die Altsyrischen Evangelien*, *Bibl. Studien*, Band xvi Heft 5, Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder, 1911, both by Dr H. J. Vogels.

Greek, Latin, or Graeco-Latin Diatessaron of a date which at present is quite uncertain. Thus the harmonies visible in the Codex Bezae are not necessarily all to be traced to Tatian.

Remark in this passage then that the *diatess. arab.* uses *και ημων εσται η κληρονομια* with the Greek, and is supported not only by the old Syriac in St Mark, but also in St Matthew (whence Evan. 157 draws in xii 7), where the Syriac words are the same as in St Mark *against the Greek of Matthew*.

Observe, further, that our expression in Mark xii 8, drawn from the *other* Synoptic Luke xx 15, finds no Tatianic or Syriac support, the participial form being noticeably absent, not only in St Mark but also in St Luke.

Here, then, is a picture of a Greek harmony, independent of Tatian.

We may also note

Matt. xxi 3 + *ποιετε ουτως post τι 157* (+ *ποιετε D d aeth Orig.*)

cf. Mark xi 3 + *ποιετε τουτο*

non diatess arab, which is Luke and Matthew mixed.

[Marc v 15 + *para tous podas tou ihou (post καθ.)*. *Cf.* Luke viii 35

non syr sin in Marc, but *diatess. ex Luc.*]

Some of the harmonies, however, are rather forced, and may well be late; they include also the borrowing of several expressions from St John's Gospel, for which there is no other authority.

Among the more important or interesting of the fresh readings gathered, I may call attention here to one which stands out particularly :

Matt. xxi 46 *κ εξήτουν αυτον κρατήσαι και εφοβήθησαν τους οχλους*

instead of *κ ζητούντες „ „ εφοβήθησαν „ „*

This form agrees with the Syriac and *Auct^{or} imp* against all other Greeks.

As the collation of St Luke and St John cannot appear in this number of the JOURNAL, I append some of the more important new readings which my re-examination has revealed, and which will give a foretaste of the very interesting character of the Lucan and Johannine recension in this MS.

Luke i 36 *συνείληφεν* for *συνειληφύα* with *ℳ B L Ξ latt syrr* and *copt.*

ii 20 — *και ειδον* with *Ι μ* only as far as I know.

ii 37 *νηστεία (pro νηστείαις) [και δεήσεσι]*. This may be a survival of an old Syriac singular. It seems to agree only with *syrr aeth pers.*

v 18 + *αυτον (post θείναι)* i.e. 'And they endeavoured to bring him in and to lay him before him'. Agreeing only with *B L Ξ syrr sah boh goth [non lat aeth]*.

v 25 *πάντων (pro αυτών)* 'And immediately he rose up before all'.

This agrees with *a arm* and 13-69-346-556 *Eust* 47. *αυτων παντων* 124.

vii 5 + *ημών (post συναγωγήν)* 'For he loveth our nation, and our

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synagogue he himself built for us'. Agreement here only with R of Greeks and Coptic.

Concurrence with the Jerusalem Syriac lectionary is not marked at all in Matthew and Mark, nor particularly noticeable in Luke and John generally, although very distinct in a few places, yet now we get a trace of sympathy between 157 and the Jerusalem (or of a version which lay behind it). I refer to the verse following:—

Luke vii 6 — οὐ (*ante μακρὰν*), where this has the countenance of the three codd. of the Jerus. Syriac. No doubt this οὐ was lost in Greek following αὐτοῦ (ΑΥΤΟΥΟΥΜΑΚΡΑΝ), but compare the Syriac inverting 'a little way from', as if the οὐ being lost very early μακρὰν became μικρὰν.

vii 22 + ἃ (*ante ἡκούσατε*) 'Going, announce to John the things which ye saw and *the things which* ye heard'. This is supported by *syr sin aeth* and *d*, against the other Latins. D^{sr} is a little confused in Scrivener's edition, but certainly witnesses to it also.

viii 25 ἐπιτιμᾷ (*pro ἐπιτάσσει*) 157 is here apparently alone, working a Greek parallel with Mark iv 39 and Matt. viii 26, both having ἐπετίμησεν.

viii 55 ἐπέταξεν (*pro διέταξεν*) with D ('jussit' *latt*, but 'praecepit' *cd*).

viii 56 εἶπεν (*pro παρήγγειλεν*) 157 apparently quite alone. It is difficult to account for such a thing in such close propinquity to agreement with D (yet the same kind of mixture may be observed later: xv 8 καὶ ἀπολέσασα for ἐὰν ἀπολόσῃ D^{sr} and 157 alone, while in the same verse the order ἔχουσα δέκα δραγμᾶσ agrees only with Coptic; or, again, xv 21 τοὺς ἀναπείρουσ agrees only with the Coptics, and is followed by ποιήσουσιν for ἀνάγκασον by 157 alone, while the subsequent order of μου ὁ οἶκος, while also Coptic, has the support of the entire Egyptian array of Greeks \aleph A B D^{sr} (*contra d*) K L R X II and only *e*, against the other Latins and Syri.).

ix 13 — εἰς πάντα Alone with three bohairic codices (Δ, F₁* O) and *pers*.

ix 18 συνήνεγκαν (*pro συνήσαν*) Alone with B* 245 *a* and *f*.

ix 34 ἐπεσκίαζεν (*pro ἐπεσκίασεν*) So \aleph B L *a* and two Greek lectionaries.

ix 39 + καὶ ῥάσσει (*ante καὶ σπαράσσει*) So D *fam* 1 *etc*.

ix 54 ἀναλώσει (*pro ἀναλώσαι*). Compare the versions and Latin (except *cd* 'consumere').

x 10 — ἐξελθόντες Alone, yet apparently deliberate. The sense is slightly altered but not destroyed: 'But into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you not into their streets, say . . . '.

xi 32 — μετα. Here the sense is quite altered. 'The men of

Nineveh shall rise up in the judgement *of* this generation', instead of '*with* this generation'.

Luke xii 53 + καὶ (*ante πενθερα*) introducing a copula before the mother-in-law clause. This is not the custom of the Greek MSS, but finds a counterpart in 237 *syr cu sin diatess aeth c e dim μ*, and would seem to be as old as *Tertullian*.

xiv 9 + τον (*ante τόπον*). Quite alone with both *sah* and *boh*, which have the article in all their MSS but one of *boh*. As some Coptic MSS generally deflect from the mass in a case of this kind, the present instance is striking. 'Give this one *the* place.' Horner has no note on it in *sah* because 157 was not reported for it, and there is no other authority.

xiv 10 + πάντων (*post ἐνώπιον*) with *ⲛ A B L X sah om̃n boh om̃n syrr (om̃n except sin) diatess aeth 7*.

xiv 12 — μηδε τους αδελφους σου L a few cursives, one *sah* MS out of seven, and *Aphraat* (against the Syriacs) to which may be added *Iren* where it is uncertain how 'free' the quotation may be.

xv 5 + αὐτὸ (*post εὔρων*). This is not Greek, although Birch should certainly have reported it. It seems to be a matter of the influence of the versions—*syrr copt aeth latt* (except *a c d e δ*)—from Matt. xviii 13.

xvi 26 διαπεράσαι (*pro διαπερώσιν*) D d and Latin.

xvii 4 ἄφεσ (*pro ἀφήσεις*) D H A Clem *it boh pl syrr* and *aeth*.

xvii 17 + οὗτοι (*post δεκα*) A II *etc*, and D d *it*. Cf. fuller note in collation.

xvii 18 υποστρέψαι πάντες (*pro υποστρέψαντες*).

xvii 19 + ὅτι (*ante ἡ πίστις*) D *it*. Not Coptic, as one might suppose, and important as introducing and emphasizing the ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέ σε clause which B and *sah* 3/9 omit.

xviii 34 — τουτο D *it pl syr cu sin boh pl sah* 1/7. 'The word' instead of *this* word.

xviii 36 + τοῦ (*ante ὄχλου*) *sah* only.

xix 20 — ἰδου. Compare xix 25 + ἰδε, possible, nay probable *error oculi* in a parent of Graeco-Coptic columns.

xx 46 + τους (*ante ἀσπασμους*)

and also + τας (*ante πρωτοκαθεδρίας*) already } *sah boh* only.
noted by Birch

xxii 60 τί (*pro ὅ*) *ⲛ D it vg* ('quid'). quod *ff h*

xxiii 33 λεγόμενον (*pro καλούμενον*) C G X A *Marcion*.

+ δύο (*ante κακούργους*) 28 *aeth b vg^q ⲛ* (D d) Cf. parallel.

xxiv 22 — ἐξ ημων D d *aeth* and *pers* (apparently no others).

This is clearly a very important and deliberate omission

from the phrase : ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκές τινες ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐξέστησαν ἡμᾶς, γενόμεναι ὀρθραὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον.

John i 47 αὐτῷ (*pro* περὶ αὐτοῦ) making Jesus say *to* Nathaniel, 'Behold an Israelite indeed . . .' So only 45 *pers* and *aeth* (*e* omits).

vi 14 Order το σημεῖον ο ἐποίησεν Not Greek, but *sah* ὁ *f(l)* *r* *syrr* and *vg^r*.

vi 26 + μου (*post* ἄρτων) Alone with *gat* ('panibus meis').

vi 31 + καὶ ἀπέθανον Alone. (*Cf. Ps. lxxviii 24 et 30 seq.*)

vi 70 ἐξ ἡμῶν (*pro* ἐξ υμῶν) 'And one of *us* is a devil'. Alone.

This is to be compared to John xv 20 ἡμετέρον for υμετέρον in an equally important place: 'if they kept my word they will keep *ours* also.'

viii 58 ἐγὼ ἦμην (*pro* ἐγώ εἰμι) 'Before Abraham became I *was*'.

ix 8 οὐχ οὗτος ἦν (*pro* οὐχ οὗτος ἐστίν) 'Was not this he who was sitting and begging'. Alone.

x 18 + ἀπ' ἐμαντοῦ (*post* θείναι αὐτήν) Again alone apparently: 'I have power to place it *from me*.'

x 38 - καὶ πιστευσῃτε This time with *D d a b c e ff l Tert Cyr Zeno* and *syrr sin* [not the other Syriacs nor the diatessaron].

xi 11 ἐλάλησεν ὁ ἰησοῦς (*pro* εἶπεν) This follows the above, here practically alone with *diatess*.

xi 15 - ἵνα πιστευσῃτε Alone apparently (see above x 38).

xii 3 ἀλάβαστρον (*pro* λίτρην) Alone with *syrr pesh* and both diatessarons, *arab* and *Flat* (against the other Latins) virtually *undoing* the conflation of *syrr sin*.

xiv 6 - καὶ ἡ ἀληθεῖα Alone. I cannot imagine whence this extraordinary omission unless possibly from similarity of appearance of words in Syriac. In this connexion note our omission in John xvi 33 of the important phrase ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ θλιψὶν ἐξετε, with the Jerusalem Syriac (all three codices) which Mrs Lewis attributes to homoioteleuton in the Syriac.

xiv 10 + τοῦτο (*post* πιστενεῖς) Alone.

xviii 31 - αὐτοῖς Alone.

xix 27 + αὐτοῦ (*post* τῷ μαθητῇ) in the important statement that 'from that hour *his* disciple' took charge of the mother of our Lord.

xix 40 εἰλῶσαν (*pro* ἐδησαν) This is harmonistic with *syrr aeth pers* (*cf.* Mark xv 46).

xx 6 - οὐν Only support one cursive and *a*, one *boh* MS and *arm* (Δε *sah*).

xxi 4 - οἱ μαθηταὶ Apparently alone.

xxi 19 - αὐτῷ Alone with *sah* 1/4.

I cannot claim to have solved the interesting problems which this

MS offers to the student of the text, but it seems to me that we can advance a step by considering the variations of single documents of this importance, and we cannot advance at all unless we know first the whole character of a text, and then investigate all its bearings and follow up all the clues offered. The following re-examination is therefore presented as a contribution to our more exact knowledge of the contents of *Urb. 2*.

I think a key of some importance as to the methods of 157 is offered at John ix 31 (see the note on this passage), where our conflation shews thought on the part of the recensor; not satisfied with the Greek expression, he adds, perhaps from Syriac influences, *fearing*, which Burkitt and Hogg (as I think rightly) prefer for Δωλλ to the *reveretur* of Schaaf and Gwilliam. It is to be noticed that *d* alone renders *timet* against the other Latins. *Urb. 2* writes here [θεοσεβῆσ] + καὶ φοβοῦμενος τὸν θ' [καὶ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ποιῇ].

In order to be brief here, I have attempted to indicate throughout the collation passages which seem to illustrate the history and affiliations of the recension. I say attempted, because I have to deplore the fact that I have been unable to check all the authorities as thoroughly as I could wish. This is due to constant travelling during the past twelve months, so that a full reference library has not always been under my hand. Indeed, I have to thank several kind friends for the loan of books which were absolutely necessary. I pray, therefore, that my shortcomings may not be laid up against me, but that readers of this JOURNAL will bear in mind the disadvantages under which I have compiled the collation and apparatus and add for themselves witnesses which I may have overlooked. I shall be glad to receive from readers of this JOURNAL information as to support by any other authorities in the passages marked as apparently unique.

It was intended at first merely to print the variations which Birch and Scholz¹ had omitted to notice, besides correcting their readings when inaccurate or erroneous, but it seemed desirable to print the whole collation, for convenience of reference apart from Birch's Scholz's and Tischendorf's published notices.

I have marked with two daggers the readings unrecorded by Bir. Scho. In very many of these places they record *other* MSS for the variation, so that they simply overlooked the testimony of 157. I have included in the tables minutiae not intended to be recorded by Birch, because

¹ Scholz did really nothing. He took his readings from Birch's *Variae lectiones* published in 1801, where Birch has added a few readings of *Urb. 2* overlooked by him in his notes to the N.T. of 1788. Once Scholz happens to give a real variant unrecorded by Birch, but I think he copied that of Vat. 1209 (B) by mistake where *Urb. 2* really agrees.

the number of cases of change of accent or breathing, idiosyncrasy of form, &c., is very small compared to the laches of other scribes, and those who are familiar with the peculiarities of MSS will readily note this and its bearing on the amount of care in transcribing, as well as concerning the erudition of the scribe.

Our librarius does not contract *υιος* and its cases. He hardly ever writes *ὁτάν*. But he sometimes accents *οἶδασι* on the antepenultima, as does the MS 28. He makes unusual ligatures for *κα*, in the form of zeta, and for the terminations *κια*, *κεν* in the form of ξ, and has other pretty and unusual forms of contraction, but only at the end of lines. Another peculiarity is to write capital Δ following δ as in *δαΔ'*, *σαδΔουκαιων*, in which a few other MSS agree.

The only new symbol used in the notes is β for *Barb lat* 570 (at Rome), a codex executed with decoration by Irish hands, some of whose readings the Abbot Gasquet kindly placed at my disposal. I have returned to Tischendorf's method of quoting Scrivener by letters of the alphabet, as Gregory and von Soden have completely changed the old numbers. I quote also Paris⁹⁷ and Laura^{104A} published respectively by Schmidtke and Lake in 1903.

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SUBSCRIPTIONS IN EVAN. 157.

- Subscr. to S. Matt. : : ἔγαγγέλιον ᾧ τα Ματθαῖον ἐγράφη
 ἢ ἀντεβλήθη ἐκ τῆ ἐν ἱεροσολυμοῖς
 παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων τῆ ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ
 ὄρει ἀποκειμῆς ἐν φίχοις βῆπδ· κε
 φαλαίσις τριακοσίσις πενήκοντα ἐπτ' :
- Subscr. to S. Mark. : : ἔγαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον· ἐγράφη ἢ
 ἀντεβλήθη ὁμοί' ἐκ τῆ ἐς ποῦδας μῆς ἐν (ἐκτων εσπουδασμενων εν)
 φίχοις χιλίοις πεντακοσίσις, πενή κὺς
 κεφαλαίοις, σλδ :
- Subscr. to S. Luke : : ἔγαγγέλιον κατὰ Λουκᾶν· ἐγράφη ἢ ἀντεβλήθη
 ὁμοίως ἐκ τῶν ἀγίων ἀντιγράφων ἐν φί
 χοις βψζ· κεφαλαίοις τμῖ + + +
- Subscr. to S. John : : ἔγαγγέλιον κατὰ ἰωάννην· ἐγράφη καὶ
 ἀντεβλήθη ὁμοίως ἐκ τῶν ἀγίων ἀντι
 γράφων· ἐν φίχοις μπλ'· κεφαλαίοις
 σλυ :

COLLATION OF EVAN. 157 WITH TEXT OF STEPHEN 1550 AS REPRINTED BY SCRIVENER.

The more important variations are printed first, the minutiae follow, chapter by chapter. The readings neglected by Birch and Scholz are indicated by a double dagger. [Many of these are omitted unintentionally as they often give other authorities for them.]

Matthew

- i 15/16 — τον ιακωβ' ιακωβ δε εγεννησε †† *Sol*^{vid} *cum* O^{Matthaei}
Id est codex: ματθάν δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν ἰωσήφ τὸν ἄνδρα
 μαρίας κτλ.
- 17 — Διαβιδ εως †† *Sol*^{vid}
Id est codex: καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς μετοικεσίας κτλ.
- 17/18 *Ita:* Γ σαρεσ' 4' ἀβ' τοῦ Δὲ ἰδ' χδ' ἡ γεννη' γ' (*sic fin. lin.*)
 εἰς 7 ὅπως ἦν' μνηστευθεῖσιν γὰρ 4'.
 ὁρθρ
- 21 *fin.* αὐτοῦ (*pro* αὐτῶν)
- 24 — ο (*ante* ἰωσήφ) ††
 i 1/2 ἀβρααμ (*et passim*) i 2 ἰούδα †† 4 ἀμναδαμ
bis plane 5 βοός: *prim.*, βοός *sec.* †† 5/6 ἰωβηδ
bis †† 7/8 ἀσαφ *bis* †† 10 τὸν ἀμώσ' ἀμώσ (*pro*
 τὸν ἀμών' Ἀμών) (††) 12, 13 ζωροβάβελ †† 14 ἀχίν
bis 20 [μαριάμ] 25 ἕως οὕτως *sic*
- ii 2 *fin.* αὐτὸν (*pro* αὐτῶ) (*cf.* 234 235 243 *latt*)
 3 ο βασιλευσ Ἡρωδης NBDZ 1-131 124-556 *bck copt*
 6 + μοι (*post* γαρ) †† CKΓ 28 68 117 253 *Eust* 55 *Protev Iac Thdt*
 8 > ἐξετάσατε ἀκριβώς †† NBC* DΣ *fam* 1 21 33 82 124-556 209
boh sah it vg Protev Iac
 8 *fin.* αὐτὸ (*pro* αὐτῶ) †† (*eum latt*)
 11 εἶδον (*pro* ευρον)
- ibid.* αὐτὸ (*pro* αὐτῶ *prim.*) (*Birch non Scho.*) (*eum vel illum latt*)
- 12 *fin.* εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν χώραν N* I a b g₁ *vg*^R *sah boh* (*cf. Luc. xiv 23,*
xvi 4, xix 23)
 13 > κατ' ὄναρ φαίνεται (*om.* κατ' οναρ *Clim III*)
 17 δια (*pro* υπο)
- 19 — ἰδου †† *Syrr Orig* (*citat Matthaei*)
- ibid.* > φαίνεται κατ' ὄναρ
- 21 εἰσῆλθεν (*pro* ἦλθεν) †† NBC *copt* (*abiit k*)
 ii i ἱεροσόλημ †† *Sic hodie man tert. Primum a man pr.*
haud dubie ἱερουσαλημ *pleno* (*cf.* CKLV *boh sah, &c.*)
 5 οὕτως †† 6 *fin.* ἰηλ' (*passim*) 8 ἐπάν *sic* ††
 εὔρηται †† 13 φεύγε *sic* †† 15 [υπο του κυ]
 18 ῥαμὰ *sic* [θρήνοσ καὶ κλαυθμὸς] 23 [ναζαρέτ]
- iii 3 δια (*pro* υπο)
- 5 + τὰ (*ante* ἱεροσολυμα) (*cf.* + πασα ἡ *fam* 1. *Eust* 11 2^{or} *semel*, +
 omnis E^{vs} a l *Orig sem*, + ἡ 248, + tota k *aeth*^{int}, + the men
 of *syrr cu sin*, + the people of *boh* (*sah*))
- 6 + ποταμῶ (*post* ἰορδανη)
- 8 καρπὸν ἄξιον
- 10 *fin.* *Post* βάλλεται + καὶ καίετε' *sic Sol* (*cf. Eust* 22, 32; *cf. Ioh. xv 6 fin.*)
- 12 — αὐτου (*post* σιτον)
 + αὐτοῦ (*post* αποθηκην)
- 15/16 *in* *gizt* τότε ἀφίσκιν αὐτὸν καὶ βαπτισθεῖς ὁ ἰζ', ††
 iii 2 [καὶ λεγων] 3 Ἡσαΐου (*passim*) 4 [αὐτου ην]
 7 [το βαπτισμα αὐτου] ὑμῖν (*pro* ὑμῖν) †† *cf.* D *alibi*

Matthew

- 10 [ἡδὲ δε και] 11 [βαπτίζω υμᾶς] οὐ (pro οὐ) ††
 12 ἀλωνα †† 15 οὕτως ††
 iv 1 > ὑπὸ τοῦ πῦρ, εἰς τὴν ἔρμουν N K syr aeth
 3 — αὐτῷ (post προσελθῶν)
 + αὐτῷ (post εἶπεν prim.)
 4 εἶπεν + αὐτῷ †† 258 435 c vg^{DJT} syr cu sin hier boh (aeth)
 6 εἶπεν sic (pro λεγει) N^b Z it^{pl} vg copt
 9 εἶπεν (pro λεγει)
 9 fin. προσκυνήσῃς μὲ. (pro προσκυνήσεις μοι) †† Id est με pro μοι cum
 237 240 244 301 Eust 44 z^{cor} latt
 10 + ὁπίσω μου (post υπαγε)
 11 προσελθόντες (pro προσηλθον και) †† Sol^{rid}
 16 + σκότους sic (Male Bir Scho + σκοτου) inter χωρα et και σκια
 θανατου Sol? (cf. 10 Matthaesi. cf. b g₁ h. cf. aeth syr sin hier)
 18 — ο ιησους
 19 + ὁ ἱε̅ (post αυτοις) †† C^a (inuitis C^a et^a) a c h m vg^{DLQRT} syrr
 aeth (goth) Cyr (spatium in k)
 + γενέσθαι (ante αλεις)
 23 > ὁ ἱε̅ ὅλην τὴν γαλιλαίαν ††
 + τοῦ θῆ (post βασιλείας) Sol^{rid} (cf. sah aliq)
 24 πᾶσαν (pro ὅλην) †† Sol^{rid}
 iv 3 γίνονται †† 4 [ἄνθρωπος sine ὁ] 5 [ἵστησιν]
 plane 9 [παντα σοι] 18 ἀμφίβλιστρον sic †† (z^{cor})
 24 ἵκω sic pro κακῶς
 v 16 δοξάσουσι (Habet Scho. Om. Bir N. T., habet in 'Var lect')
 19 οὕτως (pro οὗτος) 251 it pl et k ante διδαξῇ sec. 'et sic
 docuerit magnus magnus vocatur'
 20 > ὑμῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη
 27 — τοις αρχαιοις
 28 ἐμβλέψας (pro βλέπων) K 117 243 i^{cor} (βλεψας 61, ἐμβλεπων al.
 ἐμβλέψῃ Iustin)
 αὐτὴν (pro αὐτῆς)
 30 fin. εἰς γέενναν ἀπέλθῃ (pro βληθῇ eis γε.)
 32 πᾶς ὁ ἀπολύων (pro os αν απολυση)
 36 τρίχαν ††
 39 — σου
 44 τοῖς μισοῦσιν (pro τους μισουντας)
 — υμᾶς (post επηρεαζοντων)
 47 φίλους (pro αδελφους)
 48 γίνεσθε (pro ἔσεσθε) Sol^{rid} cum Clem et codd Chrys
 ὁ οὐράνιος (pro ο εν τοις ουρανοις) †† N B etc vg vett
 v 1-15 [cum t. r.] 9 [Habet αυτοι] 10 ἔνεκεν [sed
 ἔνεκεν ver 11] 11 [Habet ῥῆμα] 13 [βληθῆναι]
 17 νομίσθαι †† 19 οὕτως (pro οὕτω) 20 πλείον
 (pro πλείον) †† 22 [εἰκῇ] 23 και ἐκεῖ (pro
 κακεῖ) †† 25 [ἕως ὅτου εἰ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ μετ' αὐτοῦ] 26
 ἀποθῶς sic 29 ὀφθαλμός sic (pro ὁ ὀφθαλμός) ††

Matthew

- 29, 30 ὅλον 33 ὅρκουσ 36 ὁμότης [*sed ver* 34
 ὁμότης] [η μελαιναν ποιησαι] 37 [ἔστω] 39
 [ραπισει επι] 41 ἀγγαρεύση 42 [δίδου] 45
 γένεσθαι †† 46 [τὸ αὐτὸ] 47 [τελῶναι οὐτῶ]
 ποιούσι (*om. Bir. Txt Scho* ποιούσι; *Ἔσεσθε)
- vi 1 + δε (*post προσεχετε*) †† N L Z Σ *min*¹⁸ g₁ *copt syr aeth* [*Non latt sed latt adtendite NE*]
- 2 + τῆς πόλεως (*post ρυμαίος*)
 + ὅτι (*ante ἀπεχουσι*) ††
- 4 — αὐτος
- 5 + σκυθρωποὶ (*post υποκριται*) 108.243 (*cf. vi 16*)
 — αν
- 6 τὴν θύραςου *sic* †† 118 *z*^{scr} *cf. 28 alibi Luc. xiii 25 τὴν θυρα*,
 xviii 5 τὴν χηρα
- 13 + τοῦ πρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνῶ' (*post δοξα*) [εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας
 ἀμ'] *Habet amην sed litt. nit. parv. a man. prim. Cf. 225*
Nyss Caesdial Euthym^{Mass}
- 16 πρὸς τὸ θεᾶθῆναι (*pro πως φανωσι*) *Sol*^{vid} (*cf. xiii 30*)
- 17 + ἐλαῶ (*post κεφαλὴν*) †† *Sol vid cum boh MSS E, F^r et pers*
- 25 ἢ τί πίνετε μὴ δὲ ††
- 26 *fin.* αὐτῶν *sic* (*pro αὐτῶν*) *Ergo disertē. Et it.*
- 32 > ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα N Δ Σ *fam* 13 [*non* 346] 27 242 243 *v*^{scr}
Eust 60 *latt boh sah*
- 34 + γὰρ (*post αρκετον*) † (*Bir non Scho*). 61 440 (= *v*^{scr}) *Eust* 8
f (*mut goth*) *c h gat vg* ^{DECFKQR} (*pers.*) *Clem Chrys*
 vi 1 [ἐλεημοσυνην] τὸ (*pro τῷ sec.*) †† 4 *fin.* [*εν*
 τῷ φανερω] 5 ἐστῶταισ †† [οἱ ἀπεχουσι] 6
 [ταμείον] 8 ὧν (*pro ὧν*) †† (οὐ *syr sah vg codd* 1/2,
quit k, qui(būs) sic led Haase). αἰτεῖσθαι 10 [ἐλθετω]
 [τῆς γῆς] 12 ἀφίομεν *sic codex* 13 ῥύσαι 16
 [οἱ ἀπεχουσι] 17/18 *iungit* 18 [κρυπτῶ] *bis*
 [*εν τῷ φανερω*] *fin.* 19, 20 σῆς 19 βρώσις [*sed*
βρώσις ver 20] 21 [ὑμῶν *bis*] 22 ἀπλοῦς ὅλον
 [*sed ὅλον ver 23*] 22 *fin.* ἐστὶν (*pro ἔσται*) †† [*sed*
ver 23 ἔσται] 22/23 *uno tenore* 24 μαμωνᾶ
 25 ἡ ψυχὴ 26 σπειρῶν *sic fin lin pro* σπείρουσιν
 27 ἡλικίαν 28 [αὐξάνει] 31 περιβαλόμεθα ††
 32 [ἐπιζητεῖ] ἅ πάντων *ita separatim* 34 [τα εαυτοῦ]
- vii 5 ἀπο (*pro εκ sec.*)
- 6 τὰ (*a ex emend.**) ἁγία (*pro το αγιον*) *Aliq. et 118-209 (contra 1)*
Orig sem Ath Suid Clem Chrys [contra lat]
- 12 θέλετε (— αν) †† (*Bir Scho — αν, sed non θέλετε citant*) LX
 θέλετε *et vg i^{pl} vultis, h k Cypr volueritis*
 + ὁμοίως (*ante ποιεῖτε*) †† *Sol*^{vid} *cf. boh sah Marc*^{mon}
Hiergal. Cf. Luc. vi 31 Iren?
- 13 οἱ εἰσπορευόμενοι εἰς αὐτήν (*pro οἱ εἰσερχομενοι δι' αὐτης*)
- 19 + οὖν (*post παν*)

Matthew

- vii 21 + τοῖς (*ante οὐνοῖς*) ††
 24 — και ποιει αυτους †† *Sol^{vid} cum 251** [*Non Luc., non Diatess*]
 (και ποιεῖ ἃ λέγω *Iustin*)
 vii 2 [αντιμετρηθησεται] 6 μὴ δὲ καταπατήσουσιν ††
 9 αἰτήσῃ 10 [αἰτήσῃ *sed ex em.**] 12 οὕτως ††
 (*pro* οὕτω). οὕτως (*pro* οὗτος) 13 εισελθατε
 16 [σταφυλὴν] *sed acc. grav.* σύκα 17 οὕτως ††
 20 ἄραγε *sic acc. (i^{80r})* 24 [ομοιωσω αυτον] ὠκοδόμησε
 [τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ]. *De v ἐφελκ. cf. B C Z 1.33 Orig:*
 'αυτου την οικιαν' 26 μωρῶ (*pro* μωρῷ) ὠκοδόμησε
 [τὴν οἰκίαν *sic* αὐτοῦ] 27 πτώσις
- viii 2 προσελθὼν (*pro* ελθων)
 5 εισελθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ (*pro* εισελθοντι δε τῷ Ἰησοῦ) *Al:* εισελθοντος
 δε αυτου
 10 + αὐτῷ (*post* ακολουθουσιν) †† *C N Σ 13-556 28 33 235 435*
b^{80r} al. et verss.
 12 *init.* οἱ δὲ οἱ υἱοὶ *sic* †† *Sol^{vid}*
 15 + παραχρῆμα (*ante* αφηκεν) *Solus cum g₁ syr cu sin boh^{F1}.*
 + ευθεως *fam 1. Aliter diatess cum Marco* 'and imm. she
 rose'. *Om. Luc.*
 20 *fin.* κλίνει (*pro* κλινῇ) † (*Bir sed om Scho*) *Havn 2.3 et 118-209 [non 1]*
 238 243 248 *Scr. P 2 cf. sah*
 21 ἀπελθόντι, (*pro* απελθειν και)
 25 — αυτου
 32 *Om. ex hom. ab init.* και ειπεν *usque ad χοιρων prim.* † (*Recte*
Bir. Confuse Scho)
- ibid.*
 — των χοιρων *sec. (post* αγελη)
 34 τοῦ ἰῷ (*pro* τῷ Ἰησοῦ) ††
 viii 4 μὴ δὲνι *sic* μωσῆς *sic** 8 [λόγον] 9
 ὑπ' ἐξουσίαν *sic* †† στρατιῶτας *sic* 11 ἤξουσιν 15
 ἡγέρθη *fin.* [αὐτοῖς *pleno*] 23 [το πλοιον] 25
 [*Habet* ἡμᾶς] 28 [γεργεσινῶν] 29 [*Habet* ἰῷ]
 ὥδε (*et saepe*) 31 ἀγγέλλην (*sed* ἀγέλη *ver 32*) ††
 33 ἀπήγγειλον (*pro* απηγγειλαν) ††
- ix 1 [το πλοιον] + ὁ ἰῷ
 10 > και ἰδοὺ ἄμαρτωλοι και τελῶναι πολλοὶ ἐλθόντες *aeth. Cf.*
ord syr fesh sch (mut. syr cu sin)
 16 βίλῃ (*pro* επιβαλλει) †† *Non latt (except E⁷⁸ mittit). Latt*
inmittit vel committit, et k inicit
 18 προσελθὼν (*pro* ελθων)
 > ἐτελεύτησεν ἄρτι *Solus vid cum aeth sah boh (-αρτι v^g*)*
 20 + τοῦ ἰῷ (*post* οπισθεν) *pers*
 21 + τοῦ κρασπέδου (*post* αφωμαι) 99 (*cf. fam 13*) *sah* (Tantum-
modo pro tantum f; 'Si vest. eius attigero' pers)
 26 αὐτῇς (*pro* αὐτῇ) †† *NCN fam 1.33.124 copt aeth; αυτου*
D d 71 86 99 238 435 sah [non latt]
 33 — οτι

Matthew

- ix 35 + τοῦ θῷ (*post βασιλειας*) *Sol^{vid}*
 — *εν τω λαῷ*
- 36 + ὁ ἰῶ (*post ἰδων δε*) *C M G (Σ fam 13) 247 v^gDR g₁ gat***
pers (syr hier)
- ix 2 *πρσῖφερον sic* 4 *ἰδῶς sic codex (pro ἰδων)*
ἐνθυμείσθαι 5 [ἀφένωται] σου (*pro αφ. σοι*) [ἔγειραι]
 9 ἀκούσθην †† 11 Διὰτί 13 ἀλλὰ [ἀμαρτωλοὺς εἰς
μετάνοιαν] †† 14 διὰτί [πολλὰ] 15 μὴ [non ita
sacer] 17 βάλουσιν (*pro βάλλουσιν*) *pr.††* [ἀπο-
λοῦνται] βάλουσι (*pro βάλλουσιν sec.*) †† ἀμφοτέροι
 19 ἠκολούθησαν 30 μὴ δεῖς γινωσκέτω †† 32 [ἄνῶν
κωφόν] 34 ἐκβάλει †† 36 ἐσकुλμένοι [ἐρριμμένοι]
 ὡς (*pro ὡσει*) ††
- x I *fin.* + *εν τω λαῷ* *L Eust 19 b g₁ Cyr Thdt syr hier B (cf. pers:*
omn. morb. et aeg. quam viderent sanarent)
- 4 παραδίδουσ *X Δ 28 56 58 61 Eust 4 51 z^{er} bis*
- 8 νεκροὺς ἐγείρετε λεπροὺς καθαρίζετε
- 10 ῥάβδου
fin. — εστιν alig (forsan ex EICHN init vers II seq)
- 11 + πρῶτον (*post εξετασατε*) †† *cf. Luc. x 5 (Diatess ex Luc.)*
- 14 + ἐξω (*post εξερχομενοι*)
 + ἐκ (*post κοινοτρον*) *NC 27 33 41 al. pc. it vg (syr) arm*
- 15 + Γῆ (*ante Γομόρρων*) †† *cum NC sol [non aeth boh sah pers*
syr] ἡ pro και Eust 48 c
- 16 ὡσεὶ οἱ ὄφιοι *sic, omnia a pr. man. (††) (Bir 'ὡσεὶ ὄφιοι'; negl Scho)*
- 19 παραδώσουσιν
 > [δοθῆσεται γὰρ] ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ ὑμῖν, *sic*
τί λαλήσητε sic pr. man.†† (Bir Scho λαλήσητε sine altero verbo)
- 23 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης (*pro εν τη πολει ταυτη*) 5.59.258 *Eust 15*
Orig Petr Alex Chrys
- γὰρ *DM al it v^l vg copt arm aeth*
- 25 ἀπεκάλεσαν *sic* (pro εκαλεσαν) Vult επεκαλεσαν ex emend.*
- 27 ἠκούσατε (*pro ακουετε*) †† *fam 1.22. al. Matthaei Bas. cf. aeth*
pers. Audistis gat v^gz^{er} a d (contra D^{8r}) μ dim durm
ακηκοατε Orig.
- 33 *Om. vers ex hom. Solus vid cum Δ i^{ser} et v^g et β (β=Barb*
lat 570) δ.
- 36 + εἰσὶν, (*post ανθρωπου*) †† *Sol^{vid} cum boh sah (aeth? pers?)*
- 42 + τῶν ἐλαχίστων (*post τουτων*) *Sol^{vid} conflat. (ελαχ. PRO μικρων*
D et latt goth)
- x 3 λεβαῖος †† 4 [ὁ κανανίτης] + ὁ (*ante ἰσκα-*
ριώτης) 9 μήτε *bis* †† 10 [μὴ δὲ *ter sed ita*] 13
 ἦν (*pro ἦ*) *pr. loco* †† [ἡ *sec. loco*]. [ἐλθέτω] [πρὸς
 ὑμᾶς] 14 ἂν (*pro εαν*) †† μὴ δὲ 18 ἡγεμόνας
 ἀχθῆσασθαι ἐνεκεν *sic* †† 23 [τοῦ ἰηλ] 25 τοὺς
 οἰκειακοὺς 28 φοβεῖσθε (*pro φοβηθητε pr. loco*)
 ἀποκτενούντων [φοβήθητε] *sec. loco* τῶν (*sic*) *δυνά-*

Matthew

- μενον †† 29 ἐπὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν sic †† (*cf. var lect Orig.*)
 30 πάσαι sic acc. 31 φοβείσθε (*pro φοβηθήτε*) 36
 οἰκειακοὶ 37 ἡ (*pro ἡ pr.*) sed ἡ sec. 42 ψυχροῦν
 sic †† cum Z al *pauc.* 42 fin. ἀμⁿ fin. lin.
- xi 1 τοὺς δώδεκα μυητὰς †† 4.28 *me teste* 118 *Eust* 53 54 2^{scr} [non lat]
 10 ἀποστελῶ (*pro ἀποστέλλω*) †† X al *pauc boh sah* [non lat]
 16 παιδίοις (*pro παιδαριοῖς*) *cf. lat pueris*
 > καθήμενοις ἐν ἀγοραῖς (*pro ἐν αγ. καθ.*) ita codex. Recte Scho et
Bir in Var lect, sed male Bir καθ. ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς in ed. N.T.
- 19 > φίλος τελωνῶν (*pro τελ. φίλος*) M L *fam* 12 [non 124] 99 243
cf. c h [non k] copt Clem Aug syr (om. Bir N.T. Habet Var lect et Scho).
- 21, 23 ἐγενήθησαν (*pro ἐγενοντο*)
 23 — του
 27 ὁ (*pro ᾧ*) †† } Ita: καὶ ὁ εἰς βούλεται, ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι (*pro καὶ ᾧ*
 βούλεται, †† } εἰς βούληται ἀποκαλύψαι)
 30 + εστιν (*sic codex*) post χρηστος *Cf. it.*
fin. — εστιν † Recte Bir. Male Scho '— ελαφρον εστιν'
- xi 2 [δύο] 7, 8, 9 ἐξήλθατε (*Recte Bir Scho ver 7, 8,*
sed om. in ver 9) 8 ἰδεῖν ἄν^{ων} uno ten. sine inter-
 punctione. [ἱματίοις] 10 [γάρ] 11 ἐν γεννητῆς (*pro*
ἐν γεννητοῖς) et ita vult vid. *nc rescript.** 13
 [προεφίτευσαν sic] 16 [καὶ προσφωνοῦσι] τοῖς ἐταῖροις
 [αὐτῶν καὶ λέγουσιν] ††. 17 [*Habet υμιν sec.*] 19
 [τέκνων] 21 χωρα(εῖν) †† βηθσαϊδά 23 [ὑψωθείσα]
 24 fin. συ (*ex em. prob**) *pro* σοι †† 26 [ἐγένετο
 εὐδοκία] 29 πρᾶος sic (*pro πρᾶός*) (*πρᾶος B C D**
Clem Orig 2/8 Ath Bas) εὐρίσεται
- xii 2 fin. ἐν τοῖς σάββασι (*pro ἐν σαββατω*) (*latt sabbatis*)
 5 + ἐν (*ante τοῖς σαββασιν*) †† C D *Eust* 48 2^{scr} *Cyr sah boh*
 8 > ἡ γάρ ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀβ^{ου}, καὶ τοῦ σαββ^ατου † *Recte Scho*
casu vel fortuna puto. Male Bir in N.T. ET in Var lect:
'κυριος ο υιος του ανθρωπου και του σαββατου'
- 10 + ἐκεῖ (*post ἦν*)
 12 + μᾶλλον (*post οὖν*) *fam* 13 33 238 *Eust* 48 (*μᾶλλον pro ουν*
H^{scr} f Matthaei)
 13 > σου τὴν χεῖρα
 14 > Οἱ δὲ φαρισαῖοι ἐξεθόντες, συμβούλιον ἔλαβον κατ' αὐτοῦ
 21 ἐπὶ (*pro ἐν*) 4.262 *Eus Chr* ((*cf. simulacrum verborum sah*
boh επεγραπ))
- 25 καθ' ἐαυτὴν sec. loco [καθ' ἐαυτῆς *pr*] †† *gr pauc. Cf. lat accus.*
 27 ἐκβαλοῦσιν, sic (*pro ἐκβάλλουσι*;) L al. ff₁ *Cyr*
 > κριταὶ β^ε ἔσονται ἡ ὑμῶν (*pro ὑμῶν εσονται κριταὶ*) *Id est κρ. υμων*
*εσ.** (Bir Scho 'κριτ. εσ. υμων Urb 2 a pr. man.' Silent*
de symb. ad emend. a man rubric.)
- 32 inil. καὶ ὁς εἰς (*pro καὶ ὁς ἄν*) ††
 35 [τῆς καρδίας] + αὐτοῦ

Matthew

- xii 35 + τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ (*post* πονηρου θησαυρου) L w**^{ser} *dim gat*
vg^{2R} arm syr cu sin hier Tich Gaud
- fin.* + τὰ (*ante* πονηρα)
- 38 + αὐτῶ (*post* ἀπεκριθησαν) ††
- 45 > ἑτερα πνεύματα ἐπτά [πον. εαυτου] 28
- 46 + αὐτοῦ (*post* μητηρ) †† 106 *syr it copt* [*Habet etiam post* ἀδελφοι]
- 50 οὗτος (*pro* αὐτός) †† L Δ (*sed* δ ipse) Σ *al. e ff₁ k (syr) sah Aug 1/2*
Auct or inip (ille) Cf. Marc. iii 35 (et Clem^{tom} οὔτοι Cf. Luc.
viii 21)
- xii 3 [αὐτός:] 4 ἔφαγε, οὖς †† οὐκεξὼν *sic sine sp.*
 6 μείζον (*pro* μείζων) 7 ἔλαιον (*pro* ἔλεον) †† 10
 τὴν χεῖραν *sic* †† (Γ v^{ser} H^{ser}) 11 ἐστίν (*pro* ἔσται)
 [ἐγερῆι,] 13 ἀπεκατεστάθη [ὡς ἡ ἄλλη] 18 ἡρέτισα
 18 ἠυδόκησεν †† 20 λῆνον (*pro* λινου) †† 22 [*cum*
l. r] 23 μήτοι (*pro* μήτι) †† 25 [*Habet* ὁ ἰῆ] 29
 διαρπάσαι (*pro* διαρπάσαι) *fin.* διαρπάση 31 *fin.* [τοῖς
 ἀνoῖς *habet*] 35 [τὰ ἀγαθὰ] 40 [καρδία *sec loco*]
 42 [σολομῶντος] *bis* ᾤδε (*fere passim*) 44
 [ἐπιστρέψω εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου] ἐλθὼν (*pro* ἐλθὼν) 47
 [*cum l. r*] 48 [τῷ εἰπόντι]
- xiii 3 > ἐν παραβολαῖς πολλὰ C 241 252 *Orig (ut Marc. iv 2)*
 4 + τοῦ οὐνοῦ (*post* πετεινα) † *Recte Bir sed om. Scho*
 5 καλὴν (*pro* πολλήν) *Sol^{vid}*
 + καὶ (*ante* δια) *Om. Bir N.T. Habet Var lect et habet Scho.*
 11 τοῦ θῆ (*pro* των ουρανων) 23 24 32 (*syr pesh*) *Orig sem (ff₁ Phoeb)*
 14 — ἐπ’
 15 ὠσιν (*sec loco*) + αὐτῶν
 16 *fin.* ἀκούουσι- (*pro* ακουει) †† *8 B C D M N X Σ al. Orig Eus Chr*
Cyr (cf. Heges) latt
 22 κόσμον (*pro* πλουτου) *Sol^{vid}*
 23 ἐπὶ τὴν καλὴν γῆν ††
 27 — τα (*ante* ζιζανια)
 28 — δουλοι Bg₁ *h boh sah [non syr aeth pers]*
 λεγουσιν (*pro* ειπον) [*αὐτῶ seq*]
 30 — τω (*ante* καιρω)
 εἰς τὸ κατακαῦσαι (*pro* πρὸς τὸ κατακ.) †† *Non Gr vid. Cf.*
Manich apud Epiph (ex Ev Hebr dicebat Tisch) εἰς το κατα-
καηται. Cf. latt ad comburendum. Cf. 157 ad vi 16
 32 — μεν †† *om. 118-209 [non 1] 253 vg² arm Al?*
 + πάντων (*ante* των λαχανων)
 33 + λέγων (*post* αυτοις)
 ἔκρυσεν (*pro* ενεκρυσεν)
 36 + ὁ ἰῆ (*post* ἀφείσ) *et om. post οικιαν (††) Male Bir + ὁ ἰῆ*
post αφεισ sed negl. om. post οικιαν. Silet de his Scho.
 τοῖς ὄχλοις †† (*Cf. lat dimissis turbis*)
 38 — οἱ (*ante* υιοι του πονηρου) ††
 40 καίεται (*pro* κατακ.)

Matthew

xiii 52

+ ἰϛ̄ (*ante* εἶπεν)C N U Σ *et* υγ². *Al?*τοῦ θῆ (*pro* των ουρανων)*Sol vid cum* 142*

xiii 1 [απο της οικ.]

[το πλοιον]

7 ἔπεσον [*nec corr**] ††ἀναθαι *sine* *sp.*8 [ἔπεσεν *sed ex* ἔπεσον *vert**] ὁ...ὁ... ὁ *sine* *acc.* ἐξήκοντα 10 [εἶπον] διὰ τῆ 13 *fin.*

συνῴσι 14 συνείτε †† 15 ἰάσονται 18 [σπείροντος]

19 συνιόντος 23 [συνῴων] [ὁ *sine* *acc.*] ἐξήκοντα24 [σπείροντι] 25 ἐπίσπειρε ἀναμέσον *υπο* *verbo*

28 συλλέξομεν †† 30 [μέχρι] [εἰσδεσμός] 32

[κατασκηνοῦν] 33 οὐ (*pro* οὐ) 36 [φράσον]37 αὐτοῖς 40 *fin.* [τοῦτου *habet*] 41 ἀποστελλεί*sic* †† 44 χαρὰς *sic* [πάντα ὅσα ἔχει πωλεῖ] 46

[ὁ εὐρών] 48 [εἰς ἀγγέλῃ] 51 [λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ ἰϛ̄]

συνῆκατε *sic* †† [ναὶ κῆ] 52 [εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν]54 [ἐκπλήττεσθαι] 55 [οὐχί] *λωσὴ ita codex* (*pro**ιωσῆς*) *Reclé Bir* ἰωσὴ, *Scho* ἰωσὴ 57 [πατρίδι αὐτοῦ]xiv 1 + δε (*post* ἐκείνω) ††D 122 300 *d syr boh*

3 [ἔθετο] ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ††

7 > ὠμολόγησεν· δοῦναι αὐτῇ (*pro* ὠμολ. αὐτῇ δοῦναι)11 ἤνεγκεν αὐτῇ τῇ μῆ αὐτῆς (*pro* ηνεγκε τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῆς) *Male Bir**add* αὐτῇ *pro* αὐτῇ (N.T.) *In Var lect.* + αὐτῇ *sine* *sp. acc.**Male Scho* + αὐτῇ

12 [σῶμα] + αὐτοῦ

14 ἐπ' αὐτοῖς

19 ἐπὶ τοῦ χόρτου

— *kai sec.*

25 — ο ἰησους

28 — αὐτω

ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σέ

34 ἐπὶ (*pro* εἰς)36 + ἄν (*post* σοσι) ††xiv 2 εἶπεν αὶ (*pro* αἰ) 6 [γενεσίῳ δὲ ἀγομένῳ] 9ἄρκου 10/11 *iungit.* 12 [ἔθαψαν αὐτὸ] 13 [καὶἀκούσας] 13, 23 *κατιδίαν sine apostroph.* 13 περὶ

20 κωφίνου πλῆρῃς †† 22 [εἰς τὸ πλοῖον] οὐ ἀπο-

λύσει (*pro* οὐ ἀπολύση) 25 [ἀπῆλθε] 27 *fin.* φοβεῖ-σθαι (*compendio*) 29 [ὁ πέτρος] 30 [ἰσχυρὸν]33 [ἐλθόντες] 33/34 *iungit.* 34 γενισαρέτ' (*aliquod**Scr in Marco*) *Male Bir Scho* γεννησαρέθ.

xv 1 — οἱ ††

5 ἐὰν (*pro* ἂν *pr loco*) ††7 ὁ ἡσαίας †† *Sol* ^{1d} ((*cf. boh sah*))11 εἰσπορευόμενον (*pro* εἰσερχομενον) 238. *pers* ^{1st} *cf. sah boh* (*cf. xv 17*)ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τούτου (*pro* ἐκ τοῦ στόματος, τούτο) †† (*om.* τούτο*fam* 1 22 *e*) *Cf. latt* 'ex ore hoc'13 ὁ ἐν οὐνοῖς (*pro* ο ουρανιος) *Sol?* *cum* 238 *Evst* 7 15 17 *syr corb*14 ὁδηγοὶ (*pro* ὁδηγῇ) †† *Sol* (ὁδηγον *fam* 13)

Matthew

- xv 16 + αὐτῷ (*post* εἶπεν) B Σ 80 301 *syr* (39 eis *q* (*ff*₁) *cop aliq syr^{eeh}*)
 31 τὸν ὄχλον
 + καὶ (*ante* κυλλοῦς ὑγιεῖς) D 13-556 *syr sah*
 + καὶ (*ante* χωλοῦς περιπ.) N B C D M N P Δ Σ *f k syr boh*
 32 εἶπεν + αὐτοῖς N^o C K Π 73.91 *copst syr*
 35 [ἐκέλευσε] τῷ ὄχλῳ
 36 ἐδίδου (*pro* εδωκε)
fin. τοῖς ὄχλοις
 38 + ὥσει (*post* ἦσαν)
 xv 2 *fin.* ἐσθίουσιν †† 4 [ἐνετείλατο λέγων] [τὸν πρῶτον] 5 ἐξεμου *sic* 6 [τὴν ἐντολὴν] 7 προσεφίτευσεν
 11 κοινοὶ *bis* [*ver* 18, 20 κοινοῖ] 14 ἄφεται †† [ὁδηγοὶ
sic εἰσὶ τυφλοὶ τυφλῶν] 17 [οὕτω] 18/19 *iungit.*
 19 [‘φόνοι’] μοιχεῖαι· πορνεῖαι· *sic acc.* ψευδομαρτυρίαι·
 κλωπαί· (*sic codex*) βλασφημίαι (*pro* κλοπαὶ ψευδομ.
 βλασφ.) (††) 22 χανααῖα ὀρίων [ἐκραύγασεν αὐτῇ]
 [νιὲ δᾶδ] 23 [ἡρώτων] 25 προσεκύνησεν 27 ψυχῶν
 30 [χωλοῦς· τυφλοῦς·] κυλλοῦς· κωφοῦς· † (*Notat*
Bir sed om. Scho) 30/31 *iungit.* 32 νήστις ††
 34 ~~ἐπέστει~~ αὐτοῖς *sic puncta aurea ab ἀντιβάλλοντι* ††
 37 ἦσαν *sic acc.* 39 ἀνέβη ὄρια [μαγδαλὰ]
 xvi 2/3 *Om.* οφίας . . . *usque ad* δυνασθε (*ρξα ad* xv 39, *non* xvi 1,
ρξβ ad xvi 1, *non* xvi 2, ^β ρο λβ *sic ad* xvi 5 *non* ρξγ *ad* xvi 4)
 6 — καὶ σαδδουκαίων †† U 61.68 115 235 *y^{eor} sem a v^g^x Cod γ*
Chrys Ambr Ambrst (Herodianorum *k*)
 8 εἶπε (— αὐτοῖς)
 10 εἰς τοὺς τετρακισχιλίουσ (*pro* των τετρακισχιλίων) †† *Non Gr vid.*
praeler Σ. Cf. c f ff₁ v^g in quatuor milia (D^{8r} *et d* τοῖς
 τετρακεισχειλίοις)
 11 ἄρτων (*pro* ἀρτου)
 12 τῶν ἄρτων
 17 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ (*pro* καὶ αποκρ.) ††
 21 > εἰς ἱεροσόλυμα ἀπελθεῖν N B D^{8r} I fam 13.33 *y^{eor} e Orig Iren^{int}*
fin. ἀναστῆναι (*pro* ἐγερθῆναι) D Σ 54 56 58 61 *mg* 106 131 *Iust.*
 (*Mc. Luc.*)
 22 > αὐτῷ ἐπιτιμᾶν [λεγων] ††
 24 — ο ἰησοῦς
 25 θέλει ††
 26 ὠφεληθῆσεται
 ὅταν (*pro* εαν) *cum* N^{oa} (quod *pers^{int}*) [*non* *syr non lat*]
 (*Cf.* Io. xii 32 *ubi* 157 254 *Eust* 48 *Orig* 1/5 *Ath Bas Chr*
Caes = ὅταν *pro* εαν) ὅταν *non ex Marco* viii 36 = εαν
 κερδήσῃ *et lat^t si* . . . (NBL κερδήσαι). *In Luc.* ix 25 κερδήσας
 (D¹ κερδήσαι, D⁸ εαν κερδήσῃ), *vet^t lucrari. Cf. syr^r et syr^{int}*
resh sch Luc. ix 25 ‘quum’.
 28 + ὅτι (*ante* εἰσι) NBL *fam* 13 238 *sah boh lat syr*

Matthew

- xvi 4 [του προφητου] 9 κωφίνουσ †† 11, 12 [*Habet* και σαδδουκαίων] 12 αλλα †† 13 και σαρείας 17 [βάρ ιωνά] 20 *fin.* [ἰὲ ὁ χῆ] 23 [μου εἰ] 25 [ἀν πρ.] ἔσκεν 26 [τὸν κόσμον] ὅλον 28 ἐστῶτων γεύονται
- xvii 1 + τον (*ante* ιακωβον)
 2 ἐγένοντο ††
 4 > ἡλία μίαν ††
 5 + ἐγένετο (*post* φωνη) *boh arm. Cf. syr et an*
 9 εκ (*pro* απο)
 12 + πάντα (*ante* οσα) †† 435 *boh* ¹(*aeth*^{int}) *syr cu sin* [*non sch pesh*] *boh.* (*Cf. a b c ff₂ r r₂ al. quanta pro quaecunque*)
 13 + αὐτοῦ (*post* μαθηται) 235 *syr boh aeth f* (*hiat goth*)
 21 [*Habet vers.*] *Om. N* B 33 e ff₁ syr cu sin hier sah boh aeth*
 22 *fin.* + ἁμαρτωλῶν 38 47 53 59 61 435 *Eust 47* ^{280r} *ff₁ dim sah*¹¹⁰ *codd Chrys^{duo} (cf. ανομων pro ανθρωπων 237)*
 xvii 1, 19 κατιδιαν 1/2 *iungit.* 3 μωϋσησ †† 4 μωϋση ††
 5 [αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε] 9 οὐ *pro* οὐ 12 αλλα ††
 οὕτως †† 14 [γονυπετῶν αὐτῷ] 19 διὰ τί [*non xv 2, 3*]
 19/20 *uno tenore* 20 [ἀπιστίαν] 24 δίδραγμα *pr.*
 δίδραγμα *sec.* 25 εἰσηλ^θ *sic fin lin.* πρέφθασεν *sic*
 κήνσον [υἱων αυτων] 26 ἄράγε *sic* 27 λχθῶν
- xviii 4 ταπεινώσει
 5 [παιδίον τοιοῦτον] — ἐν †† S X Δ Σ 124* *Matthaei^{troa} e r₂ δ* (*sah boh syr^{sch} pesh*)
 6 περὶ (*pro* ἐπι)
 8 αὐτὸν (*pro* αὐτα) *N B D L 1. fam 13 243 245 it vg sah syr arm aeth*
 κυλλὸν ἢ χωλὸν *N B it vg (contra syr aeth copt)*
 11 *Habet vers. et* + ζητῆσαι καὶ (*ante* σώσαι) *min alig c aeth arab* (*cf. boh C₁*)
 12 + καὶ (*ante* πορευθεῖς) *BDL fam 13 it arm aeth syr boh sah*
 πεπλανημένον (*pro* πλανωμενον) *Sol^{rid} cf. boh (cf. vers 13)*
 14 μου (*pro* υμων)
 + τοῖς (*ante* ουρανοῖς) ††
 ἐν (*pro* εἰς)
 16 μετὰ σεαυτοῦ (*pro* μετα σου)
 > ἐπὶ στόματος δύο ἡ τριῶν μαρτύρων *N [non 1 teste Lake] 301 verss. (Hipp)*
 18 + γαρ (*post* αμην) *N Σ 61 74 248 P^{scr} (+ και syr, + δε V* 22 89 106 118-209 234, + certe pers^{int})*
fin. ἐν τοῖς οὐνοῖς *D L M 22 28 33 Eust 60 d f sah aeth boh Chrys*
 19 [πάλιν] + ἄμην
 + ἡ τρεῖς (*post* δυο) *Sol^{rid} cum Ennod.*
 — υμων *seq. † (Confuse Scho) 33 cf. lat*
 24 ἀρξάμενος δε (*pro* ἀρξαμένου δε αὐτοῦ) (††) *Bir Scho — αυτου sed*

¹ Vere aeth 'as they would' Cf. Pistis

Matthew

neglex ἀρξάμενος. Sol? Translata? (cf. lat et cum coepisset et copt)

xviii 26 *fin.* > ἀποδώσω σοι

28 εἴ τι (pro ὁ τι) Gr unc pl. q Orig (contra min, latt arm aeth syr copt)

31 αὐτῶν (pro αὐτῶν) ††

32 εἶπεν (pro λεγει) e vg^x (copt syr)

35 ὁ οὐνιός (pro ο επουρανιος)

xviii 1 [ῥα] μείζων vid [sed ver 4 μείζων] 6 μῦθος

7 [ἀνὼ' ἐκείνω] 12, 13 ἐνενηκονταεννέα 15 [cum

t. r.] 16 ἔτη (pro ετι) †† 19 [συμφωνῶσιν sic]

sed ω rescript. [αἰτήσονται] sed ω rescript. 21 [αὐτῶ

ὁ πέτρῳ, εἶπε'] εἰμέ sic 21 *fin.* ἐπάκισ; 23

ὁμοιώθη †† 25 [εἶχε] 28 [ἀπόδος μοι] [ὀφείλεις']

29 [εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ] [πάντα] 31 [γενόμενα]

32 ἀφήκασιν sic 33 καὶ ἐγώ 34 οὐ pro οὐ (ut

saepé) 34 *fin.* [αὐτῶ] 35 οὕτως †† *fin.* [τὰ παρα-

πτώματα αὐτῶν]

xix 5 + αὐτοῦ (post πατέρα) ††

κολληθήσεται

9 μὴ ἐπὶ πορνεία — εἰ [Rell cum t. r.]

14 ἀφετε τὰ παιδία ἔρχεσθαι πρὸς με, ἢ μὴ κωλύετε αὐτὰ (pro αφ. τα παιδ. και μη κωλ. αυτα ελθειν προς με) (††) Male Bir Scho 'addit. ερχεσθαι προς με Urb 2' post παιδια. Add. Urb 2 sed om. postea προς με.

16 > προσελθὼν αὐτῶ, εἶπε [Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθὲ· τί ἀγαθὸν] ποιήσας ζῶν ἀιώνιον κληρονομήσω (pro ποιησω ινα εχω ζωην αιωνιον)

19 — σου *hr* post πατέρα*fin.* ὡς αὐτὸν

20 ταῦτα πάντα [ἐφυλαξάμην ἐκ νεότητός μου] ††

23 ὅτι πλούσιος, δυσκόλος (et ita vult) (††) Non accurate Bir Scho. Ord N B C D L Z I [non 118-209] fam 13 it vg aeth

24 τρυμαλίσ (pro τρυπηματος)

εἰσελθεῖν (pro διελθειν)

τῶν οὐρανῶν (pleno) pro του θειου

fin. — εἰσελθειν

26 [πάντα δυνατά] εἰσι (pro εστι) ††

28 καθίσεσθε καὶ αὐτοί, (pro καθισεσθε και υμεις) †† N D L Z I. 124 Orig Ambr (et ipsi) Gaud

29 ὅς τις (pro δε)

30 > πολλοὶ δὲ ἐσονται ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι καὶ πρῶτοι ἔσχατοι L vg^R aeth [non syr copt lat]

xix 1 ὅρια 3 [λέγοντες αὐτῶ] [ἀνῶ] ἀπολύσαι 4 [εἶπεν

αὐτοῖς] θίλν sic et ita vult 6 οὐκ ἔτι 7 μωυσῆς ††

[ἐνετείλατο] [αὐτήν] 8 μωυσῆς †† ἀπολύσαι

fin. οὕτως †† 10 [αὐτοῦ] 11 [τοῦτον] ἄλλοις sic

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H

Matthew

- (*vide infra*) 12 οὕτως †† *sic acc.* 15 [αὐτοῖς τὰς
 χείρας] 17, 18 [*cum t. r.*] 21 ὑπάρχοντα 22
 [τὸν λόγον] 27 ἔσται *rescript pr. man.* 29 [οἰκίας
 ἡ] *ἐνεκεν*
- xx 3 — *την*
 12 > αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν †† *ND LZ 69-124 it vg syrr sah boh aeth (Orig
 autous epoihasa hmin)*
 15 ἡ οὐκ ἐξόν μοι ἐστίν, (*pro ἡ οὐκ ἔξεστί μοι*) *Sol^{vid}*
 > δ θέλω ποιῆσαι (*pro ποιησαι ο θελω*)
 21 ἐξευωνύμων (*sine sp.*) + σου
 23 + ὁ ἰδ̄ (*post αυτοις*) †† *D Δfam 13 it^p syr cu sin boh arm vg^{QR}*
καὶ ἐξευωνύμων, (sine sp.) — μου ††
ἀλλοῖς sic (pro ἀλλ' οἷς) †† 225 d Hil
 26 — *δε*
 27 ἔσται (*pro εστω*)
 30 [ἐλήθον ἡμᾶς] — κυριε †† *ND 13-346 118-209 bc d e ff₁ ff₂*
h n r₂ syr cu hier^B arm [Contra B L Z 124 g_{1,2} l sah boh syr
sch pesh syr hier]
υιὲ Δαδ̄ (pro υιος Δαβιδ) ††
 31 *Om. vers ex hom.*
 32 αἰτοῖς (*pro αὐτοῖς*) †† *Γ 301 Evst 49 H** uor*
 33 ἀνοιχθῶσιν *sic pr. man.* †† ἀνοιγῶσιν *ND B D L Z fam 13.33*
Orig Chrys (Puncta superposita χ et θ α διορθωτ. ἀνοιχθῶσιν)
 xx 3 ἐστῶτας [*non ver 6*] 4 καὶ ἐκείνοις †† 5 [ἐννάτην]
 6 [ἐνδεκάτην ὥραν] [ἀργουσι] 7 [καὶ δ ἐὰν ἡ δίκαιον
 λήψετε] 8/10 [*cum t. r.*] 13 οὐκ ἀδικῶσαι (*pro οὐκ*
ἀδικῶσε) †† 16 [*cum t. r.*] 17 κατιδίαν [ἐν τῇ ὁδῶ]
 19 ἐμπαίξαι 19 *fin.* [ἀναστήσεται] 20 [παρ' αὐτοῦ]
 22 δύνασθαι (*compendio fin lin*) 28 [λύτρον] 34
iniē. πλαγχυσθεῖς sic ††
- xxi 1 τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ (*pro μαθητας*) *fam 13.28.33.243 it L^{vg} syr arm*
 2 — αυτοῖς *b e ff₁ ff₂ r₂ vg^R boh^G Hil Chrys*
πορεύεσθε
κατέναντι ††
δεδεμένον †† [sed τὴν ὁδὸν ver 7]
 3 + ποιεῖτε οὕτως (*post τι*) + ποιεῖτε *D d aeth Orig Cf. Marc. xi 3*
ἀποστέλει sic †† (Vult ἀποστέλλει?)
 6 ποιήσαντες καθά (εσ καθα *rescript. a pr. man.*) *pro ποιησαντες*
καθως † Adnotat Birch. Om. Scho.
 7 + δε (*post ηγαγον*) *Sol? et addux. 243 latt syrr*
 8 αὐτῶν (*pro εαυτων*)
 9 + αὐτὸν (*post προαγοντες*)
 11 > ὁ προφῆτης ἰδ̄ *ND sah boh arm Orig 1/3 Eus*
 12 καθέδρας (*pro τραπέζας*) *Sol^{vid}*
 16 + οὐκ (*ante ακουεις*)
 18 + ὁ ἰδ̄ (*post επαναγων*) ††
 19 ἐπ' αὐτῆς (*pro επ αυτην*) †† *Sol? cum 238*

Matthew

- xxi 22 ἐάν (pro an) ††
 23 > τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκε ταύτην Sol^{vid}
 24 > ἕνα λόγον CDF Σ Φ al. pc. it
 λ' sic fin lin (pro erw) Sol^{vid}
 25 + ἢν (post ουρανου pr loco) †† sah boh vg^E
 ἐν (pro παρ') BLM^{ms} Z 12 33 61 Eust 48 2^{corsem} copt Cyr,
 latt intra vel inter
 26 > πάντες γὰρ ὡς προφήτην ἔχουσι τὸν ἰωάννην
 28 + τίς (post ἀνθρώπος)
 30 ἐτέρῳ (pro δευτέρῳ)
 31 + δὲ (post λεγει) †† Sol?
 32 > ἰωάννης πρὸς ὑμᾶς NBCL 33 209 Eust 48 c r r, aeth
 Orig
 οὐδὲ (pro οὐ) B Σ Φ 1.13-69-124.22.33 Eust 48 it [non c e] vg
 syrr boh aeth
 34 + τοῦ (ante λαβειν) †† Sol^{vid}. Cf. ut accip. latt syrr
 45 τὴν παραβολὴν Δ 243 δ syr cu [non sin] pers. (Male Tisch D.
 Citat Tisch 'D al³ cat oxon τὴν παραβολὴν αὐτοῦ', sed D d
 = τας παραβολας αὐτοῦ parabolas eius)
 46 ἐξήτουν (pro ζητουντες) †† } = syr (Auct op imp)
 + καὶ (ante εφοβηθησαν) †† }
 xxi 2 [ἀγάγετε] 9 ὡσάννα bis 13 [ἐποιήσατε] 15
 ὡσάννα 15/16 iungit. 16 [οὐδέποτε] 18 ἐπίνασε ††
 19 συκὴν μὴκέτι fin. συκὴ 20 fin. συκὴ 21
 [ἄρθητι καὶ βλήθητι] 22 ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ sic 28
 fin. [Habet μου] 29 fin. ἀπᾶλθεν [Rell cum t. r.] 30
 ὡσαύτῳ 33 [ἐξέδοτο] 35 ἔδιραν 36 πλειόνας
 38 [κατάσχωμεν] 41 [ἐκδόσεται] 36/44 [cum t. r.,
 habet 44]
 xii 5 ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμπορίαν (pro eis τὴν εμπ.) + Habet Bir. Om. Scho (prob
 137 errore pro 157) NBCL Σ Φ it vg Lucif Orig Chrys
 7 καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκείνος, (pro Ακ. δε ο βασι.) † Habet Bir.
 Om. Scho εκεινος. (Cf. D al. d a c f f₃ q syr cu sin Lucif)
 13 > χεῖρας καὶ πόδας
 16 οὐδὲ γὰρ (pro ου γαρ)
 16 fin. ἀνῶν (pro ἀνθρώπων) G min aliq boh sah aeth Orig Ath
 (pers^{int} cuiusquam. Cf. syr cæ)
 20 + ὁ ἰδ' (post αὐτοῦ)
 — αὐτῇ (post εικων) } Trsf. L Z aeth^{int} sed falso [non lat syr]
 fin. + αὐτῇ (post επιγραφῇ) } (sah copt haec imago et haec inscriptio)
 21 — οὐν
 23 — οἱ
 25 γήμας (pro γαμήσας)
 30 γαμίσκονται (pro εκγαμίζονται)
 — του (ante θεου)
 + τῷ (ante ουρανω)
 32 οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς νεκρῶν ἀλλὰ θεὸς ζώντων Omnia a pr. man. (††) (Non

Matthew

- accurate Bir Scho* '— θεος*') + θεος ante ζωντων Sol 157?
cum 238 251 *g₁ gat vg^R (aeth)*
- xxii 37 ἔφη (*pro* εἶπεν)
 — τη (*ante* καρδια) ††
- 39 δευτέρα ο (*fin lin*) ὁμοία (— δε) †† — δε *cum* NB sah^{III} boh
C₁ E₁**
 αὕτη (*pro* αὐτῇ) ††
 ὡς αὐτὸν
- 41 αὐτοῖς (*pro* αὐτοῖς) FKΓΠ
- 43 + ὁ ἱε̅ (*post* αυτοῖς)
- 45 + ἐν πνι (*ante* καλεῖ) ††
- 46 > ἀποκριθῆναι αὐτῶ
- xxii 1 [αὐτοῖς ἐν παρ.] 4 [ἡτοίμασα] 7 φωνεῖς 11
 θεάσασθε †† 13 [εἶπεν ὁ βασις.] ἄναντον *sic errore*
 ἐκβάλατε †† 16 μέλλει †† 17 [εἶπε] *fin. οὐ*
 (*pro* οὐ ;) 18 γνοῦσ 24 [μῶσῃς] 27 [καὶ ἡ
 γυνὴ] 29 μὴ δέ 35 [καὶ λέγων] 36 ἐντολῇ
 μεγάλῃ 37 ἀγαπήσῃς † (*Bir, non Scho*) [τῇ ψυχῇ]
 [τῇ διανοίᾳ] 40 [καὶ οἱ προφ. κρεμανται] 42 ἐστὶν
 43 [κῦ αὐτὸν καλεῖ] 44 [ὑποπόδιον] 46 ἡδύνατο ††
- xxiii 3 ἐὰν (*pro* αν) ††
- 4 + αὐτοὶ δὲ (*ante* τῷ δακτύλῳ αὐτῶν *sic*)
- 5 γὰρ (*pro* δε *sec.*)
- 6 γὰρ (*pro* τε) 253 433 *e vg^A boh^F Chrys*
 τὰς πρωτοκλησίας †† N^o L 1.33.209 *syr^r copt^l it^{pl} vg arm*
aeth
- 10 ὅτι εἰς ἐστὶν ὑμῶν καθηγητὴς (*pro* εἰς γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ο καθ.) Sol?
- 18 τοῦ θυσιαστήριου (*pro* αὐτοῦ) †† 566* *syr cu sin hier^A*
- 21 κατοικήσαντι
- 23 τὸ ἔλεον (*pro* τον ελεον) ††
 + δε (*post* ταυτα)
- ποιεῖν (*pro* ποιησαι) †† ?
- 25 γέμει (*pro* γεμουσιν) X^{com} Clem Chrys, 188 (γεμη)
 — ἐξ †† C D 188 245 *Eust* 48 *sem* 49 *sem* H^{gor} latt
- fin. ἀδικίας (pro* ακρασίας)
- 26 αὐτοῦ (*pro* αυτων)
- 27 > οὔτινες μὲν φαίνονται ἔξωθεν ὠραῖοι *ita codex* (††) *Male Bir Scho*
om. μεν Habet codex
- 30 ἡμεθα (*pro* ἡμεν *pr.*) *sine sp.*, ἡμεθα *sec.*
- 34 ἀποστελλῶ *sic* †† (*cf.* ἀποστελλῶ D 238 243 258 2^{gor} al.)
 — και (*post* γραμματεῖς)
- 35 — του (*ante* αιματος *pr.*) †† [*non sec.*]
- 36 + ὅτι (*ante* ἡξει)
- > πάντα ταῦτα
- 39 δε (*pro* γαρ) Sol vid cum 2^{gor} c ff₂ h r r₂ vg^{EQR} sah^{III} arm
 xxiii 10 μὴδὲ 13 [*Habet cum t. r. praeter* ληψεσθαι *sic**, et
 κρίμα *acc. ex emend*] 14/16 [*cum t. r.*] 17 [ὁ

Matthew

ἀγιάζων] 19 μίζων (*pro* μείζων) ἀγιάζων †† 23
 ἀποδεκατοῦται [ἀφίεναι] 26 [καὶ τίς παροψίδος]
 27 [παρομοιάζετε] 28 οὕτως †† [μεστοὶ ἐστέ] 29
 γραμματεῖς *sic* †† 30 [κοινωνοὶ αὐτῶν] 32 [πληρώ-
 σατε] 33/34 *spatium a libr pro* τελος. *Rubricator*
inscribat ~ volebat τελ. *ver* 39 *fin.* 35 [ἐκχυνό-
 μενον] ἃ βέλ *sic* 37 Ἰησοῦς Δὴμ *sic* ἀποκτενοῦσα
 ἠθελῆσα *sed postea* [ἠθελήσατε] 38 [ἐρμος] 39
 ἀπάρτι *sic*

- xxiv I > ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπορεύετο
 + αὐτῷ (*post* προσηλθον)
 2 > ταῦτα πάντα ††
 — *μη sec.*
 3 + αὐτοῦ (*post* μαθηται) †† CUGΔΠ *c h r d copt syr aeth Orig^{Int}*
 — *της sec. (ante συντελειας)* NBCL *fam* 1.33 *Cyr hier*
 7 ἔθνος ἐπ' ἔθνος †† NCKLPΣ 1.72 433 *w^{ser}*
 9 εἰς θλίψιν *sic codex cum* H**^{ser} (*Male Bir Scho* θλίψιν *cum*
CL I def etc) *Cf. sah* εἰς θλίψιν *sic (sed boh επροχρε)*
 11 > πολλοὺς πλανήσουσι NL 33 238 *r r₂* (*Cf. ver* 5 *et Iustin*)
 15 δὲ (*pro* οὐν) †† N^o L 243 *Eust* 24 48 49 *z^{ser} copt Iren^{Int} etc. I*
 17 *init.* + καὶ ††
 καταβάτω ††
 τα (*pro* τι)
 18 τὸ ἱμάτιον
 20 — *εν (ante* σαββατω)
 23 ἂν (*pro* εἰν) †† *Sol?*
 ἰδοὺ ἐκεῖ (*pro* ἡ ὁδε) 61; *η* ἐκεῖ D *Eust* 16. *Cf. latt syr aeth*
 24 πλανᾶσθαι (*pro* πλανῆσαι) †† LZ *fam* 1 22 33 (*Orig*)
 31 > ἀπ' ἄκρων αὐτῶν ἕως ἄκρων τῶν οὐνῶν *Sol^{vid} Cf. ff₁ g₁*
 33 > ταῦτα πάντα
 34 + ὅτι (*post* υμῶν) †† BDFL *fam* 1 [*non* 118] *fam* 13.239 253
 433 *it vg syr copt Orig Ps-Ath*
 οὐ (*pro* αὐν) *Sol^{vid}*
 > ταῦτα πάντα
 36 — *της sec. (ante* ωρας) † *Recte Bir, sed om. Scho.*
 — *μου*
 39 + οὐ (*post* εως) †† ΓΔ *al. aliq*
 42 ποῖα (*sic*) ἡμέρα (*pro* ποῖα ὥρα) †† NBD I ΔΣ 1. *fam* 13 [*non*
 346] 33 115 238 *d f ff₂ d sah^{pl} boh^{ala} syr hier Iren Cyr hier*
Ath (aeth diem et tempus; cf. e r r₂ μ gat etc)
 44 > 44 γίνεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἑτοιμοὶ *Sol?* (*cf. copt*)
 ἡ ὥρα οὐ γινώσκετε (*pro* ἡ ὥρα οὐ δοκεῖτε) †† 1-209 [*non* 118] *aeth*
boh is^{pl} gat tol nescitis (cf. al. non putatis, non speratis)
 45 καταστήσει (*pro* κατεστησεν) †† NMΣ *copt Chrys. Cf. vg^{ER}*
 ἐπὶ τῇ οἰκίᾳ (*pro* ἐπὶ της θεραπείας) †† *Sol^{vid} (cf. al. et*
domum q Orig^{Int})
 δοῦναι (*pro* διδοῦναι)

Matthew

- xxiv 45 > ἐν καιρῷ τὴν τροφὴν 28 253 433 *pers* (Cf. *Luc. xii 42*) [*Non citat Tisch sed concursus 28-157 notabilis*]
- 46 οὕτως ποιοῦντα
- 48 μου ὁ κς' N B C D I L 33 209 409 P⁸²² *Orig Ephr copt*
 ἔρχεσθαι (*pro* ελθεῖν) Σ Φ *fam 1 Orig* [Cf. *Luc. xii 45*] (*om.*
 NB 33 *sah boh Ephr Iren^{int}*)
- 49 + αὐτοῦ (*post συνδουλους*)
 ἐσθίει δὲ καὶ πίνει *sic* (*pro* εσθιεν δὲ καὶ πινειν) (††) *Male Bir*
Scho ἐσθίη δὲ καὶ πίνη
 xxiv 3 κατιδίαν [εἶπέ] 5 *fin.* πλανήσωσι †† (= Π*) 6
 [πάντα] 7 [λιμοὶ ἢ λοιμοὶ] 11, 24 *ψευδοπροφήται sic.*
acc. 12 τὸ πληθυνθῆναι *sic acc. de industria* 14, 50
 ἡξει 15 τὸ ῥθεν *sic** ἐστὼς 16 [ἐπὶ τὰ ἔρη] 22
 ἐκείναι *bis* 24 *ψευδόχρηστοι ††* 25 *προ' εἴρηκα sic*
 26 [ταμείουσ *sed ex em.**] 27 [καὶ ἡ παρουσία] 28
 [ὅπου γάρ] 30 [ἐν τῷ οὐνῶ] 32 [τὴν παραβολὴν]
 [ἐκφύη] 33 οὕτως †† 33 *fin.* ἐπὶ θύρεσ· *sic ††*
 35 [παρελεύσονται] 41 [μύλωνι] 43 [ποία φυλακὴ]
 εἶασεν [διοργηῆναι] 45 ἄρα [καὶ φρόνιμος] 50
 ὥρα
- xxv 1 τῷ νυμφίῳ (*pro* του νυμφιου) *Sol cum CB⁸ et latt*
- 2 [πέντε δὲ] ἐξ αὐτῶν ἦσαν μωραὶ καὶ πέντε φρόνιμοι· (μωραὶ... φρον.
 N B C D L Z Σ *it vg cop arm aeth syr hier*)
- 3 αἱ δὲ (*pro* αἰτινες *init.*) Z (1-209) *cf. lat copt* (αι ουν D d ff₂;
 αι γαρ N B C L Z 33 *copt*)
 αὐτῶν (*pro* εαντων *pr.*)
- 6 ἐγείρεσθαι *sic* (*pro* ἐξερχεσθε) 1-209. d c ff₂ *Orig^{int}* (*cf. syr*
hier) *confiat, boh*
 ὑπάντησιν [αὐτοῦ] Σ *Cyr*
- 8 ὑμῖν (*pro* ἡμῖν) *i.e.* ὅστε ὑμῖν ††
 [ὑμῶν] *i.e.* ἐκ τοῦ ἐλαίου ὑμῶν ††
 ὑμῶν (*pro* ἡμῶν) *i.e.* ὅτι αἱ λαμπάδες } ... Σ
 ὑμῶν σβέννυνται· †† C* L U Π* } *Curiose. Sol^{vid}*
- 9 — οὐκ *Sol^{vid}*
- 16 ἐκέρδησεν (*pro* ἐποίησεν)
- 22 εἰληφῶς (*pro* λαβὼν) Φ 243 *al.?* *cf. copt.* (*om.* A B C L Δ Π Σ
 1.33.69 *syr*)
- 24 σκληρὸς ἄνθρωπος εἶ
 ὅθεν (*pro* ὅπου) [*sed* οπου *ver 26*] 1-209 (*non* 118) *De ὅθεν...*
 ὅθεν *ver 24 cf. lat: ubi... ubi*
- 31 — ἅγιοι N B D L Π* *it vg cop arm aeth syr hier etc*
- 32 ἀφορίσει (*pro* ἀφορίει) N* L Δ 1-209 C⁸⁰² *Cyr hier Thdt Tisch¹²¹*
latt
- 37 *fin.* + σε (*post* ἐποτισαμεν) *Latt syrr copt*
- 38 *fin.* + σε (*post* περιεβαλομεν) *Latt syrr copt*
- 39 — δε Π* 33 *al.* (*boh*) *arm lat aliq*
- 44 — αὐτῷ

Matthew

- xxv 44 > ἡ ἀσθενὴ ἢ ξένον ἢ γυμνὸν †† *Ord sol^{vid}*
 45 + τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου (*post* τούτων) *Γ al. pauc. boh^{MSS} tres*
 xxv 1 [ἀπάντησιν] 4 [αὐτῶν *bis*] 6 [ἔρχεται] 7
 [αὐτῶν] 9 [ἡμῖν καὶ ὑμῖν] [δε] *fin.* αὐταῖς 10
 ἀγοράσαι 13 [ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἔρχεται] †† *Habet sed add.*
a pr. man. ita post al. doc. consult. 16 [εἰργάσατο]
 16 *fin.* [τάλαντα *habet*] 17 [καὶ αὐτὸς] 18 ὄρυξεν ††
 [ἐν τῇ γῇ] [ἀπέκρυψε] 19 [χρόνον πολὺν] [μετ' αὐτῶν
 λόγον] 20 *fin.* [ἐπ' αὐτοῖς] 21 [ἐφη δὲ] ἡς (*pro* ἧς)
 [*non ver* 23] 22 *fin.* [ἐπ' αὐτοῖς] 23 εὐδοῦλε *sic*
 [*non ver* 21] 27 [οὐν σε] [τὸ ἀργύριόν μου] 28, 29
 ἀπαντοῦ *sic sine apostr. de indust. contra morem* 29
 [ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ] 30 ἀχρεῖον *vid.* ἐκβίλετε 32 [συνα-
 χθίσεται] 33, 41 ἐξευωνύμων *sic* 35, 36, 43 ἡμῖν
 (*pro* ἡμῖν) *de industria* 36 ἤλλατε 39 [ἀσθενὴ]
 ἢ *pro* ἡ [*non supra non infra*] 40, 45 ἐφόσον *sic sine*
apost. 41 [τὸ ἡγομασμενον *sine acc.*] 43 οὐκεπε-
 σκέψασθίμε *sic*
- xxvi 1 — παντας *Ε Γ 124* al. syr sin hier^B*
 4 > δόλω κρατήσωσι ††
 7 > ἀλάστρον ἔχουσα μύρου πολυτίμου (*pro* αλαβ. μυρ. εχ. βαρυτίμου)
Ord sol^{vid}
 8 *fin.* + τοῦ μύρου *post* αὐτῇ *Σ Φ 61 63 71 a b arm syr hier*
 9 — τουτο το μυρον (— το μυρον *mult, sed* — τουτο *solⁱ r, dim*
μ; cf. Sanders de Genesis of the Versions in Journal of
Philology, Baltimore, April 1912)
 + τοῖς (*ante* πτωχοῖς)
 11 > τοὺς πτωχοὺς γὰρ πάντοτε [ἔχετε μεθ' αὐτῶν]
 15 > αὐτὸν παραδώσω. *Sol^{vid} cum latt*
 18 ὁ ἐμός (*pro* μου *pr.*) †† *Sol^{vid} cum latt (cf. copt)*
 20 + μαθητῶν (*post* δωδεκα)
 22 + εἰς [*ante* ἕκαστος αὐτῶν]
 23 > τὴν χεῖρα ἐν τῷ τρυβλίῳ,
 αὐτός (*pro* οὗτος) *Sol? cum 76 247*
 26 λαβὼν ἄρτον ὁ ἰὲ (— τον) ††
 27 — και *sec.*
 29 — τουτου †† } *id est 'εκ τοῦ γενήματος'* Δ Φ 42 61 116 131* 433
 γενήματος †† } *Eust 44 arm Clem (cf. boh)*
 31 > καὶ τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποιμένης διασκορπισθήσονται
 33 — και
 34 *fin.* > με ἀπαρνήση *N* 33 it vg Orig*
 35 + δε (*post* ομοίως) ††
 36 ἕως ἂν (*pro* ἕως οὗ)
 ἐκεῖ προσεύξωμαι *NBD L 33 fam 69 it pl sah boh aeth*
 38 + ὁ ἰὲ (*post* αὐτοῖς)
 42 > παρελθεῖν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ ποτήριον
 43 πάλιν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς (*pro* ευρίσκει αὐτ. παλ.)

Matthew

- xxvi 44 ἀπελθὼν προσήυξατο (*sic acc.*) πάλιν (— εκ τριτου) Cf. A D K Π I
 γ^{scr} a b
- 45 — αυτου
 + ἀνῶν (*ante* ἀμαρτωλῶν *fin.*) 38 46 50 52 68 245 253 346 433
 (των αμαρτ. H^{scr}) *dim* υγ^{2R*}
- 48 ἐὰν (*pro an*) ††
- 49 [καὶ κατεφίλησεν αὐτὸν] *Econtra om.* 300 *syr hier*
- 51 ἐπεσπάσατο (*pro* απεσπασε) †† *Sol^{vid}*
- 52 > τὴν μάχαιράν σου ††
- 53 [ἄρτι παρακαλέσαι] *sed etiam* + ἄρτι *ante* πλείουσ ἢ †† *Sol^{vid}*
cum μ γαί
- 55 > [πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐκαθεζόμεν] ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διδάσκων,
- 56 τότε οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἀφέντες αὐτὸν πάντες, ἔφυγον· *Id est* + αυτου
post μαθ. *et ord*: αφ. αυτ. παντες
- 57 αὐτὸν (*pro* τον ιησουν) †† 40 122 υγ^R *syr sin*
- 58 ἔσωθεν (*pro* εσω) †† *Sol?*
- 59 — και οι πρεσβυτεροι N B D L 69 *il* (*non fq*) υγ sah boh arm
Orig etc
- 60 + τινῶς (*post* δυο) N Σ 61 238 *Eust* 23 *pers*
- 63 *fin.* + τοῦ ζῶντος C N Δ Θ^f Σ Φ 121 *Eust* 6.44 ff₂ *aeth boh sah alig*
 (*syr*)
- 65 ἰδὲ (*pro* ἰδε) †† *Sol^{vid}* cf. *lat copt etc*
 τῆς βλασφημίας *Sol?* cf. *Chrys.*
- 67 ἐράπιζον (*pro* ερραπισαν) †† *Sol?*
- 69 > ἐκάθητο ἔξω
- 71 καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνη (*pro* καὶ λέγει τοῖς ἐκεῖ) *Sol^{vid}*
- 73 + πάλιν (*ante* προσελθοντες) *Sol?* *cum fam* 1
- 74 καταθεματίζειν
- xxvi 3 [καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς] 4 ἐσυνεβδελύσαντο *sic* (*pro*
 συνεβ.) †† *Sol^{vid}* 5 μὴ ἐν^τ ἑορτῇ *sic*, *sed pr. man.* ††
- 7 [ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν] 8 [αὐτοῦ] 10 γροῦς [εἰργά-
 σατο] 12 τὸ μῦρον τὸ ἐνταφιάσαι 13 ὅλω
- 17 [αὐτῷ] θέλῃς †† *Sol^{vid}* ἐτοιμάσομεν †† 21
 αὐτὸν (*pro* αὐτῶν) *Non ita ver* 26 24 διοῦ *sine apostr*
- 25 ῥαμβί^ν *vid* (*ita notat* i^{scr}) *vult tamen* ραββί. 26
 [ἐδίδου] 27 [τὸ ποτήριον] 28 [τὸ τῆς καινῆς
 διαθήκης] [ἐκχυνόμενον] 29 [ὅτι] ἀπάρτι *sic*
 [μεθ' ὑμῶν καινὸν] 31 ποιμαίνα^ν †† 35 ἀπαρνή-
 σωμαι †† 36 γεθσημανή^ν †† 39 προσελθὼν ††
 [παρελθέτω *vid*] 40 οὐκισχύσατε *sic sine sp more*
Evan 28 42 γεννηθῆτο *sic* †† 43 βεβαρυνμένοι ††
- 45 [τὸ λοιπὸν] 50 [ἐφῶ] πάρι^ν (*pro* πάρει;) 53
 [λεγεώνας] 54 οὕτως †† 55 ἐξῆλθετε *sic a pr.*
man. †† καὶ οὐκρατήσατε *sine sp.* 56, 59 ὅλον
 59 θανατώσουσι †† 60 οὐχ' εὔρον *sic bis* 61
 καταλύσαι 64 ἀπάρτι *passim ut supra* ὄψεσθε
 65 χρεῖαν 73 [ὅλλον σε ποιεῖ] 75 [τοῦ ἰδ] [αὐτῷ]

Matthew

- xvii 5 εἰς τὸν ναὸν †† N B L fam 13.33.99 *copt* (goth) *aeth* *Orig*
 9 — ἱερεμου Φ 33 *a b syrr boh^k*
 13 + οὗτοι (*ante* καταμαρτυροῦσι) *Sol^{vid}* (*cf. syr sin Chrys*)
 21 — δε *prim* †† *Sol^{vid}* (*syr sin arm sah m¹*)
 — ἀπο †† *Sol^{vid}* *cum* Φ (*syr sin*) *om. de duobus c*
 + αὐτῶ (*post* εἶπον) *syr sin*
 22 — αὐτῶ
 23 *Pro* σταυρωθῆτω *habet*: *πρῶτον αὐτὸν omnia a pr. man.* (††) *Non accurate Bir. Om. Scholz*
 24 λαοῦ (*pro* οἴλου) †† *Sol^{vid}* (*latt* *populo*)
 28 ἐνδύσαντες αὐτὸν ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν (*pro* ἐκδύσαντες αὐτον) *Sol^{vid}*
Cf. Tisch ad loc.
 29 ἔθηκαν (*pro* ἐπέθηκαν)
 31 αὐτὸν (*pro* αὐτῶ *post* ἐνέπαιξαν) Γ *min* *alig latt*
 αὐτῶ (*pro* αὐτον *post* ἐξεδυσαν) † *Recte Bir. Male Scho*
 + ἐ τὸ ἱμάτιον τὸ πορφυροῦν (*post* χλαμυδα) *Sol?* (*cf. arm*)
 αὐτῶ (*pro* αὐτον *post* ἐνεδυσαν) † *Male Bir N.T. Recte Var lect. Recte Scholz*
 33 ὃ ἐστὶ κρανίου τόπος λεγόμενος (††) N B L 1-209.33 ff₁ (*Non notant Bir Scho ὃ pro δε*)
 35 — ἵνα πληρωθῇ *usque ad fin vers* (*id est saltus ab κληρον ad κληρον ex hom?*)
 41 + αὐτὸν (*post* ἐμπαιζοντες) †† *c f ff₁ h q r r₂ μ^{**} dim vg^x Cassiod*
syr sin copt diatess
 + καὶ φαρισαίων (*post* πρεσβυτέρων)
 42 πιστεύσωμεν
 43 — νυν Α Ε Η Π* *min* *alig boh ff₂*
 44 μετ' αὐτοῦ (*pro* αὐτῶ *prim*) † *Recte Scho. Male Bir 'συσταυρωθέντες μετ' nihil de αὐτου pro αὐτῶ in Evangel sed recte in Var lect*
 αὐτὸν (*pro* αὐτῶ *fin.*)
 46 ἡλὶ ἡλὶλι μασαβαχθανὴ *sic* † *Male Bir σαβαχθανῇ, et nihil de λιμα in Ev. Habet Lect var. Recte Scho λιμα et σαβαχθανῇ*
 49 ἀφετε (*pro* ἀφες) Θ^l 33 *l*
 σώσον (*pro* σώσων) †† *Silet Bir, tamen citat Borg 2 σώσαι*
 56 ἰωσήφ (*pro* ἰωσή) †
 + ἡ (*ante* μὴτηρ *pleno*) *prim* † *Sol? cum 90 (Recte Bir, male om. Scho) (copt)*
 [ἡ μῆρ (*compendio*)] *sec.*
 63 > ὅτι ὁ πλῆθος ἐκείνος *fam 13.33.44 77 80 108 118-209 [non 1]*
 300 435 *al. Eust^a et latt*
 + ὅτι (*ante* μετα τρεῖς) *D 237 d copt Chr Orig^{int} Chrys*
 64 — νυκτος
 65 — δε
 ἀσφαλίσασθαι †† N C D Σ
 xxvii 3 [ἀπέστρεψε] 4 [ἀθῶν] [ᾄψει] 6 κορβανὰ *sic*

Matthew

- (*Male Scho* κορβανά) 11 [ἴστη] 17 συνηγμένον*
 (...ων**) †† 24 [ἀπέναντι] [τοῦ δικαίου τούτου]
 26 φραγελλῶσας sic* 29 [ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν] [ἐπὶ
 τὴν δεξιάν] γονυπετίσαντες †† 34 οὐκ ἐβόησεν sic ††
 38 ἐξευνύμων sic 40 [εἰ τοῦ ἐϋ] 46 τουτεστί sic
 49 [ἔλεγον] 52 ἠνεώχθησαν [ἠγέρθη] 54
 μεταυτοῦ sine apostr γινόμενα †† [θῷ υἱός] 57
 τούνομα sic 58 fin. [τὸ σῶμα] 59 [αὐτὸ] sed
 60 αἰῶ fin. lin pro αὐτὸ 65 κουστοδιάν †† 66
 κουστοδιάς ††
- xxviii 1 ἦλθεν ἡ μαγδαληνὴ μαρία (*pro* ἦλθε μαρία ἡ μαγδ.) Sol^{vid}
 2 + καὶ (*ante* προσελθών) N B C L 33 77 108 235 *vg it syr*
aeth boh Dion
 [ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας] + τοῦ μνημείου
 10 μαθηταῖς (*pro* ἀδελφοῖς) Sol cum Cyr^{Es}. N* τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς — μου.
 καὶ ἐκεῖ ††
 13 λέγοντες . εἶπατε ὅτι οἱ †† (*Spatium litt septem inter* λεγ.
et εἶπατε)
 > ἔκλεψαν αὐτὸν νυκτὸς ἐλθόντες Sol?
 14 πείσωμεν [αὐτὸν] ††
 ποιήσωμεν
 17 αὐτὸν (*pro* αὐτῷ) ††
 19 — οὐν
- xxviii 3 [ιδέα] 8 [ἐξεληθούσαι] χηρὰς 9 [ὥς δὲ ἐπο-
 ρεύοντο ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ] [ὁ ἰδὲ ἀπήντησεν]
 11 κουστοδιάς †† γινόμενα *prob. man. pr.* †† (*Bir Scho*
γινόμενα) 14 ἀκουσθῇ 16 οὐ (*pro* οὐ) 20 μεθυ-
 μῶν sine apostr sine sp [*Habet ἀμὴν fin.*]

Mark

- i 2 ἀποστελλῶ sic †† (*Cf. Mc. xiii 27*)
 4 + τῆς ἰουδαίας (*post* ἐρημῷ) Sol^{vid} (*mut. syr cu sin*)
 5 ἐξεπορεύοντο
 9 + ὁ (*ante* ἰησοῦς) ††
 10 > καταβαίνον ὥς περιστερὴν [ἐπ' αὐτὸν] Σ (*aeth*) (*cf. boh MSS alig*)
 13 — οἱ (*ante* ἀγγελοὶ) †† A M 33 al.
 16 + τοῦ σιμωνος (*post* αὐτοῦ)
 εἰς τὴν θαλάσσαν (*pro* ἐν τῇ θαλ.) ††
 17 > ἀλειψὶ ἀνῶν γενέσθαι Sol?
 19 fin. + αὐτῶν
 24 — εα
 27 ἅπαντες (*pro* πάντες) N B L 433 Paris⁹⁷ Laura^{104A} Orig
 πρὸς ἑαυτοῖς
 λέγοντες ††
 34 ἡφίει (*pro* ἡφιε) †† Sol?
 35 + δε (*post* ἀναστὰς) Sol (+ καὶ fam 13 *vg^{BLQR}*) *Cf. boh (mut sah)*
 37 σε ζητοῦσι ††

Mark

- i 39 εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς
 42 > ἡ λέπρα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
 45 πάντοθεν
 i 5 χάρα sic ἱεροσολυμίται 6 καμῖλου *vid.* †† ὁσφῖν
 8 [μεν] [ἐν ὕδατι] [ἐν πνι ἀγίω] 9 [ὑπὸ ἰωάννου εἰς
 τὸν ἰορδάνην] 10 [εὐθέως] [ἀπὸ] 11 [ἐν ὧ] κηδύκκησα
 12 ἐκβάλει †† 14 [τῆς βασιλείας] 16 ἀμφιβίστρον ††
 21 [εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐδίδασκε] 32 [ἐδν] 38
 καὶ ἐκεῖ †† [*sed ver* 35 κἀκεῖ] 45 [φανερῶς εἰς πόλιν]
- ii 1 > καὶ εἰσῆλθε πάλιν
 ἤκουσεν (*pro* ηκουσθη) †† *Sol?* (Cf. *syr sah*)
 9 σου (*pro* σοι *pros* ἀφρωνται)
 10 > ἀφίναί ἀμαρτίας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς B Φ 142 *aeth.* — ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς *b q*
 13 ἤρχοντο (*pro* ηρχετο) †† 2^{ro} Laura^{104a} *ce ff₁ l q (r) vg³⁰ al.*
 17 *fin.* — εἰς μετανοίαν
 18 φαρισαῖοι (*pro* τῶν φαρισαίων) *pr. loco*
 20 *fin.* ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
 21 *in ex.* — καὶ
 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (*pro* αὐτου) ††
 22 μῆγε (*pro* μῆ) †† M³ C L Σ 33 Paris⁹⁷ *Evst* 48 2^{ro} (*Mt Luc*)
 24 ποιοῦσι (— εν)
 26 — του (*ante* ἀρχιερεωσ) † *Birch non Scho*
 ii 3 *fin.* τεσσάρῳ sic 7 οὕτως †† 10 ἰδῆτε †† 16
 ἰδοῦτε sic (*pro* ἰδοντες) †† (*Et v. 16*) 21 ἐπιράπ' sic
 26 [τοῖς ἱερεῦσι]
- iii 2 — εἰ τοῖς σαββάσι θεραπεύσει αὐτον (*ex hom?*) *Sol^{vid}*
 3 ἔγχιρε
 5 ἀπεκατέστη sic (*pro* ἀποκατεσταθη) (††) C (*Male Bir Scho*
 ἀπεκατεσταθη)
 ὑγίει, [ὥς ἡ ἄλλη] ††
 6 — ευθεως
 9/10 *in* *ngi* †† (*cf. add. in D a ff₁ i*)
 10 αὐτὸν (*pro* αὐτω) ††
 12 > φανερόν αὐτὸν ††
 16 — ονομα 33 (*cf. syr aeth*) (*Tisch notat 33, non 157*)
 20 + πάλιν (*post* ἐρχονται) † *Bir non Scho Sol^{vid} cum be*
 (*ver 19 apud Tisch*)
 24 ἐφ' ἐαυτῆς (*pro* ἐφ' εαυτην)
 fin. αὕτη (*pro* ἐκείνη) †† *Sol^{vid}*
 25 ἀν (*pro* εαν) ††
 27 οὐδεὶς δύναται (*pro* ου δυναται ουδεις)
 28 τοῖς ἀνῶις (*pro* τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων) Δ 118-209 122 235 258
 syr sin Ambrst
 + αἱ (*ante* βλασφημῖαι)
 32 > περὶ αὐτὸν ὄχλος
 iii 1 [τὴν συναγωγὴν] ἐξηραμένην 3 ἐξηραμένην [ἔχοντι
 τὴν χεῖρα] 8 σιδῶνα †† 15 [θεραπεύειν τὰς νόσους]

Mark

- καὶ] 23 *fin.* ἐκβαλεῖν *sic* 25 [ἐφ' ἐαυτήν] *hoc loco. Cf. ver 24.* 25 *fin.* [ἐκείνη] 34 εἶδε (*pro* ἴδε) ††
- iv 1 [ἐμβάντα εἰς] — το [πλοίου] ††
 2 — εν παραβολαῖς †† *Solvid*
 3 [τοῦ σπείραι] + τὸν σπόρον αὐτοῦ *F min pauc et Laura*¹⁰⁴ *g₂ goth*
 4 — του ουρανον
 9 — αυτοις
 18 — οὗτοι εἰσιν *sec.*
 24 ἀντιμετρηθήσεται
 26 + αὐτοῦ (*post* σπορον) †† (*ver 27 Bir*)
 30 ὁμοιώσωμεν *C 1. al.*
 36 τὸ πλοῖον (*pro* εν τῷ πλοῳ) † *Bir non Scho Litt parvae atram rubro*
 — δε
 πλοῖα (*pro* πλοιαρια)
 ἀναιμου μέγας *sic* (*pro* ανεμου μεγαλη) (37 *Bir* “ανεμου μεγας”)
 39 > μεγάλη γαλήνη 355 *boh sah* (*om.* μεγαλη *W e*)
 41 ὅτι καὶ ἡ θάλασσα καὶ οἱ ἄνεμοι (*pro* καὶ ο ανεμος καὶ ἡ θαλασσα) † (*Bir non Scho*)
 iv 8, 20 ἐν . . ἐν . . ἐν †† 25 [ὅς γὰρ ἂν ἔχη] *pr. loco*
 ἔχη (*pro* εχει) *bis sec. et tert loc* †† 27 [καθεύδῃ.
 ἐγειρε *sic* (*fin. lin*) †† *pro* εγειρηται 27 βλαστάνει
 28 αὐτοματὶ *sic** (*ita vult, i et r seq rescript**) *cum z^{oe}* ††
 30 ἔλεγεν 30/31 [ἡ ἐν ποία παραβολῇ παραβάλωμεν
 αὐτήν] ὥς κόκκῳ σινάπεωσ *iungit, sine interposito ab*
αντιβαλ. vel rubric. 32 μείζω (*pro* μείζων) †† 36
 [ἦν] 38 μέλλει †† ἀπολόμεθα †† 39 πεφύμωσο ††
 40 οὕτως* [πῶς οὐκ] ††
- v 3 μνήμασι (*pro* μνημείοις)
 4 [αὐτὸν] ἰσχυσε (*pro* αὐτον ισχυε) †† *V fam 1 al.* (αὐτον
 ισχυσαι *i^{oe}*)
 5 διαπασης
 8 ἀπο (*pro* εκ)
 9 ἐπηρωτων (*pro* επηρωτα) †† *Solvid*
 10 ἐπαρεκάλει *sic* [*non ver 23*] *Solvid. Vide Mc. vi 56 et Matt.*
xxvi 4
 11 πρὸς τῷ ὄρει (*pro* προς τα ορη)
 15 + παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ἰησοῦ (*post* καθημενον) *Sol?* (*Cf. Luc.*
viii 35) *Diatess ex Luc.*
 — καὶ (*ante* ιματισμενον)
 16 διηγῆσαντο δε (— καὶ *init.*) † *Bir non Scho*
 19 πεποίηκε (*pro* εποιησε) † *Bir non Scho*
 23 + καὶ θέλω (*ante* ινα ελθων) †† *Sol. Cf. pers^{ant} ‘peto ut manum*
illi imponas (— ελθων)’. Syrr latt [non a δ ‘ut venias’]
veni, c aeth arab ‘sed veni’. Et veniens ff
 26 παρ’ αὐτῆς
 40 πάντας (*pro* απαντας) ††

Mark

- v 41 ταβηθ' (*fin. lin*) κούμη *sic* † *Bir* (*non acc. Scho*)
v 1 [γαδαρηνών] 1/2 *iungit* 2 πῶν *compendio ante*
ἀκαθάρτων (*sic passim*) 10 [αυτοῦσ ἀποστείλῃ *vid*] *sed*
ἀντὶ *fin. lin* ἀφ' ἧς *ut* αὐτὰ 16 ἰδοῦτεσ (*pro* ἰδόντες)
ut *supra* ii 16 (*cf. Evan* 28) †† ὁρεῖων †† 19 [καὶ
ἡλίσσε σε] 23 [παρεκάλει] ἐπιθεῖσ 24 ἠκολούθη
25 [ἔτη δώδεκα] 34 [θυγατερ] ὑγιῶσ (*pro* ὑγιῆσ) ††
35 σκύλεισ †† 40 ἐκβηλλών †† 41 μεθ' ἐρμηνεύ-
μενον [ἔχειραι] 43 διεστέιλατο *sic*
- vi 2 — οτι
7 — καὶ εἰδιδου αυτοῖσ ἐξουσίαν των πῶν των ἀκαθάρτων *Sol^{vid}*
8 ἔλεγεν (*pro* παρηγγειλεν) *Sol^{vid}* (*Cf. Luc. viii* 56)
11 ἱαν (*pro* ἰν) ††
15 — ἦ
17 — τη (*ante* φυλακῇ)
20 ἀκούω- (*pro* ακουσας) †† 28 *al. Wetst¹³ Paris⁹⁷ al. b fir vg goth*
21 + ὁ (*ante* ἡρώδησ) *Sol?*
27 ἀπέστειλεν (*pro* αποστειλας) *Sol cum syr et fg₂? (cf. copt aeth)*
+ καὶ (*ante* ἐπεταξεν) *Sol cum syr^{90h} 1^{90h} fg₂? (non goth syr cu sin)*
29 — τω (*ante* μνημειω)
32 ἀπῆλθε (*pro* απηλθον) ††
τῷ πλῶϊ εἰς ἔρμην τόπον κατιδίαν (*Male Bir in N.T. Recte*
zn Var Lect. Recte Scho)
33 — οἱ οχλοὶ
πολλοὶ αὐτον
35 + αὐτῷ (*post* λεγουσιν)
36 — γαρ
39 ἀνακλῖθῃναι *KB* G Φ fam 1 fam 13 28 2^{pe} al. Orig*
ἐπὶ τῶν χλορὸν (*sic*) χόρτον'
40 ἀνέπεσαν ††
44 — ωσει
45-51 [*cum t. r. verbatim*]
52 ἦν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ καρδία (††) *Male Bir Scho*
56 ἐπαρεκάλουν *sic* (*pro* παρακαλουν) †† *Sol.* (*Vide supra* v 10)
vi 5 εἰμὶ (*pro* εἰ μη) 8 αἶρωσιν *vid.* 11 δέξονται ††
13 ἐξέβαλον †† 16 δν 21 μεγιστάσιν *sic* 27
σπεκουλάτορα 30 συνάγον *primum*, συνάγον^{τα} *postea**
31 [ἡνκαίρου] 33 πεζοὶ [καὶ συνῆλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν]
34 ἐξελθόν, 38 γνῶντες † (*Bir non Scho*) 53
καὶ *init. bis script* †† γεννισαρέτ *sic* †† πρ' ὁρμίσθησαν
sic 55 [κραββάτοις] *fin.* ἐστιν ††
- vii 2 — ἐμεψαντο
8 > πολλὰ τοιαῦτα
11 + αὐτοῦ (*post* μητρι) †† *K^{100r} W^{100r} copt al⁵ syr R⁹⁸ (non it)*
13 > πολλὰ τοιαῦτα †† *NM* 1-209 fam 13 44 73 Paris⁹⁷ aeth arm copt*
19 πᾶν τα βρωματα †† *sic spatia sed nil in ras.* (*Vide Ev. da*
Meph. et vol ii p. 281.) *Cf. a n + et exit in rivum*

Mark

- vii 24 — την (*ante οικίαν*)
 26 σύρα φοινίκισα
 28 + τῶν πιπτόντων ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης *inter ψυχίων et τῶν παιδίων* † (*Recte Bir sed Scho* “+ πιπτ. ἀπο τῆς τραπ”). *Cf. syr sin hoc loco, et Matt. xv 27*
 29 + γὰρ (*post ἐξεληλυθε*) *Sol^{vid}. Cf. syr sin. et gat vg^{DT} ἀπο (pro εκ) ††*
 33 ἐπιλαβόμενος (*pro ἀπολαβ.*) ††
 vii 2 τουτέστιν *sic* [ἐσθίουτας] 3 [πυγμῇ] παράδωσιν
 [*sed* 5, 8, 9 παράδοσιν] 4 *fin.* [καὶ κλινῶν] 5 [ἀνίπ-
 τοις] 8, 13 παρ’ ὁμοία *sic* 10 [μωσῆς] ἡ (*pro ἡ*)
 [*ver* 11 ἡ] 11 ὠφεληθεὶς 12 [καὶ] οὐκέτι 14
 [πάντα τὸν ὄχλον] 15 ἔξω τοῦ ἀνοῦ *sic* (*prob. ἐξω*
 primum script) 16 [*Habel*] 18 οὕτως †† [ἔξωθεν
 pleno] 22 πονεῖρίαι †† 27 βαλλεῖν †† 31
 ἀναμέσον [*non ἀνὰ μέσον*] ὁρίων 31/32 *Sine inter-*
 puncto. 32 μογγιλάων 32/33 *Sine interp.* 33
 κατιδίαν *sic* ἔβαλλε †† 36 μὴ δεινί
 viii 1 πανπόλου (*pro παμπόλλου*) †† X
 2 ἔχωσι (*pro ἔχουσι*) †† *Aliq*
 3 — εαν *cum E solo* (D 2^{ro} *a b d f f i q r*) (καν *pro* και εαν L)
 fin. ἤκουσι (*pro ἤκασι*) *Birch*: ‘Ed. Wetstenii, et codd. quos vidi
 fere omnes’ [εἰσιν B L Δ (εἰσιν, δ *venerunt*) sah 1/5 *boh^{allq}*]
 4 ἄρτον (*pro ἄρτων*) ††
 7 παραθεῖναι αὐτά· (— και)
 13 — το (*ante πλοῖον*)
 23 — αὐτον *prim. post* ἐξηγαγεν †† *Pauci (non cit. Tisch)*
 25 ἀπέκατεσγάθη ††
 ἀνέβλεψε (*pro ἐνεβλεψε*) ††
 26 — τον (*ante οικον*)
 29 *fin.* + ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θῷ *KL r syr hier A B (W fam 13 b sah syr^{soh} pesh*
 hier^c) Contra Orig diserte
 31 — πολλα παθειν και *Solus vid contra gr lat syr copt lust Iren*
 Adamant (Cf. ord aeth pers)
 + τῶν (*ante ἀρχιερεων*) ††
 34 ἀκολουθεῖν (*pro ἐλθεῖν*)
 35 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν (*pro τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτου sec.*)
 38 εαν (*pro αν*) ††
 viii 2 ἦδη 3 νήσις †† 4 ὧδε χορτάσαι 6 [παρα-
 θῶσι] 16 *fin.* [ἔχομεν] 22 ἔρχετε †† βηθσαῖδὰ ††
 23 χεῖρας αὐτ̄ *sic ult verb pag 134 recto* 26 μὴδὲ *sic*
 bis 30 μὴδενί 35 ἀπολέσει (*pro ἀπολεση post*
 osdān) †† 36 ὅλον 37 ἀντάλαγμα ††
 ix 2 καὶ Ἀκκῶβον (*sic, — τον sec.*) ††
 — τον *tert (ante ἰωάννην)*
 3 ἐγένοντο ††
 5 *fin.* > καὶ μίαν ἡλία· * (καὶ μίαν ἡλία~ **) 570 (= p^{xx}) Paris⁹⁷ et k :

Mark

'et unum heliae'; *goth* 'jah ainana Helijin' *et sah* 1/2 *boh^{pl}*;
 μιαν ηλιε *sah* 1/2 *boh^{alio}*

- ix 8 καθ' εαυτὸν (*pro* μεθ' εαυτῶν) †† *Sol^{id}* (*om.* 61 *a cf kl syr sin*)
 16 *fin.* εαυτοῦς
 19 + καὶ διεστραμμένη (*post* απιστος) *W fum* 13 *al. pauc.* *Cf. Mt et Luc.*
 > ἔσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς † *Recte Bir, sed Scho dicebat* '157 299 *om. εως*
 ποτε πρὸς υμας εσομαι'! *M c^{ser} al. ? c g₁ copt aeth (cf. syr)*
 23 — ἡσους †† *Sol?* (*dom k*)
 28 + καὶ (*ante* οἱ μαθηται) †† *Sol?* (+ *λε boh²¹⁰*) + κατιδιαν καὶ *W*
 31 + ἀμαρτωλῶν (*post* ἀνῶν) 258 (+ *peccatorum et rebellium pers*)
 ἀνομῶν *pro* ἀνῶν *Ψ*
 35 ἔστω (*pro* ἵστα) ††
 38 — ὁ (*ante* ἰωαννης)
 + ἐν (*ante* τῷ ονοματι)
 40 καθ' ἡμῶν *sic pr. man.* ††
 ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν *sic pr. man.* ††
 41 — τῷ
 42 εἰς (*pro* αὐ) ††
 45 > σοὶ ἐστὶν
 ix 1 ὧδε ἐστηκότων γεύσονται 2 κατιδιαν *sic hoc loco*
 (*ver* 28 κατιδιαν) 3 [ῶσ] χιόν' οἶα λευκάναι
 4 ἡλίας σὺν μῶσει· (*passim sp len in ἡλιας*) 5 ὧδε
 6 λαλήσει 7 φωνῇ 8 οὐκῆτι 9 μὴ δειν διηγῇ-
 σονται †† 18 ῥίσει (*pro* ρησει) †† τρίζει ††
 22 ἐβάλλε- †† 24 [μετὰ δακρύων] 25 [ὄχλος
sine ὁ] μήκετι 28 ἐκβαλλεῖν *sic* †† 29 *fin.*
 [καὶ νηστεία] 30 [γνώ] 34 διηλέχθησαν †† 36
 αὐτῷ (*pro* αὐτο *sec., non prim*) †† 39 εἶπεν †† 43
 κοιλὸν (*pro* κυλλόν) ††
 x 1 — του (*ante* ἰορδανου) ††
 10 > ἐπερώτησαν αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 14 — καὶ *sec.* (*ante* μὴ κωλυετε)
fin. τῶν οὐνῶν (*pro* του θεου) *W* 2.5.61 106 255 409* *Parisⁿ Evst* 49
boh^B gai vg^L* (*Dom k*)
 17 αὐτῷ (*pro* αὐτον *prim post* γονυπετησας) *min aliq et latt*
 (*cf. sah 212h*)
 — τοῖς (*ante* πτωχοῖς). 24 — τοῖς (*ante* χρημασιν)
 25 — της (*ante* τρυμαλις) †† *sed* [τῆς ῥαφίδος]
 27 + ἔστι (*post* ἀδυνατον) *D d 2. Laura¹⁰⁴ latt et d super* ἀδυνατον Δ
goth sah
 παρὰ δὲ θῶ δύνατον (*pro* ἀλλ ου παρὰ τῷ θεῷ πάντα γὰρ δυνάτα ἐστι
 παρὰ τῷ θεῷ) *D d fff₂ k (b c m) syr Clem*
 28 *inzē.* — καὶ
 29 + ἔνεκεν (*ante* του ευαγγελιου)
 30 μᾶρά (*pro* μητερας) *N^a ACD W* 1. 2^{pe} *aliq^{scr} matthaesi a b d fff₂ q*
aur syr etc

Mark

μετὰ διωγμὸν (*pro* μετὰ διωγμῶν) †† Σ 25 60 72 86 114 *Eust* 48 *y^{scr}*
syr et diatess (μετὰ διωγμοῦ D 92 *syr aeth*) [*non lat*]

x 32 — και ακολουθουντες εφοβουντο D K 11 28 37 38 57 61 66 122*
 125* (251) 408 *v^{scr}* a b d L⁷⁸ *Chrys*

+ ὁ ἰϞ (*post* παλιν) †† F H Γ 2.61 *al. et Eusta*

— αυτοις *Sol?* (*cf. boh et sah*)

33 — τοις *sec.* (*ante* γραμματευσιν) ††

34 [καὶ ἐμπαΐξουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ μαστιγώσουσιν αὐτόν] — και εμπτυσουσιν
 αὐτω και αποκτενουσιν αὐτον [καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστήσεται]
Eust 44? (*cf. k*)

35 — οι (*ante* νιοι)

43 ὑμῶν διάκονος

44 ἐαν (*pro* αν) ††

51 ῥαββουνι

x 7, 29 *ἐνεκεν* 8 οὐκέτι 16 ἡυλόγη †† 19

ψευδομαρτυριᾷ sic 21 ἀρασ *vid* 35 θελομεν *ex*

emend a prim man †† (*Primum* θελωμεν *vid*)

ποιήσεις †† 37 καθήσωμεν †† 38 δύνασθαι (*com-*

pendio) 40 ἐξευωνύμων *sic* [*sed habet sp. ver* 37]

42 κατέξουσιάζουσιν *sic* 43 οὐχ' οὕτως *sic* 46 [ὁ

τυφλὸς] [προσαιτῶν] 49 φωνῇ (*pro* φωνεῖ) ††

50 ἀποβαλλῶν ††

xi 3 ἀποστέλλει

4 — τον (*ante* πωλων)

21 ἐξήραται (*pro* εξηρανται) †† X 69 248 *al. pauc*

22 + ὁ (*ante* ἱησους) ††

23 — γαρ NBDN Ψ *fam* 1.28 124 *al. pauc syr it et v^{id} contra*
Δ8^r arm sah (bohTM)

24 — αν NBCDLW Δ Ψ 61 346? [*non* Ferrar] *goth*

25 ἀφήσει (*pro* αφη)

— υμιν

26 *om. vers.* NBLSW Δ Ψ *alig g₂ k l r₁ v^g syr sin copt*

29 [ὑμᾶς] ἔγω *pro* υμας καγω (BCL Δ k r₂ *copt*)

31 διελογίζοντο † *Bir, non Scho*

αὐτοῖς *sic codex* (*pro* ἱαντους) *Bir Scho* αὐτοῖς *perferam*

32 — εαν

xi 1 βηθσαφαγῇ †† [καὶ βηθανίαν] 2 κεκάθικαι *sic* ††

3 ὦδε 5 ἐστηκότων 7 ἐπέβαλλον †† 9, 10

ὡσαννὰ *sic* 16/17 *Sine interpuncto* 18 ἀπολέσωσιν *

sed ex emend †† 20 συκην 21 ἦδε (*pro* ἰδε) συκὴ

ἦν (*pro* ἦν) 24 αἰτησθε *sic* * (*pro* αἰτεῖσθε) †† 28

fin. ποιῆς (*pro* ποιῆς) 31 διὰτι 32 [ἐφοβούντο]

xii 7 καὶ κατὰσχomen (*sic, male Bir Scho* κατασχωμεν) αὐτοῦ τὴν κληρονο-
 μίαν (*pro* καὶ ἡμων εσται ἡ κληρονομία) *Sol^{vid} cum aeth^{int}.*

Cf. Matt. xxi 38

8 ἐκβαλλόντες αὐτὸν (*pro* καὶ ἐξεβαλον) } = *concordia graeca, non*
Sol^{vid} Cf. Epiph. Cf. Luc. xx 15 } *diatess arab*
om. b

Mark

xii 23

— ουν *Gr mult (k) q goth [non syrr]*

ΘΤε (pro θταν) ††

25

— οι

26

ἐπὶ τῇ βάτω (pro επι της βατου) †† *Sol^{id} sed cf. 124 (in rubo cff q de rubo a in rubum d super rubum b i k r hoc loco). (Cf. lat in Luc. xx 37 pro gen gr επι της βατου habent c d f f f i l q Cypr in rubo, a de rubo)*

27

— θεος sec. (Primum*) †† *Latt. (Add libr ipse ἀλλὰ ζώντων sic)*

29

† ἐστὶν (sic codex) post εντολων (cf. Tisch ad loc)

30

— και εξ ολης της ψυχης σου και εξ ολης της διανοιας σου *r, k Justin [non aeth]*

32

— θεος †† *Mult et h l m r, d goth aeth syr, uoh poah (dom̄ k)*

33

— των (ante θυσιων) [*Rel cum t. r. cum claus quattuor*]

34

† ὅτι (ante ου μακραν) †† *W 2^o sol vid et copt*

36

ἐν πνι αγίω (— τω bis) *AXΓΠ unc² al. Lat*

λέγει (pro ειπεν sec.)

xii 1 [ἐξέδοτο]

3 ἔδραυ 4 [cum t. r.]

5 δαίροντες

ἀποκτείνοντες sic (Male Bir ἀποκτείνουντες et Scholz

ἀποκτενούντες 7 πρός αὐτούς sic pr. man. †† 10

ἐγεννήθη †† (LΠ* 433 e¹⁰¹ 2¹⁰¹) 14 μέλλει †† 19

ἐξίνασθης sic 28, 29 πάντων (pro πασών) 29

fin. ἐστιν †† 30 ἀγαπήσῃς †† 30 fin. ἐντὸς sic

31 ὡς αὐτὸν (pro ως σεαυτον) 8' ἐστιν sic 32

οὐκέστιν 33 ὀλοκαυτῶ (ω ex em) μάτων †† 34

[γουνεχῶς] plane. Cf. 28 36 [ὁ πᾶς τῶ κῶ] [ὑποπόδιον]

38 γραματίων pr. man. †† 40 μακρὰ [ληφονται]

κρίμα 41 γασοφυλᾶς sic pro γασοφυλακίου (sed 41, 43

γασοφυλακίον sic de indust. 41 βάλλη (pro βάλλει) ††

42 ἔβαλλε †† 43 βαλλόντων †† 44 [ἔβαλλ.] pr.

loco sed ἔβαλλεν pro ἔβαλεν seq. ††

xiii 2

— μη sec. loco ante καταλυθῇ †† *N* L 106 252* (cf. lat)*

4

> ταῦτα πάντα [συντελείσθαι] †† *AGHKMΓΠΣ al. latt pl copt syr*

5

[ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτοῖς] λεγειν ηρξατο † (Recte Bir, male Scho) *Sol^{id}*cum aeth. om. ηρξατο D 237 2¹⁰ 604 a d k n

7

† πάντα (post γαρ) *Sol?* + haec 38 ff vg^c et vg 38^c + haec

omnia d (Cf. syr)

9

— και sec. (ante επι ηγεμονων) 235

11

— μηδε μελετατε *N B D L W Σ Ψ sam 1.33.69 Eust 32 cff. 1.31.1*

i k l m q r r, vg copt aeth syr sin

19

οὐδ' οὐ μὴ sic (pro και ου μη) (†) (Bir οὐδὲ οὐ)

21

— ἡ

παιστεύετε

26

> και δόξης πολλῆς *A M Δ δ Π sam 13.118 al. arm aeth sah 86*boh F² (amplius pers.) (Matt. xxiv 30)

28

ἐκφύει 56 131 258 al.?

31

παριλεύσεται

32

— της sec. (ante ωρας)

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I

Mark

- xiii 2 οἰκοδομᾶσ [λίθος ἐπὶ λίθῳ] 3 κατιδίαν 7
 θροεῖσθαι (*comp*) †† 9 ἡγεμόνων . . . ἔσκεν 10
 [δεῖ πρῶτον] †† *Male Bir* πρῶτον δε δεῖ 11 λαλή-
 σετε †† *cum U al.* 14 ἐστὼς †† 15 ἄραι *vid. fr.**
 ἄραι *vid.* ex em.* ἄραι *ex em** rursus restit.* 16
 [ἄραι] 18 προσεύχεσθαι †† 19 ἐκείναι οἶα 22
 ψευδοπροφήται 26 ὄψονται 27 ἀποσπελλεῖ *sic (ut*
saepe ll pro λ sed voluit futurum) *Male Bir Scho*
 ἀποσπελλεῖ 28 εἶδη (*pro ἤδη*) †† *fin.* ἐστὶ †† 29
init. οὕτως †† 31 [παρέλθωσι] 32 [οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ]
 34 *fin.* γρηγορή *sed ἡ ex em forsān sec. manu*
- xiv 6 *fin.* ἐν ἐμοὶ (*pro eis eme*)
 7 τοὺς πτωχοὺς γὰρ πάντοτε ††
 8 [δ] ἔσχευ [αὐτῇ]
 + γὰρ (*post* προελαβε) †† *Sol^{vid} cum sah 73^c et boh 1/2. + et k*
syr, + enim vg
 9 + δε (*post* ἀμην) †† *Mult gr et a* (+ γὰρ 28 127 299 *sah*
 86 m¹; 'Et certe' *pers^{int}*)
 ἐὰν (*pro an*) ††
 10 — ο (*ante* ἰουδας)
 12 — ἡμερα *Sol^{vid} cum 11 et boh Δ^c*
 22 + και (*ante* εὐλογίας) *U Σ min aliq syr aeth vg it (non a d)*
Euthym
 24 — το *sec. (ante* της καινης)
 25 + δε (*post* ἀμην)
 27 [ἐν ἐμοί] — εν τη νυκτι ταυτη *G 13 28 a fi kl (cf. al.) sah 127*
boh^m syr sin
 29 + κέ *sic post* αὐτω †† *Sol^{vid}*
 30 + σὺ (*ante* σημερον)
 ἴδεο* (*pro ἡ δὲ*) *plane nec corr.* ὁ ἀντιβαλλων (*Vult ἡ δὲ man.*
rec.) ††
 31 ὁ δὲ ἐκ περισσοῦ ἔλεγε* μάλλον *cum seq. iung.*
 33 — τον (*ante* ἰακωβον)
 34 λέγειν (*pro* λέγει) ††
 35 προσελθὼν ††
 36 ἀλλ' εἴ τι σύ (*pro* ἀλλα τι συ) *CU Φ Ψ 40** 91 108 127 Paris⁹⁷*
Eust 49 2^{cor} H^{cor} al. pauc. Cf. al.
 41 ἀπέχει ἡ ὥρα* (— ἡλθεν) *Sol?* = *Latt (quos vide et cf.*
D^{ex}) Vide rell apud Tisch et Horner
 43 — τῶν *quart (ante* πρεσβυτερων) †† *N^a AUW min¹⁰ Orig*
 44 [ἀπαγάγετε] + αὐτὸν [ἀσφαλῶς] *DN Σ Φ 17 2^{pe} i^{cor} a d b^{vid} g₁*
vg^v syr sah copt aeth
 45 — ἐλθων *D fam 1 91 106 125 251 299 a c d ff₁ k q r r₁ arm syr*
 + αὐτῷ (*post* λεγει)
 51 ἡκολούθησεν
 56 + λέγοντες* (*tantum inter* κατ' αὐτοῦ *et* καὶ ἴσαι) 118–209. *Cf. 244*
 (ελεγον κατ αὐτου *D d*; *cf. n^m Matthaei*)

Mark

- xiv 57 — κατ' αὐτου, λεγοντες Sol? (cf. k, et syr sin)
 60 — το (ante μσον)
 62 > ἐκ δεξιῶν καθήμενον
 + τοῦ θῦ (post δυναμεως) Sol^{vid} cum sah^m ug ed et W⁸ gat**
 (ut Luc) di pro δυναμεως ff
 65 init. — και
 68 οὔτε (pro ουδε) ++ BDSWΨ fam 1.13 al. pauci
 69 > πάλιν αὐτὸν, [ἤρξατο λέγειν]
 72 τὸ ῥῆμα δ (pro-τοῦ ῥήματος οὐ)
 xiv 8 [μου τὸ σῶμα] 9 [τοῦτο] 12 ἐτοιμάσομεν ++
 19 λυπέισθε ++ εἰς καθείσ sic (sp. super eis sec. in ras
 vid.) Post μή τι ἐγὼ, comma bis pro interrog. 21
 [καλὸν ἦν] 22 [λάβετε φάγετε] 23 [τὸ ποτήριον]
 25 ὅτι ~~οὐκ~~ οὐκ' ἐτι sic (lin aur a man. rubric.) ++
 [γεννήματος] δτάν (contra morem) 28/29 Marg stat
 ὁ litt aurea 29 [καὶ εἰ πάντες] 30 [ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ
 ταύτῃ] 31 ὡσαύτως sic 32 [ἕως προσεύξωμαι]
 33 παραλαβ sic fin lin, sed vult [παραλαμβάνει] 35
 ἐστίν 36 [ἀπ' ἐμου τοῦτο] 41 ἰδοὺ 42 fin.
 ἤγγικεν 44 [σύσσημον] 46 ἐπέβαλλον ++ 51,
 52 συνδῶνα (pro συνδύνα) ++ (iso^r ver 52) 52 fin.
 [ἀπ' αὐτῶν] 55 δλον (fere passim) οὐχ' εὗρισκον sic
 60 οὐκ ἀποκρίνη, οὐδὲν τί οὗτοι sic interpunctum
 (, =;) ++ 62 ὀψεσθαι (comp. fin. lin) ++ 63 χρεῖαν
 sic 64 [τῆς βλασφημίας] 65 fin. ἔβαλον 66
 ὄντος [non passim] [ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ κάτω] 67 ναζαρινοῦ
 [ἰδ] ἤσθα. ++ 68 [τί σὺ] 70 [καὶ ἡ χαλὰ σου
 ὁμοιάζει] 71 [ὁμνύειν] ὃν (pro ὃν)
 xv 1 + αὐτὸν (post παρέδωκαν) W fam 13 56 58 ug^o sah boh aeth
 syrr goth [Silet Tisch in ed viii]
 14 Om. vers ex hom. Sol? cum ug^o*L boh MS B* sah MS 26¹
 (mut syr sin)
 16 ἰωc (pro ἰσω) 91 299 Eust 15 32 sem (I) (Cf. al. eis et latt^{alliq},
 et εσω eis)
 18 + λέγοντες (ante χαίρε) M 209 282 (w^{ser}) Eust 67 c aur ug^o
 (+ και λεγειν NC²NUΣ II 33 118–209 346 Paris⁹⁷ al. arm).
 Cf. aeth
 ὁ βασιλεὺς (pro βασιλεῦ) (Latt Copt)
 20 αὐτὸν (pro αὐτῷ) z^{ser}sem ff goth (Al. lat ei, sed k inrissus in
 eum) om. syr sin
 24 διαμερίζονται (pro διεμρίζον)
 καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν αὐτοῦ βάλλοντες κλῆρον (pro βαλλοντες κληρον
 ἐπ αὐτα) Sol?
 — τις τι ἀρῇ D z^{ser}sem d ff, k n (hiat a) syr sin
 28 — και ἐπληρωθη η γραφή η λεγουσα και μετα ανομων ελογισθη
 29 αὐτῷ (pro ανων)*, sed αὐτῷ ex em (" rubro) (++) silent Bir Scho
 de emend.

Mark

- xv 31 — δε
 + και (ante αυτον) Sol cum aeth et boh Γ (et goth + ith; cf. sah)
 32 + αυτω (post πιστευσωμεν)
 39 ουτος (pro ουτω) †† K 2^{pe}
 40 — και sec. (ante maria)
 41 — αι prim. ACLWA 127* 142* 299 Parisⁿ l prag gat vg goth
 42 προς σαββατον ††
 43 — ος Sol^{ia} cum K* aeth sah (gat)
 46 [και] καθελων (sic acc.) αυτο (sic, sed ex em a pr. man.) †† alig et goth
 fin. + και απηλθεν D d vg^{L-Q} (G^{sr} 1-118-209 59) Cf. Matt.
 xv 1 [ποιήσαντες] 5 ουκει 6 ητούντο 8 [αει]
 10 απεκριθει †† (ut saepe 28 alibi) παραδεδώκασιν ††
 16 στρατιώται 20 ιμάτια (non passim) 22
 γολγοθα sic acc. 23 fin. ελαβεν †† 27 εξευονύμων
 sic 29 ουα 31 fin. σωσαι; sic (, a man. pr. = interrog. aureo a rubric = στιχος) 32 [του ιηλ']
 34 λειμασαβαχθανι Sic uno tenore 39 εξιναντίας sic
 40 [η του ιακώβου] 40, 47 ιωση sic acc. 41
 συναναβάσαι 44 τέθηκεν (pro τεθηκε) †† [παλαι]
 46 σινδωνα †† ενείλισσε (pro ενείλησε) †† (= e^{Matthaei})
 σινδωνι †† προσεκύλησε †† 47 [τίθεται] compendiis.
 xvi 1 — η του ††
 2 + των (ante σαββατων) †† BKLLWA (supra lin*) Ψ fam 13
 33 2^{pe} Laura^{10A} boh (cf. al.)
 3 απο¹⁴της θύρας sic, omnia pr. man. (††) Bir Scho "apo" sed
 nihil de ek
 8 — ταχυ
 8/9 ιφοβοῦντο γάρ· ἀρ· ἀναστὰς δε (Marg. εἰ^εωθⁿ cλδ)
 11 Marg cλe
 12 " cλs
 15 " cλz
 xvi 9 [ἀφ' ἧς] 10 πενθ⁸ sic fin. lin pro πενθουσι
 18 καν pro καν [βλάψει] 20 fin. [ἀμήν]

(To be continued.)

REVIEWS

The Truth of Religion. By RUDOLF EUCKEN. Translated by W. Tudor Jones, Ph.D. (Williams & Norgate, 1911.)

It cannot be said that the average standard of translation into English of modern philosophical books is very high; but, even tried by a low standard, this translation of the second edition of Professor Eucken's important work, *Der Wahrheitsgehalt der Religion*, must be pronounced a very poor one. The translator has not always understood his text; and has seldom succeeded in rendering it into anything that deserves the name of English. It would be easy to substantiate this unfavourable judgement by a long list of quotations. I give below a few out of many.¹

¹ P. 31, 'He seems now under the new conditions, posited before all else upon his own energies (*vor allem auf seine eigne Kraft gestellt*)'; p. 207, 'If things did not mean more for our life, there is not much more now than a beautiful sonorous etiquette (*eine schöner lautende Etiquette*)'; p. 284, 'It has been shown that we are more than the mere being of nature (*blosse Naturwesen*)'; p. 299, 'Utilitarianism and relativism—two diminutives (*Verkleinerer*) of the spiritual life'; p. 313, 'How can a Divine (*ein Göttliches*) work thus against His own aims?'; p. 315, 'The subject now raises itself in a gigantic manner (*riesengross erhebt sich das Subjekt*)'; p. 383—where he seems to be rendering the third, not, as elsewhere, the second edition—'There is an hypocrisy of the nature to which nothing more easily enters than religion (*es gibt eine Heuchelei des Wesens, zu der nichts leichter führt als die Religion*)'; p. 422, 'ascent of his life (*Erhöhung seines Lebens*)'; p. 495, 'spirit to labour and soul to act (*Geist in die Arbeit und Seele in das Handeln*)'; p. 501, 'The lawfulness (*Gesetlichkeit*) of phenomena'; p. 567, 'Posit all the offerings of history upon our own day (*alle Darbietung der Geschichte auf den Boden eines unmittelbaren Lebens versetzen*)'. The number of sentences is legion whose construction is quite inconsistent with English idiom, even though the intention can be divined without much difficulty. Professor Eucken more than once uses the word *rätselhaft*. It might easily be translated 'enigmatical' or 'mysterious', but Dr Jones prefers 'riddlesome', a word which has not found admission even to the hospitable pages of the *New English Dictionary*. Again, the word *Selbständigkeit* *werden*, although as a chapter-heading it is boldly rendered by 'Progressive Autonomy', usually appears as '“becoming” independence', a phrase which conveys, it is not too much to say, no suggestion of the meaning of the German, or indeed of any meaning at all. That it is a translator's duty, by rewriting his author in the idiom of the language into which he desires to translate him, to make him speak in their own tongue to those who could not understand him in his own—this rarely enters Dr Jones's head; as a rule, he confines himself to reproducing in English the words of the original, regardless of the difference in structure between English and German; but where he occasionally attempts a greater freedom, he is little more successful; as where he renders (on p. 310) the plain word *Tat* by the ugly and inappropriate 'activism'. But if to an English reader who is himself no great German scholar, our translator's lack of familiarity with English is more obvious than his lack of familiarity with German, yet not a few passages shew that his competence to translate German does not much surpass his competence to trans-

It is especially to be regretted that the task of translating this book was not placed in more trustworthy hands, since Prof. Eucken is not an easy writer, and a good version would not only have benefited those wholly ignorant of German, but would have been welcomed as a real help by others who had already made acquaintance with the original. As the third edition is considerably altered from the second, which the rendering before us professes to represent, there would be room for a new translation, even were this less unsatisfactory than it is.

Turning from the translation to the work itself, we find ourselves dealing with a thinker, whose profound earnestness, firm grasp of the problems concerned, and thorough knowledge of their history, is beyond all question, and yet the precise purport of whose message is apt to elude the student. What, according to Professor Eucken, is the truth which Religion contains? The answer would seem to be that while it does not solve the riddle of the universe, it witnesses to the presence of a new life. To many questions of which one thinks as belonging to the Philosophy of Religion, Prof. Eucken has no definite answer to propose. He only points to this new life, whose presence and power are undeniable, and which can only be ignored if what cannot but be reckoned the best and highest in human life is given up. It is in virtue of this new life that the individual is conscious of himself as somehow concerned with the whole of reality, so that the imperfections which we find in the world around us are felt as grounds of personal complaint. In virtue of this new life the greatest troubles that we undergo do not tend so much to induce despair as to awaken a consciousness of belonging to a higher and eternal order which

late into English. Thus on p. 231 *Nun und nimmer sei die Religion in Ja oder Nein mit politischen oder sozialen Problemen verquickt*, is rendered: 'Religion is never mixed in a Yea or Nay with political or social problems'; p. 294, *die wissenschaftliche Begreifung der Natur wie die historische Kritik unterwühlten im Verein den Wunderglauben bis die ersehnte Stütze zu einer Belastung des Glaubens wurde*, appears as 'The scientific conception of nature as well as historical criticism have undermined the belief in miracle, until that belief has become right down to its main prop, a burden for true belief'; p. 327, *Aber den Eindruck der Planmässigkeit kann gelegentlich selbst der Ausfall des blindesten Würfelspiels machen* is turned upside down as 'But, too, the impression of the systematic arrangement of the things can occasionally produce a result of a blindest gamble of things'; p. 337 *dass auch Gewissen weithin dem Einfluss des grossen Verderbers der moralischen Werte, dem Einfluss des Erfolges unterliegt* becomes, in defiance of grammar and of sense, 'conscience forms the foundation for the influence of great perverters of moral values and of the aims of life'; lastly, p. 591, *Wie lange noch sollen der Religion diejenigen als blosse Stiefkinder gelten denen ihr Gewissen und ihre Ueberzeugung verbietet auf dem allen, für sie veralteten Wege die ewige Wahrheit zu suchen?* is translated (gender and number being ignored) as 'How long shall religion be considered as a mere stepchild of that which suppresses conscience and conviction? How long are we to search for eternal truth upon an obsolete road?'

transcends these conflicts. The Universal Life reveals itself as directly present in our individual lives ; these thus acquire a new significance, a new value, but at the same time we become conscious of a discrepancy between our average condition and this higher order to which we have become conscious of belonging, a discrepancy that brings with it the consciousness of needing help and of a source of help, a God with whom our relations are those of 'an I and a Thou'.

But it is to be carefully observed that Prof. Eucken, although he so strongly insists that Religion is not a theory of the universe but a life, is not disposed, like many who lay stress on life in contrast with thought, to deny or minimize the place to be assigned to the intellect in the developement of the religious life, still less is he content to leave the 'values' apprehended in religion quite apart from the facts with which the sciences are concerned. He has no hope of finding in a purely subjective religion a secure refuge from the distractions of modern civilized life ; only by winning in closest union with that varied life itself 'an immanent and impersonal culture' can the inward experience of Religion approve itself to be what Religion must always claim to be, the experience of that which lies at the very heart of reality. The false intellectualism which would separate truth from life can only be driven out by one which recognizes the element of truth in religion, which does not make it an affair, not of knowledge at all, but of will or feeling apart from knowledge. Nay, the very power of logical thinking which moves forward according to the necessities of its own nature and cannot be accommodated to the purposes of individuals or of parties (we see here that Prof. Eucken is no pragmatist) is a standing evidence of the immanence in human lives of a higher life ; and in the same way the very strength of the aspiration of the human soul after absolute perfection witnesses to a reality behind it. And conversely, a denial of the presence in man of more than such a separate finite nature as belongs to any other kind of being among the myriads which the world contains must ultimately involve the denial, not of religion only, but of all and every truth, even of scientific truth ; for to this also belongs, as we have seen, a validity extending far beyond the merely human sphere. Thus the interests of Religion and Science, so often opposed, are really closely connected. It is true that the order of nature revealed by science displays a perfect indifference to the developement of a higher life in men ; and herein lies the strength of Naturalism. But, as we have already seen, the very discontent with which we regard this order of nature, and the very reaction against it of religious faith and hope, witness to a life-process going on which is not of that order, although the nature and issues of this process are very far from ascertained, and cannot be ascertained except through a further developement of this

process itself. We have thus touched on Prof. Eucken's discussion of the opposition of nature to religion ; on his discussion of the opposition of culture to religion, and even to morality in general, we will not dwell ; not that it does not contain much that is worthy of study, but that it proceeds upon lines which are not unfamiliar. It will suffice to say that on the one hand he recognizes that morality must claim a universal range and cannot be limited to the domain of the practical and social life of man, but must embrace those of art and science ; but also, on the other hand, that such men as Plotinus and Augustine, though they may have injured civilization more than they assisted it, are yet heroes of the spirit, since they offered to men a new world of pure inwardness, an achievement of greater significance than the most brilliant contribution to external culture.

The earlier part of the book deals with what Prof. Eucken calls 'Universal Religion', that is with Religion that has not yet differentiated itself from other forms of spiritual life and constructed for itself a sphere of its own. The second part deals with Characteristic Religion, that is with Religion which has thus assumed a special form of its own. Characteristic Religion is not, however, simply to be identified with any of the historical Religions, though it is nearer to these than Universal Religion ; for it is not the peculiar possession of a particular historical religion, but the common goal of them all and the common principle at work in all. They are not to be regarded as irreconcilable antagonists ; they are rather to be looked on as fellow-labourers in one great work, that of man's spiritual deliverance. Nor are they all on one level ; nor are their mutual differences to be ignored ; these may even stand out all the more when they are referred to a common standard ; yet, as differences within a common impulse, they should not lead to obstinate hostility. They all contain too much that is human to be considered as purely divine, and too much that is spiritual and divine to be merely human. Among them, as is natural, most attention is paid to Christianity, and the teaching characteristic of this religion, though not peculiar to it, that man should love his enemies, is specially dwelt upon as a sign of a new order of life already at work within humanity.

Prof. Eucken's treatment of the place of the historical and in particular of the miraculous in religion is of much interest. He reaffirms the famous saying of Lessing, which is not so easily dismissed as the historical position of the nineteenth century taught, that accidental (that is, empirical) facts of history can never become the proof of necessary truths of reason ; he will not have the salvation of man bound up with the recognition of historical events. Miracle, in particular, is the 'favourite child of faith', while Naturalism can have none of it ; yet any particular miracle, e. g. the resurrection of Jesus,

is put forward as a historical fact, and, however difficult it may be to come to a conclusion for or against upon the evidence of that particular miracle, the general objections to making faith depend upon acceptance of an historical fact remain. If the fact is proved, its acceptance has no religious value ; if it is not proved, its acceptance cannot be a duty nor made one by religion. But Religion will at last find itself able to subsist without sensible signs and wonders ; though the wonder of the existence and presence of the spiritual life itself must continue to belong to its innermost essence.

While recognizing that the personality of the Founder has become to Christianity incomparably more than to any other Religion, and that in the life of Jesus we have the most striking exhibition in history of that new life and new standards of conduct which Religion brings with it, he not only rejects as insufficient for overcoming the world the Christianity which occupies itself merely with Jesus, and seems nowadays to many a way out of our complications (what the late Master of Balliol called Christ without Christianity), but he regards the whole traditional view which sees in Jesus not less than God incarnate as belonging to what is transitory and not permanent in the Christian religion.

With regard to evil, in dealing with which every philosophy of religion must find the most difficult of all its tasks, Prof. Eucken would have us see in it a witness to our moral freedom. He thus holds that we cannot, consistently with the demands of our moral consciousness, hope to reach a point of vantage from which the conception of moral evil will vanish. He is severe on the traditional language by which piety seeks to attenuate the pressure of the problem caused by the presence of evil in the world ; language which deals with the evidence in the fashion of an advocate defending a belief, and seems to Prof. Eucken unworthy of the seriousness of the matter at issue. Religion, as Religion, has no interest in a merely speculative solution of the difficulty, but is content with an inner elevation above evil, which places it in a new light but in no way explains or interprets the problem to which the existence of evil in the world gives rise.

Towards the view that finds its expression in the hymn *O felix culpa*, and even to what he considers the more philosophical thought contained in Boehme's words 'Who can speak of joy who has felt no sorrows, or of peace who has seen or experienced no strife?', Prof. Eucken's attitude is critical ; these ways of regarding evil seem to him to be in danger of planting the principle that the good end justifies the evil means in the very heart of the universal system.

This account of a remarkable book does not pretend to completeness. Much is intentionally omitted, and much may have been missed ; all that it claims to do is to reproduce impressions made on the present

writer in renewing his acquaintance, for the purpose of this review, with a work which in its earlier form he had read a long time ago, but of which only a far more careful and systematic study could yield an adequate treatment.

God in Evolution, a Pragmatic Study of Theology, by FRANCIS HOWE JOHNSON. (Longmans, 1911.)

MR JOHNSON calls his book 'a pragmatic study of theology'. He distinguishes the 'pragmatic method' from the 'pragmatic philosophy' and says that 'it is with the method alone that we are concerned'. He does not seem to mean by the 'pragmatic method' much more than the method of verifying hypotheses by bringing them to the test of experienced facts, and he is perhaps too much disposed to regard this as something new and strange. 'Some of the best intellects', he says on p. 5, 'are working synthetically; not confining themselves exclusively to the one aspect of truth represented in a department, but reaching out to find the truest expression of the reality underlying all.' Was there ever a time when the 'best intellects' in philosophy did not work thus? What Mr Johnson probably has in his mind is only a certain tendency to revolt against a specialism in natural science which is itself not a fashion of any very long standing. But he is in truth usually somewhat too much disposed to give (if I may quote the alternative title of William James's *Pragmatism*) 'a new name to old ways of thinking' or at least not to recognize their old names. That the present writer never heard of a work (quoted on p. 183) called *The Nation*, by Elijah Mulford, only proves that there is one more book in the long list of books of which he is ignorant; but when the view is mentioned that 'the nation is not only an organism, it is a personality and a moral personality', and this work is quoted as though it was the source of the view, one cannot but be reminded of the preacher in the story who said 'Courage, as Dean Vaughan has told us, is a mean between rashness and cowardice'. The ancient thinker who preceded Dean Vaughan in this way of looking at courage might also lay claim to the doctrine of activity described on p. 215 of the book now before us; and though Dr Schiller has no doubt made the maxim that 'Man is the measure of all things' the starting-point of a philosophy, it is odd to find it called (on p. 13) 'Professor Schiller's Protagorean formula'.

These are, however, only small cavils at a book which is much to be welcomed as a sincere and serious piece of thinking, and well deserves the attention of those interested in the problems of philosophical theology. With a true insight Mr Johnson refuses to take a line which commends itself to some with whom he is as a philosopher in general sympathy, and to look on man as left to carry on by himself the struggle

of life or at the most with a powerful ally called God between whom and himself the relation is the same in kind as that between one human person and another ; or on the other hand to press the divine activity until all human individuality, so called, is swallowed up in the unity of the one real individuality of the Absolute or God. Mr Johnson has avoided this Scylla and Charybdis and has taken as his text the two-sided saying of St Paul : ' Work out your own salvation . . . for it is God which worketh in you.' In this saying he sees suggested the possibility of recognizing at once the reality of a process in time, such as we call evolution, and the reality of a God immanent in this process, neither a product of it nor (even though its originator) wholly separate from it. Similarly his discontent (expressed on p. 144) with the tendency—due historically to the discredit into which by the eighteenth century the legendary lore of the middle ages had fallen—to ignore the possibility of other spiritual agencies in our environment beside human spirits and the supreme or divine Spirit, is quite in keeping with the inclination towards polytheism which has sometimes characterized the recent reaction from monism (whether materialistic or idealistic). But Mr Johnson is careful to shew that such discontent does not commit us to any kind of polytheism ; and we have no doubt that polytheism spells retrogression in religion.

When Mr Johnson comes to consider the nature of the relation between God and individual human spirits (or presumably, spirits other than human) he avails himself of the analogy indicated in the following passage (p. 197) : ' When the organization of the human body reached a certain stage of perfection, there appeared from some unknown source a mysterious being vitally connected with it, that took possession of it, ruled, disciplined, and formed it. Let us make the hypothesis that some such being exists who sustains to the social organism relations similar to the above—that the human race, as a whole [with which it would seem the ' social organism ' is here identified], is related to this being, somewhat as the nervous system of a man is related to his central consciousness and will'. This seems a promising analogy because in the human personality the unity of the central consciousness dominates and subdues to itself the diverse nervous centres which nevertheless seem to carry on automatically, as we say, the various vital processes in a certain independence of one another, and each of them would appear to possess a consciousness of its own, which is able, under normal conditions, not only to coexist with the unity of the central consciousness, but to be organic or instrumental to it. But it must be observed that the relation of the dominant personality or central consciousness of man to the subordinate systems is not a fully conscious, still less a voluntary one ; and conversely the separate consciousness proper to each

subordinate system does not possess the characteristic—which belongs to or perhaps constitutes rationality—of being reflectively conscious of itself and of what is other than itself as in mutual relation. This seems to deprive the analogy of any great helpfulness in regard to the real difficulties which arise when we endeavour to describe God's relation to man and man's to God in terms which will satisfy the religious demand (fully admitted on p. 240) of a genuine transcendence on the part of God and the no less urgent, because correlative, religious demand of a genuine freedom on the part of man. These are necessary pre-suppositions of *worship*, in which Mr Johnson recognizes (on p. 218) the activity that exhibits in its highest form the principle of all distinctively human life. He indeed goes further and finds in worship, since it is the principle of that form of existence which is the culmination, so far, of the evolutionary process to which we belong, 'the motive power and, at the same time, the end of' this 'evolution'.

In chapter v Mr Johnson argues against ascribing to God 'omnipotence' and 'infinity'; and I do not know that I have seen the view that a true theism can dispense with these attributes of God better put than Mr Johnson puts it. But the very *worship* on which he afterwards lays so much stress must, as it seems to me, inevitably demand in its object what these names of 'omnipotence' and 'infinity' have historically been intended to convey.

There is much in Mr Johnson's book that is worthy of attention, particularly the discussion (on p. 298) of the relation of 'the specialized form of worship which we have inherited' to religion in a wider sense; the criticism (on p. 262) of the familiar apologetic device of equating assent to religious dogmas with assent to the authority of scientific conclusions; the sensible treatment (pp. 268 to 272) of the 'will to believe' in God and immortality. The sympathetic appendix on M. Bergson is also to be commended for its independence and moderation. One or two criticisms may be added. Mr Johnson's unqualified acceptance (on p. 96) of Kant's doctrine of the relativity of human thought should be reviewed in the light of such considerations as those recently emphasized by Mr Prichard. The phraseology of p. 339 about 'brain masses' of the individuals of a nation being 'linked together' is unhappy; the danger of mixing together the literal and the metaphorical, where 'brains' and 'minds' are in question, has been so often illustrated, that it is unnecessary to insist upon it. And surely the passage on p. 76 is not, as it stands, with its uncompromising denial of God's existence, a quotation from Erasmus Darwin?

C. C. J. WEBB.

The Moral Life and Moral Worth, by W. R. SORLEY, LL.D. (University Press, Cambridge, 1912.)

THIS is one of the Short Studies on Great Subjects at present being published as Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature. Like many others in this and similar series it seems likely to have an importance not to be measured by its size or immediate purpose which is defined by the author as that of giving a popular account of the nature of goodness in human life. It assumes an interest on the part of others than University students in the great problem of ethics. In the increasing pressure of outward calls in a world of expanding human interests and activities is it possible to vindicate an earnest if not a supreme interest in the inward? in the diversity of ideals social and individual that are being pressed upon us is it possible to find any principle of guidance which will shew their relation to any single purpose and to one another? does the moral life find its centre and chief stay in the perfecting of society on earth or does it point to some higher purpose at once more individual and more universal, more personal and more cosmic? Some doubtless find refuge from these and similar questionings in concentration on some of the outstanding purposes of life, business, politics, art, science or religion; others (probably a growing number) feel the need of some logical basis, some theoretic foundation for the assumption that life is worth living, that there is such a thing as 'life' at all. It might seem that in this the greatest of questions no simple and popular answer is possible. Fortunately, the editors of these manuals have adopted as their motto La Bruyère's saying that 'the greatest things only require to be said simply'. Fortunately, too, they have been able to obtain the assistance in the 'saying' of this one of a writer who believes and acts up to the belief in the English tradition that philosophy is a branch of literature.

Professor Sorley's method, which must seem to the reader to have something of the inevitableness of literature, is to start with the definition of virtue as 'quality of character which is amenable to the will and is the realization of goodness', and of goodness as 'that which makes for the highest possible perfection of character', and to treat of their leading types as they connect themselves with the harmony of elements in individual nature, in home, society, and in the universe as a whole. The 'personal' virtues fall into the subordinate classes of those concerned with self-control (temperance and courage) and those concerned with self-culture (wisdom, industry, prudence, and thrift). The 'social' virtues are justice and benevolence. 'Religious' virtues, 'excellences in the personal attitude to the ultimate meaning of life', are not so much special virtues as qualities in the moral life which apart from religion would not receive the same prominence, of which the chief are humility or reverence.

It is impossible here to follow the exposition in detail. What distinguishes it besides the literary grace already mentioned is the close connexion it maintains on the one hand with the classical treatment of the virtues in Plato and Aristotle and on the other with the practical problems of modern life. The treatment of justice in particular—including a fresh criticism of the idea of natural rights as a theory which is apt to make ‘man’s nature’ merely ‘a rubbish shoot for all the contradictions and generalities of *a priori* politics’ and of the opposing ideals of liberty and equality—is worthy of the most careful study by all who desire to get away from the ordinary catchwords of platform and journalistic politics. The good book in philosophy is the one that by the freshness of its answers to old problems carries the mind of the student on to new ones, and it will be more profitable to use the rest of my space to indicate one or two points on which the reader might concentrate his attention with a view to further light.

1. Professor Sorley rightly insists on the twofold aspect of all virtue individual and social, warning us at the same time not to take the individual self and the community as ‘two centres of different circles’ but rather as ‘the two foci in relation to which we may describe the course of human activities’. In spite of what he here says does he make it clear what the real connexion is? why the course of human activities should require two foci? why it is an ellipse and not a circle? whether it is in reality either and not rather as he himself shews later on an extending spiral? The question I am raising is the quite fundamental one of the real nature of individuality. I find the writer if not evasive at least somewhat elusive upon it.

2. Again he rightly emphasizes self-denial as a factor in self-expression. Unselfishness is a moral ideal but is it true that ‘we do not hesitate to condemn as selfish the man who injures the claims of human brotherhood even although he may be on the trail of an unclassified worm or be compiling “a key to all the mythologies”’? I certainly should hesitate. It surely all depends on the man himself and on the nature of the ‘claims’. The man may be much better suited for tracking the worm than for tracking a poor law case, and unselfishness with him may consist in sticking to his science and neglecting the call of the slum. I am raising again the quite fundamental question of function and of the relations between self-denial and self-mutilation, and questioning the unconditioned approval of ‘the triumph of the ideal of human brotherhood over the selfish development even of the highest part of the individual nature’. In this sentence is not ‘selfish’ a *petitio principii*?

3. In connexion with the question whether courage is not a decaying factor in life Professor Sorley adopts the hopeful view of Bagehot ‘somehow or other civilization does not make men effeminate’. It has not, he

tells us, weakened the fighting spirit. It has directed it to new objects : exploration, philanthropy, the advocacy of unpopular causes. But is not this, we may ask, to leave it as it was in Greece the virtue of an elect few? Is it not better, with Paulsen, to note that each age has its own special call to action and its own particular form of courage in responding effectively? Our own, as Professor Sorley elsewhere explains, is an age of industry, and the kind of courage demanded is the doggedness that is prepared to hold out against what James has called the 'drizzle' of momentary discomfort which the more mechanical and less exciting parts of each day's work rain down on us.

4. Connected with this is the whole subject of the ethics of labour touched on p. 75 foll. I agree with the conclusion that from the social point of view the principle that each as Plato required should 'do his own things', the work he is best fitted for, is the right one. But this does not carry us far in a world where the complaint is not so much that men are unfit for their work, but that so much of the work of the world is unfit for men much more for women and girls. Are we to get over the difficulty as Mr Wells suggests, following I suppose Ruskin and Morris, by a kind of universal conscription, or is there a way of harmonizing Plato's principle of justice with modern conditions?

5. And to mention only one other problem. In his interesting treatment of the religious virtues Professor Sorley does not include Faith, but if it is so powerful as he declares to vivify and enlarge the moral life ought he not to? In an interesting passage in Newman's recently published *Life the Cardinal* is quoted as having said of the *Grammar of Assent* 'My book is to shew that a right moral state of mind terminates or even generates good intellectual principles'. We agree, but it seems equally true that good intellectual principles—a right attitude of mind to the universe as a whole—generates a right moral state of mind. And if this is so does not the question of the relation between moral and intellectual virtue to which Plato and Aristotle gave so much attention return in a deeper form than Professor Sorley seems willing to admit?

J. H. MUIRHEAD.

Character and Religion. By the Rev. the Hon. E. LYTTELTON, Head Master of Eton. (Library of Historic Theology: Robert Scott, London, 1912.)

Nor least among the fruits of that Spirit, who is the Creator and Sustainer of the Christian character, is tenderness to unbelief. The large and resolute charity which limits the exercise of discipline to the case of those who are willing to submit to it, and is slow to judge them that are without, has often won the reverence of such as could not give

faith, and has sometimes made the recovery of faith less difficult. This tenderness is a conspicuous quality of Dr Lyttelton's thought. His appreciation of the 'undeniable probity and real loftiness of character' of some who 'flout the demands of religious conformity', his generous understanding of the intellectual obstacles to be surmounted and the spiritual self-conquest to be achieved before the Christian faith and Christian character can be attained, his discerning estimate of the unconvincingness of much that passes for orthodoxy, his sympathetic portrait of the Anglican, but non-mystical, Empire-builder, are truly liberal. And this liberalism is not, as it is sometimes, either un-Christian or unintelligent.

The book is in one sense topical. It is a criticism of the programme of the non-religious, moral instruction Leagues, which have recently combined to hold an International Moral Congress. But we have in it the lessons of many years of valuable experience. The Headmaster of Eton knows, as is natural, a great deal about character, and Dr Lyttelton also knows a great deal about religion.

The book is a lucid examination of the grounds for the belief in humility. It is taken as agreed on all hands that the graces of character summed up as non-egoism, or, more loosely, as humility, are supremely valuable. These graces are not 'useful', and not easy to attain. But whether it be recognized or not, the centre of good character is non-egoism. The most interesting of all studies, that of personality, is completely spoiled when the lecturer expounds himself. 'He achieves the striking combination of being both offensive and dull.' What is the reason of this? The evolutionary hypothesis, which has so much to say about the high estimate of the value of courage, is silent here. Cold reason has little to contribute. As a matter of fact it has surely more than the author puts into its mouth. The teaching of humility in the name of reason, however impossible for school-boys, however inadequate for all but a few picked souls, might have been treated more generously. The victory of the opponent in this part of the dialogue (for most of the book is in the form of dialogue) is too easy. But still, the self-forgetful do not as a rule forget self on grounds of reason. Theism (and here again it is difficult to think that a better case could not have been made out) and a conventional 'Christianity', which is really legalism, attaching an illogical importance to the mere example of a Master whom the Resurrection proves to be Divine, are alike powerless to reveal the secret. All these religions foster pride in man: they make him feel that the Almighty attaches enormous importance to him, his conduct and his salvation. The only religion, which can really break his pride, explain his mysterious and persistent instinct, and build up his character at the same time, is the religion of the Cross.

There are teachers and preachers nowadays, who, in their well-meant endeavours to capture Labour, hold out a religion of the Incarnation and of the dignity of human life without reference to the duty of repentance. Into this specious snare many writers, desiring to commend the Christian character, although appealing to the professional and commercial classes rather than to manual workers, might easily, and fatally, have fallen. But we have here a presentment of full and 'practising' Christianity.

It is made by a delightful old man, 'the Rector's guest', refreshingly human and profoundly spiritual. In a long dialogue with the refined egoist, who has so far proved invincible in argument, he brings out a number of illuminating and inspiring thoughts. Our Lord was not humble. His example is, *humanly* speaking, too remote and too occasional to be of use. The old dilemma is pushed with unusual boldness. In the Divinity of Christ, that is, the doctrines of Redemption and the grace of the Holy Spirit, lies the essence of Christianity and the secret of the value of humility. The *μετάνοια*, or self-conquest, which is produced by faith in Christ, 'Who died for me', the humbling recollection that the glorious Ascended Christ is also 'the Lamb slain' and that the way of discipleship is death to self, is the only thing which can at once redeem character and exclude boasting.

The egoist is intellectually convinced. He puts himself to school with the Church. He conquers his pride, and by means of churchmanship and Communion learns in the course of years the lesson of eternal life. The remainder of the book describes his conversation at a subsequent period with a 'healthy-minded' and most attractive Empire-builder. He has himself meditated deeply on the Gospels, and can now give enlightening expositions of the Parable of the Talents, the meaning of 'By their fruits' and the Lord's answer to 'By what authority?' He has much to teach his friend about the real duty of those who feel that they have no turn for religion, and the comparative importance of a Christian and a merely sanitary or social or Imperial world-view. The friend (and this is a consummate touch) is stirred but not convinced; he closes the conversation with 'Well, many thanks to you. I suppose it is time for us to get back to the house'.

The form is that of dialogue almost throughout. It has the inevitable defect which dialogue, to be readable, must have. It is better than it really would have been. But it is human and interesting, rising to eloquence only where the speakers may be supposed to be deeply moved.

The three appendices, on the Teaching and Example of Christ, on the Influence of Greek Philosophy, and on Some Difficulties in Prayer, are, within their limits, very valuable, especially the first. It draws out

in some detail the main lesson of the book, that our Lord's teaching and example are of supreme worth, but are also specifically and exclusively Christian.

S. C. CARPENTER.

The Person of Christ in Modern Thought. By E. DIGGES LA TOUCHE, M.A., Litt.D. (Clarke & Co., London, 1912.)

THIS series of Donnellan Lectures, delivered in Trinity College, Dublin, is a further proof of the present interest felt by theologians of every school of thought in the problem of constructive Christology. As in other books of a similar character, we are presented with a review of the work done, especially on the continent, in this field, and an estimate of its strength and weakness, followed by the author's own contribution towards the formation of a theory that shall take account of each justifiable claim. Possessing extensive learning, and, on the whole, fairmindedness and balance of judgement, Dr La Touche, after an introductory chapter on 'Christianity and the Modern World View', turns to a historical account and examination of liberal criticism in Germany, France, and England, with a section devoted to the controversies that have arisen round eschatology and modernism. From this he passes to the New Testament, to the character of our Lord's self-consciousness, the evidence for and witness of His miracles, and the valuation of His Person in apostolic thought. Readers acquainted with the work of Dr Sanday, Dr Denney, and Mr Nolloth will find themselves in a familiar atmosphere; but there is a freshness and an independence in Dr La Touche's descriptions and criticisms which give to the central portion of his book an interest of its own. While paying every respect to their religious spirit, he is somewhat over-fond of the adjective 'unbelieving' as a description of liberal critics—he might have paid profitable attention to Dr Du Bose's remarks on the three stages of the Gospel, each a real Gospel as far as it goes; but I think him well justified in the charges of critical subjectivity and philosophical pre-suppositions which he urges with great vigour against German liberalism. He is less satisfactory in dealing with eschatology and modernism. He shews well enough that the attempt to confine the Gospels and the kingdom of God as proclaimed by Christ to an eschatological interpretation is arbitrary in character and unsatisfactory in results; but he scarcely deals at all with verses like Matt. x 23 and passages like the Marcan Apocalypse, on which the school in question relies. Nor does the modernist defence of the development of doctrine involve the Church in 'shameless opportunism'. I do not agree with that defence, but it

is not bald expediency if the Church, conscious of divine life within her, adapts means to the one great end of preserving and safeguarding that divine life. In his own treatment of the Gospels Dr La Touche says much that is of value: his section on the title 'Son of Man' is careful and suggestive. His inductions, e.g. from our Lord's 'self-assertion' to His Deity, seem to me true; but others do not find the inferences as inevitable as he does, and it is dangerous, to say the least, to attribute the cause to personal sin (p. 226). His examination of 'the Petrine Cycle' in the apostolic witness is admirable.

The last fifty pages of the book deal with the Christological problem. Kenotic theories of various kinds, theories of progressive incarnation, and the Ritschlian doctrine, all fail to satisfy him, while he follows Dr Warfield in his opinion that Dr Sanday's theory leaves us with nothing more than an intensification in Christ of the general truth of divine immanence. He himself inclines to the position, so fully worked out by Dr Weston, that the subject of our Lord's Manhood was not the unlimited Logos, but the Logos limited through His own continual act of self-sacrifice, though Dr Weston's treatment is much the more adequate in that he bases the self-restraint of the Incarnate Son upon an act of will once made by Him as unlimited Logos, as opposed to a series of acts within the sphere of the Incarnation. Dr La Touche appears to be writing less at first-hand in this connexion than in any other part of his book, and there is no trace in these few pages of that original profundity of thought so characteristic of the two modern exponents, the one of revised Athanasian, the other of revised Kenotic Christology—Bishop Weston and Dr Forsyth.

In two respects Dr La Touche's Protestant sympathies have seriously misled him. He overrates the contributions made to Christology by the Reformation theologians and their successors. Luther was a conservative save in a theory of the *communicatio idiomatum* and of the ubiquity of Christ's Manhood, which has rightly met with little favour. Calvin's chief work was done in other fields, even if he did wish to substitute the word *αὐτόθεος* for *ὁμοούσιος*. Protestant scholasticism in the seventeenth century was singularly barren of ideas. Yet in so far as the Reformation induced a new attitude to the old dogmatic and an attempt to get beyond its conception of the Deity of Christ, it prepared the way for that religious Unitarianism towards the refutation of which Dr La Touche devotes so much space.

And, secondly, he is unjust to the Oxford Movement and the *Lux Mundi* school. It is simply absurd to talk of the stagnation of Christological thought resulting from that movement, and not very gracious in one who owes so much of his own positive thought to a younger disciple of that school, Dr Weston. The older representatives of the movement

opened up the Fathers and the early history of Christology to the English Churchman. The younger representatives, more than any other body of men, have laboured to shew that there need be no war *à outrance* between Catholic Christology and modern scientific and historical principles. To speak of 'the few and small contributions of the *Lux Mundi* school'—a school which includes Dr Gore, Dr Illingworth, and the late Dr Moberly—as 'very little more than *réchauffés* of the German and French Lutherans and Calvinists' is to display a lack of attention to fact and of fair judgement quite unworthy of Dr LaTouche's usual accuracy, and I can but hope that he will remove this sentence when his book goes into a second edition, which, on its general merits, it certainly deserves.

Cardinal Elements of the Christian Faith. By Professor D. S. ADAM. (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1911.)

THIS book, partly expository and partly apologetic, consists of what were originally lectures given to students of all faculties in the University of Melbourne, and it is a very good specimen of its kind, interesting, candid, sympathetic. Professor Adam seems to me stronger on the philosophical side than on the directly theological; his most questionable statements occur in the chapter on 'The Person of Christ', and, here and there, what perhaps we may still call a Nestorian note sounds. This is not unnatural in view of the attraction which Hegelian idealism exercises upon him; for the Antiochene school and Hegel, widely different though their philosophical presuppositions may be, yet agree in finding in the Person of Christ one particular form of relationship between God and man most perfectly exemplified. The best piece of work in the book is the chapter on 'Man as Sinful'. Too many persons who maintain the physical connexion of man with the lower animals incline to the belief that sin in man is but the inheritance of the brute nature: Professor Adam gives good reason for doubting the cogency of an argument which tends to make sin inevitable and therefore not truly sinful. He also shews a true grasp of his subject in treating of the Atonement, and of the individual's response to the offer of salvation; but he might have developed his idea of the Church as 'a living organism of which Jesus Christ is the Head' more fully.

Faith, Freedom, and the Future. By P. T. FORSYTH, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1912.)

THE most generally interesting portion of Dr Forsyth's new book is the first chapter on 'The Word and the Spirit', of which the pith is that

the historic revelation which we may identify with the Gospel, but not with the Bible, must ever be regarded as the norm whereby those recurring movements, that claim as their justification a new manifestation of the Spirit's action, may be tested. From that Dr Forsyth passes to a consideration of the Anabaptist element in the Reformation, its influences and its dangers, especially in connexion with Independency. This forms the main portion of the book, but towards the end Dr Forsyth puts in a plea for a more serious concern for the great principle of Calvinism—not the doctrine of Predestination, but the doctrine of God, God's majesty and God's freedom. Very truly does he argue that a great deal of modern humanitarian and democratic thought looks on God as a means to the securing of man's interests and ends, and has put aside the conception that man, in whatever he does, should aim at glorifying God. Herein lies the weakness of all movements which care little for any kind of historic authority, and anabaptism supplies Dr Forsyth with a particular example that he can handle trenchantly, yet not without sympathy. The liberal side of his thought is subordinate to the positive, but it is present. I do not doubt that his general analysis is correct, but when he says that the Church (he means primarily but not exclusively the Congregational Church) should offer a clear, brief, and positive confession of its one creative Gospel, I cannot help wishing that he had given some attention to the Nicene Creed, which is evangelical as well as theological, and more likely, if taken seriously, to secure what Dr Forsyth wants, even than Professor Denney's new formula.

J. K. MOZLEY.

Biblical Quotations in Middle English Literature before 1350, by Mary W. Smyth (Yale Studies in English, No. XLI). (Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1911; lxxii + 304 pp.)

IN 1898 Professor A. S. Cook of Yale University published a volume of 'Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers', the extracts being taken from the works of King Ælfred and the great churchman Ælfric. In 1903 an additional volume of 'Quotations' was issued containing Biblical passages from the remaining Old English prose texts. The chief feature of Prof. Cook's work was an extremely valuable and useful historical survey of Old English translations of parts of the Bible, whether in poetry or prose, which served as introduction to the first volume. This historical account is the only one of its kind, and must be consulted by every scholar who proposes to touch the subject.

In the present volume, a Thesis for the Degree of Ph.D. at Yale

University, an attempt has been made to carry on Prof. Cook's work from the point where he breaks off (c. 1025) down to the year 1350.

For this purpose the Biblical passages have been extracted from all accessible works written in English during the period mentioned, viz. 1025-1350, irrespective of their being in poetry or prose. The extracts have been arranged as far as possible chronologically. It is this collection of 'Biblical Quotations' which forms the main part of the volume (pp. 1-245). In a series of 'Appendices' (pp. 246-290) the writer then gives 'Quotations under five words', 'Paraphrases', 'Allusions', 'Untraced Passages', lists of the Biblical passages in the *Cursor Mundi* and the *Ormulum*—these being too long to be quoted in full; and finally she gives an account of words and phrases common to writers before Wycliffe and the authorized version. We miss the Latin of the passages quoted, as well as a glossary of the unusual words found in the texts.

On the whole the Collection has been made with accuracy and care. There are, however, omissions of a more or less serious nature. Although the important collection of Twelfth Century Sermons (ed. Belfour, *E.E.T.S.* 1909-1911) is stated to have been published too late to be made use of by Miss Smyth, the same reason does not hold in the case of the twelfth-century *Sermo in Festis Sanctae Mariae*, edited by H. A. Vance, Darmstadt, 1894, as a Jena dissertation, and previously printed by Kluge in his *Angelsächsisches Lesebuch*, 1888, pp. 71 ff. Cf. on the origin and date M. Förster *Archiv* cxvi 310 ff.

I give the chief passages from this *Sermo*:—

Luke x 38-42 ... sé hælend côm into sumen cæstele, and sum wif hine underfeng into hire huse. Ðære wæs tó name Martha. Séo hæfde áne suster, þe wæs genæmd Mária. Séo wæs sittende æt úres drihtenes fôten and hlyste his worden. Ac Martha beswanc and bestuddede þá lichamlíce behéðen. Séo stód and cwæð tó þán hælende: 'Lá drihten, nis þe ná gemynde, þæt mîn suster lætt mé anen þénigen? Sæge hire, þæt heo mé fylste.' Sé hælend hire andswerede and cwæð: 'Martha! Martha! þú eart bisig and gedréfd on feale þingan, ac ánlýpig þing is behéfe. Mária hæfð gecoren þæt betste dæl, þæt hire næfre nebyð wiðtogan.' (Ed. Vance ll. 1-11.)

Luke i 34. Hwú sceal þiss gewurðen, for ic necann náht of weres gemáne? (l. 38 f); Luke i 38 Ic eam drihtenes þéne (l. 49 f); Matth. xxv 40 eall þæt, þæt gé dyden ánen mînre læsten þæt gé dyden mé sylfen (l. 109 f); Luke x 40 Martha wæs bisig and cearig emb þá þénunge (l. 118); Luke i 48 Drihten beseh tó mînre éadmodnisse and purh þæt mé sculen ealle mægðen éadige tellen (l. 50 f); John xix 25 Big þæs hælendes róde stód Mária his móder (l. 120 f); Col. ii 2, 3 On Criste synd beclýsede godes myhten and his wisedóm and ealle þá hordwittes and wisedómes.

Again in the *Moral Ode* (Old English Miscellany 58-71) the following passages have not been referred to:—

Matth. xxii 37-40 Luuye we god myd vre heorte and myd alle vre myhte Vre euencristen as vs seolf (ll. 303-304)... Al hit hongeþ... bi pisse twam worde (l. 306. For this latter cf. Rushworth Gloss., ed. Skeat 'in pissum twæm bebodum ealle æ hongað'); Apoc. xx 12, xxi 27, xxii 19, Phil. iv 3 lyues boc [MS bec, l. 376].

With regard to the *North-English Legendary* it should have been stated in the Preface that the edition used was by C. Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden Neue Folge*, Heilbronn, 1881.

In her Introduction (pp. v-lxxii) Miss Smyth writes with attractiveness and skill on several different topics: 1. 'Knowledge and Love of the Bible in the Old and Middle English Periods'; 2. Historical Survey of Biblical Translation; 3. General Character and Value of the Translations; 4. Comparison of Translations of Given Passages; 5. Amount of Bible Translated into Middle English; 6. Ways of Using the Bible.

It is especially in sections 3-6 of these that she reveals genuine and sympathetic interest in her subject, and it is to be hoped that in the future she may turn her attention to one or other of the many complex problems in the history of the Mediaeval English Bible which await solution.

There are, however, one or two points which need correction or modification. The very first sentence of the first chapter, 'To Wyclif is due the honor of having first translated the entire Bible into English', almost takes one's breath away by its boldness. Students of this vexed question would give a good deal to know what proofs Miss Smyth could adduce to support her very definite and comprehensive statement.

On p. xxiv the illustration from Richard Rolle 'Bodely wirkyngis goth before, and gostely cometh aftir' as a 'translation' of 1 Cor. xv 46 is unhappily chosen. It is not a 'translation' but a 'reference', a 'summing up' in a few words of the sense of the passage. The 'translation' follows immediately after the Latin: *Non quod prius spirituale sed quod prius animale, deinde spirituale* 'Gostely werke comyth not firste, but firste comyth bodely werke, that is doone by the body, and sithen comyth gostely aftir'.¹ Even here it is improbable that Rolle aimed at giving anything more than the sense of the passage, and it is methodically incorrect to compare a loose rendering of this description with an avowedly close and literal translation like that of the Wycliffite Version. Wycliffe himself, over and over again in his *Sermons*, sums up

¹ *English Prose Treatises*, ed. Perry, p. 20. 16-20.

or paraphrases a Biblical passage; this does not mean that he was a 'bad' translator, it means that he was not 'translating' at all at that particular moment, but condensing, summing up the idea expressed in the Biblical passage, e.g.

Early Wycliffite Version.

(Col. iii 11) but alle thingis and
in alle thingis Crist.

(Matthew ix 6) Sothely no man
sendith ynne a medlynge of rudee
or newe clothe into an old clothe,
sothely he takith away the plente
of it fro the clothe, and a worse
kittyng is maad.

(John xii 24-25) Treuli, treuli, I
seie to you, no but a corn of whete
fallinge in to the erthe schal be
deed, it dwelliþ aloone; soothli if
it schal be deed, it bringiþ moche
fruyt.

Wycliffe's Sermons.

and Crist, as Paul seith, is alle
þingis in alle men þat shal be
savyd. (Arnold, i 4.)

for olde cloiþ clouted to newe
makip more hole as Crist seiþ.
(*ibid.* i 84.)

But as þe gospel of Ioon seiþ,
þe corn of whete falliþ into erþe,
and siþ it dieþ, and þan it groweþ
manyfolde to myche corn.
(*ibid.* i 104.)

No conclusions as to a man's power of 'translating' could be drawn from passages of this description.

A. C. PAUES.

Patrologia Orientalis tom. vii fasc. 5. *James of Edessa: The Hymns of Severus of Antioch and Others* (II). Syriac version edited and translated by E. W. BROOKS. (Firmin-Didot, Paris.)

IN this contribution to the *Patrologia Orientalis* Mr Brooks completes his valuable edition of the Hymns of Severus, in the Syriac translation of Paul, bishop of Edessa (?), as revised by Jacob of Edessa. The original translation was not a strictly literal one, but contained alterations and additions. Jacob of Edessa wrote in many places a more literal version of the Greek above the line, while the words in Paul's version not represented in the Greek were marked off from the rest by the aid of red paint. Of the two MSS which contain the collection (B.M. Add. 17134 = A, and 18816 = B), A alone has the corrections and painted letters; and as the handwriting cannot be much later than the time of Jacob of Edessa (7th century), Dr Wright thought that it was probably his autograph. But Mr Brooks tells us that B, though of the 9th century, often gives better readings. Possibly, however, this is the result of a still further collation with the original Greek. The value of Jacob's work on these Hymns lies largely in the fact that he gives in the margins many scriptural references which are suggested by the wording of the

Hymns. In the case of the N. T. these quotations follow the Peshitta, in that of the O. T. they sometimes follow the Peshitta, sometimes the LXX, sometimes neither in their full text. Another point of interest about the collection is that some of the Hymns contain echoes of the Liturgy of St James (apparently). Sometimes when there is a mere suggestion of the liturgy in the original, we find that it has been caught by the Syriac translator and made more explicit by the addition of a word or two more. All such allusions, whether in the original or in the translation, are of course anterior to the editorial work of Jacob. Many of the Hymns (Nos. 138-197) deal with particular saints and martyrs; others are for occasions of drought, earthquake, and similar calamities.

The edition and translation betoken the care and accuracy which we have learned to associate with Mr Brooks's work.

Patrologia Orientalis tom. iii fasc. 1. *Histoires d'Ahoudemmeh et de Marouta*, par F. NAU.

ONE of the signatories at a council held in 554 by the Nestorian Catholicus Joseph was a certain 'Aḥūdemmeh, which curious name signifies 'his mother's brother'. To the writings of a person bearing the same name the Nestorian 'Abhd-īshō' devotes a paragraph in his bibliographical catalogue. The Jacobite historians John of Asia (†585) and Michael the Great speak of a Monophysite bishop of this name who held a disputation against the Nestorians in the presence of Kosrau I. Bār Hebraeus tells of an 'Aḥūdemmeh who was appointed metropolitan of the East by the celebrated Patriarch James Baradaeus in 559. M. Nau is perhaps right in making these notices refer to one and the same person, the subject of the biography which he here publishes, and in supposing 'Aḥūdemmeh to have been a convert from Nestorianism. Perhaps the chief point of interest in the biography is that it shews the hero to have been the evangelizer of the wandering Arab tribes of Mesopotamia. He was condemned to die of starvation by the Persian king, whose son he had admitted to baptism.

Mārūthā, the subject of the second biography, was appointed metropolitan of Tagrith in 640, according to the present life of him, though others say 624. His life is by Denhā (†660), his successor in the see. Born of Monophysite parents in the village of Shurzaq, in the district of Ninevah, Mārūthā was consigned to the care of the monks of Mār Samuel, a neighbouring monastery. Having attained the age of reason he was sent for some time to study in one of the schools which had recently been founded by the Monophysites in imitation of those of the Nestorians: 'For the Nestorians of the East, wishing to steal away the simple to

their error by chants and sweet melodies, . . . had taken care to establish schools in almost all their villages ; and they organized them with certain musical tones and chants and hymns and songs, which were everywhere sung in the same manner. And so the God-loving faithful were moved with laudable emulation' to do the same. Later he travelled westward, into the 'land of the Romans', and spent some time in the monastery of Mār Zakkai near Callinice, where he joined the monks in the study of the works of Gregory Theologus, to which they especially devoted themselves, the Cappadocian fathers being great favourites with the early Monophysites.

Both these biographies are taken from a unique MS in the British Museum (Add. 14645, written in 936). The publication ends with some fragments of 'Aḥūdemmeḥ's treatise on the composition of man, a work of some merit, and written in an easy and graceful style ; it is taken from the B.M. MS Add. 14620, of the 9th century.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

Orthodoxie und Synkretismus in der Altprotestantischen Theologie, von OTTO RITSCHL. I. Hälfte: *Die Theologie der deutschen Reformation und die Entwicklung der lutherischen Orthodoxie in den philippischen Streitigkeiten*. (J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, 1912.)

PROFESSOR OTTO RITSCHL's second volume on the History of Protestant Dogma is a striking example of the thoroughness with which German theologians are at present investigating the early developements of Protestantism in their Fatherland. Having in the first volume discussed with great fullness 'Biblicism and Traditionalism in the old Protestant Theology', in a second volume, of which this is only the first part, he returns to the same period and examines in still greater detail the theological views of Luther and Melancthon, especially with regard to justification and kindred doctrines. English readers may think that the variations and strifes of primitive Protestantism are here treated of in unnecessary detail. It must be remembered, however, that for German Lutherans the Fathers of Protestantism occupy the place which the early Fathers of the Church possess in the eyes of Roman Catholic theologians, and to some extent of theologians of the Church of England. They not only desire to understand them historically, but to shew that there exists a living relationship between them and the German theology of the present day. Perhaps the recent works of Denifle and the learned Jesuit H. Grisar may have given a fresh impulse to the investigations of Protestant historians.

A work so rich in detail as this of Ritschl's does not lend itself readily to a short notice. I must content myself with mentioning a few of the topics on which he enlarges.

One of the most attractive chapters is entitled 'Luther's pre-Reformation views as *Theologia Crucis*'. Of this Ritschl writes:—

'Augustine and Bernard of Clairvaux had frequently spoken of the Cross of Christ. It may be taken for granted therefore that Luther who followed them in this was influenced by them; but neither for him nor for them was the outward cross of significance. Luther speaks of the *Crux Christi mistica, in qua omnes oportet offerri*. Christ's cross therefore is the altar of God spoken of in Psalm xliii 4, li 21. But by the expression the Cross of Christ which man must take up, Luther understands the exact following of the most difficult injunctions which Christ laid upon His followers in such passages as Matt. x 38, xvi 24.

'Although no one shrinks from this more than one who is endeavouring to purify himself by his own works, yet to any one who supports the cross of Christ lovingly and bears his sufferings joyfully, the evils of this life become holy, innocent, and advantageous, as they increase his merits.'

In these utterances of Luther Ritschl recognizes the voice of monastic piety at its best, and he regards Luther's *Theologia Crucis* as a precious dowry to the Protestant Church, although he adds that Luther had to go beyond it in order to become a Reformer.

In the chapters which follow an account is given of the gradual change which came over Luther's views of justification, by which he abandoned the Augustinian conception of justification for that for ever associated with his name. The change was, however, gradual; and the formula *fides sola justificans* is not found in his writings before the year 1518. Ritschl connects in an interesting manner this change in Luther's conception of faith and the change which took place in his outward activities. While under the spell of cloistral piety his faith was directed mainly to the future—to the rest and reward in Paradise. When he entered the lists against the ecclesiastical powers he required an assurance of a present help, and his faith was now directed to God as his Guide and Helper in his great conflict.

In the latter half of his work Ritschl gives an account of the doctrinal strifes that disturbed the Protestant Church after the death of Luther, which are associated with the name of Melancthon. These strifes were embittered by personal jealousies and political rivalries, for Melancthon was never forgiven for having remained in Wittenburg when the princes of the unfortunate Ernestine line established their University at Jena, the theologians of which claimed to represent the genuine Luther-tradition. But there was a real difference in the teaching,

and especially in the spirit, of Luther and Melancthon, of the latter of whom Ritschl gives an admirable character-sketch. A man of fastidious tastes, a humanist at heart, he had little sympathy with what Ritschl names the 'irrationalism' of Luther. His return to Aristotle, Luther's pet aversion, and his love for the Fathers, shew how widely he diverged from his master. The theologians of Jena were not therefore far wrong when they charged him with writing in the spirit of a philosopher and man of letters. Loofs has said that all these strifes have for us only a pathological interest. From this opinion Ritschl dissents, and he claims for them a real influence on the developement of theology in Protestant Germany. Those who desire to become acquainted with them will find ample materials in Ritschl's learned work.

JOHN GIBB.

PROFESSOR A. THUMB'S *Handbook of the Modern Greek Vernacular*, translated by S. ANGUS. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1912.)

PROFESSOR THUMB has long been known to all students of Modern Greek as one of the leading experts in the vernacular; and the publication of an English translation of his Handbook will be welcome to many scholars who have been incommoded in their study of the language, or even deterred therefrom, by the inconvenience of a German medium. Although English Grammars exist from which a fair working knowledge for practical purposes can be obtained, it has been left to Dr Angus, by his translation of Prof. Thumb's work, to introduce to English readers the first thorough and scientific analysis of the Modern Greek Vernacular.

For the greater part of a century there has been an incessant struggle in Greece between the 'vulgar' speech (ἡ χυδαία γλῶσσα, as it is contemptuously called) and the would-be 'cultured' speech (ἡ καθαρεύουσα) which incongruously combines the forms of Ancient Greek with the idiom of modern French. It is with the former alone that Prof. Thumb deals, and it is his contention that, widely as popular dialects differ, there is none the less an average popular speech, a *Koinḗ*, as it were, of the vernacular, sufficiently uniform to serve as an intelligible means of communication over the greater part of the Greek world, and excellently exemplified in the collections of folk-songs published by Passow and others.

This contention will be readily accepted by any one whose knowledge of the vernacular has been acquired in the course of travel and not from books. From Thessaly to Maina, and from the Ionian Islands to those

of the Aegean, the same type of speech is understood, and, though the traveller will observe differences both in pronunciation and in formation of words in the several districts, these local deviations from the average speech are far less perplexing to the ear when heard, than to the eye when phonetically represented in print. Uniformity of speech, as Prof. Thumb admits, is by no means absolute, but, when the more marked peculiarities of each dialect have been discarded, there certainly remains a large common element which may be fairly called *the vernacular*.

The task of the grammarian, however, is little more than begun even when this general contention is accepted. The details of what he claims as *the vernacular* may well give room for criticism and debate. And here Prof. Thumb's work is somewhat unequal: in dealing with the Morphology of the language he has wisely admitted, particularly in the conjugation of verbs, a number of alternative forms as equally permissible and intelligible; whereas in the department of Phonetics he is somewhat dogmatic in postulating uniformity. When it is stated (p. 23) that 'before a consonant λ regularly becomes ρ', familiar forms like ἔλθω, στέλνω, and χαλκός immediately suggest that 'regularly' is too strong a word. When it is affirmed (p. 18) that 'χ becomes κ after σ', I feel that Prof. Thumb is conferring the dignity of correctness upon an inelegant and careless, if fairly frequent, corruption of speech; ἄσχημος, σχίζω, σχολεῖό, &c., are, I should say, at least as well established in popular speech as the forms in which σχ has passed into σκ. But surely it is an error, not of judgement, but rather of ear, to treat γγ and γκ (p. 15) as if they were never distinguishable, whereas actually it must be seldom, if ever, that they are confused: γκ has initially, the sound of the English *g* (as in 'go') and medially the sound of *ng* (as in 'finger'); while γγ has always the sound of *ng* (as in 'ring') followed by the spirant γ of Modern Greek.

The second part of the work, which deals with Morphology, is admirable in its careful analysis, but is somewhat deficient in synthesis. A student acquainted with ancient Greek and approaching the modern Greek declensions for the first time would be spared much labour and weariness if he were informed at the outset, instead of being left to discover for himself, that the ancient accusative singular is the base-form on which the modern declension is built up. Prof. Thumb devotes some sixteen pages (43-59) to the declension of masculine and feminine substantives (together with a few neuter substantives which resemble the masculine); and the analysis of stems and case-endings is scientific and accurate: but the whole system might with advantage have been summarized in a few introductory sentences, as thus:—'The ancient accusative singular (*minus* the final ν where this occurs) remains the modern accusative singular in all masculine and feminine substantives.

Masculine substantives form the nominative by adding *s*, and use the accusative form as genitive also (with the one exception of words ending in *o*, where the genitive ends in *ov*): feminine substantives employ the accusative form for the nominative also, and form the genitive by the addition of *s*. There is no dative.' And the plural might have been treated almost as briefly. The same criticism applies also to the conjugation of verbs. Here the ancient aorist (with little alteration) is the base-form on which a variety of new present-forms have been constructed; and though this fact is recognized by Prof. Thumb (p. 143), he has not given to it the prominence which it deserves. He would have smoothed the path of the student if he had reversed the ordinary order of tenses and dealt with the aorist before proceeding to the present.

The third part of the book, which treats of Syntax, deserves nothing but praise, and the selection of Texts and Specimens of Dialect which follows is well made. A serviceable Glossary concludes this very useful work.

J. C. LAWSON.

CHRONICLE

OLD TESTAMENT.

THE *Cambridge Bible* received an important addition in 1911 in two commentaries on Exodus and Numbers by Prof. Driver and Dr McNeile respectively, and a much-needed *Introduction to the Pentateuch* by Mr A. T. Chapman. Prof. Driver's work is marked by exceptional fullness and wealth of explanatory matter. Special attention is paid to the historical background, the historical problems, and the laws. The book of Exodus bristles with interesting and difficult questions, and these are treated in a way that will attract the student. Prof. Driver writes in his preface: 'It has been my privilege and my endeavour to do the best that I could, consistently with the limits at my disposal, to explain and illustrate, and to help the reader to appreciate, the varied contents of the book.' The commentary contains so many notes of a more exhaustive character, and elaborate excursions, that it appeals to a much wider circle of readers than this series has in view. It should also be mentioned that there are a number of illustrations and four maps. All in all the volume is the best existing English commentary on the book of Exodus.

Dr McNeile's Numbers is relatively smaller and slighter. A certain proportion of the book of Numbers can hardly be said to be of general interest, and the existence of C. B. Gray's larger work in the 'International Critical Commentary' series renders unnecessary a more detailed treatment for the more advanced students. Dr McNeile's commentary is quite adequate; it is naturally indebted to Gray's book, but is independent in judgement. It is eminently desirable that the younger men should gain a sound introduction to the Old Testament books and their preliminary problems before proceeding to the more intricate questions upon which there is much conflict of specialistic opinion, and consequently it is not necessary to refer to particular problems some treatment of which more advanced students will miss in these two commentaries on Exodus and Numbers.

Mr Chapman's *Introduction to the Pentateuch* serves partly to relieve the introductions to the several books and partly to give a self-contained account of the preliminary literary-critical problems of the first six books of the Old Testament. He handles excellently and clearly the three fundamental propositions: the post-Mosaic date of certain portions, the composite *literary* character of the books, and the tripartite origin of the laws in their present form. The subsidiary questions are admirably

treated, and the attention of readers may be drawn to the discussions in the Appendix (pp. 197-318), where I would refer especially to No. vii, the Characteristics of Composite Documents; No. ix, the Christological Argument; and No. x, Archaeology and Criticism. Mr Chapman covers all the necessary introductory matters in a way that allows the reader to understand how modern criticism has arisen, and upon what evidence its leading conclusions are based. It is excellently suited for those who would learn to understand the Old Testament in the light of modern knowledge, and I cannot recall any other book so well adapted as this for less advanced students. The fact that certain tendencies in present-day criticism are distinctly favourable to the conservative or more traditional attitude, and therefore apparently antagonistic to the main conclusions which this book supports, will occur to some readers. It is worth while adding, therefore, that in the nature of the case it is likely that there always will be such tendencies: the present position associated with the name of Wellhausen, Kuenen, and others, has its opponents as assuredly as the other progressive positions that led up to it. Moreover, if these tendencies are also found among those who hold the Wellhausen position, this simply shews that the literary hypothesis affords a preliminary starting-point from which to proceed to a more individualistic criticism of the historical and religious vicissitudes. Finally, although this criticism may sometimes tend towards more conservative results, it does not justify any conservative position in its present form, and, in the hands of others, it tends towards results which are distinctly more radical. The interesting feature is that a position which was once regarded as wholly reactionary has reached a stage that in certain respects has become more acceptable to those who hold the conservative attitude. But this is not a retrogression. It is true there are those who confuse Wellhausen's *ipsissima dicta* with the modern critical position, but it is not otherwise with Darwin and Darwinism; where the critical position appears imperfect in the opinion of those who adhere to it, it is not in the preliminary literary problems with which Mr Chapman's book deals. It lies rather in the problems of synthesis which appear in a new light owing to the relatively recent accumulation of external data, and it may safely be asserted that these can only be approached by the preliminary literary hypothesis, and not by any promiscuous criticism which avoids a methodical treatment of the data.

The Book of Joshua (Cambridge University Press, 1911), by the Rev. P. J. Boyer, belongs to a series of small annotated editions for the use of schools (see *J. T. S.* xiii p. 134). The notes are handy and compact, and take account of the literary compositeness of the book.

The introduction gives a very convenient summary of the preliminary questions, including a useful and concise sketch of the bearing of the external evidence upon the age with which the book of Joshua deals.

Two volumes on Jeremiah and Lamentations by Prof. A. S. Peake in the *Century Bible* (Jack, Edinburgh, 1912) make this valuable and handy series all but complete. In recent years much important work has been done on the prophetic literature of the Old Testament, but it is not accessible to the English reader who is unable to utilize Duhm, Cornill, and other scholars. Prof. Peake's volumes are therefore very welcome, the more so as he has paid every attention to what has been written on the subject, while preserving perfect independence of judgement. In fact, to those who are aware of the keenness with which the study of the Old Testament prophets has been pursued abroad, his standpoint will seem to be distinctly conservative. Duhm and especially Schmidt (*Ency. Biblica*) are admittedly 'radical', but even as regards the more moderate Giesebrecht and Cornill, Prof. Peake concludes 'it may be questioned whether we are justified in going even so far as' these two. There is doubtless much to be said for this in so far as criticism is based solely upon metrical grounds, but the study of the book of Jeremiah in the background of those vicissitudes which culminated in the fall of Judah combines with the internal difficulties which influence the more radical scholars and with the curious treatment of the exilic age elsewhere to force the view (in my opinion at least) that the book is much more 'composite' than Prof. Peake is prepared to admit. Apart from this, as regards Jeremiah's place in the history of religion, and the insistence upon individual relationship with the Deity, it is more probable on quite general grounds that profound developements which are commonly associated with one man (viz. Jeremiah in this case) are really to be associated with an age. (We may compare Wellhausen or Darwin and the new tendencies associated with their names.) The shifting of the stress from a national and a personal relationship (vol. i p. 46) was a supreme achievement which, even if initiated by one man, presupposes conditions of thought which do not seem to be present in Jeremiah's age. Prof. Peake appears to be unduly swayed by particular presuppositions of the religion of Israel, and in regarding Jeremiah as the first to proclaim 'the truth that religion is in its essence the communion of the individual with God' seems to lay too much emphasis on the 'proclaimed'. For, if there is anything in the comparative study of religions, it is that the discovery was not a new one. But to turn from criticisms of detail, Prof. Peake has written a scholarly and discerning commentary on a book upon which there is room for difference of opinion, and succeeds in clothing

a figure—or shall we say an age?—in a way that adds greatly to our understanding of the profound developments in Palestinian thought. The commentary on Lamentations is equally admirable, the author's standpoint here, too, being relatively conservative, although the traditional Jeremianic authorship is refuted. Naturally, if the affinity alike in language and ideas between the five poems and the book of Jeremiah (vol. ii p. 293) is no proof of common authorship, the way is open for the recognition that a larger portion of the latter is the work, not of Jeremiah, but of those who had been influenced by him. I may add that in associating Lam. ii and iv with the fall of Jerusalem, Prof. Peake is of course in harmony with the usual view, but a closer *comparative* study of all the Jewish literature which is woven around this catastrophe irresistibly suggests that the event became the type of other similar disasters. A critical discussion of such passages, as apart from that of the composite sources in which they are found, is much to be desired.

Prof. Duhm's *Anmerkungen zu den Zwölf Propheten* (Töpelmann, Giessen, 1911) is a reprint from the *Z. A. T. W.*, and forms a supplement to or rather a textual commentary upon his new translation of the Minor Prophets (1910). The notes deal with questions of authorship, editorial additions, alterations by copyists and readers, metrical details, &c., and everywhere repay attention. Duhm excels in sympathetic insight into the meaning of the writers, but it is difficult to persuade oneself in those cases where the text is unusually corrupt that this rather than another emendation gives us the original.

The second volume on the Minor Prophets in the 'International Critical Commentary' series (Clarke, Edinburgh, 1912) is markedly composite. Prof. J. M. Powis Smith is responsible for Micah, on which the late Dr W. R. Harper was engaged when he died, and has used some of his material. He is also responsible for Zephaniah and Nahum. Habakkuk is undertaken by Dr W. Hayes Ward, and Obadiah and Joel by Prof. Julius A. Bewer. The section by Prof. Smith is, as is the aim of this series, exhaustive, covering about 360 pages. Especial attention is paid to the metrical, textual, and usual critical questions, and the work is throughout careful and thorough. Dr Ward's Habakkuk is confined within 28 pages, of which only four are devoted to questions of authorship and date; in view of the difficulty of this little book, the treatment is unnecessarily brief. Prof. Bewer's section is more adequate, 140 pages being devoted to Joel and Obadiah. He regards the locust-plague in Joel as a veritable event; the prophet views it as a judgement of Jahweh upon the people, and then passes on to a denunciation of the nations. The transition is perplexing: 'Just

why it was that Joel thought of the judgement of the nations, whether it was because they had mocked Judah about her calamity (ii 17) or for some other reason, we do not know' (p. 64). It seems probable that this is another instance of that *literary* transition to which I called attention in *J. T. S.* xiii 87—that the book of Joel is of composite origin is recognized by Prof. Bewer (loc. cit.). In his commentary on Obadiah he regards Jer. xlix as the earlier source, and explains the attitude to Edom as a result of Edomite aggression at the capture of Jerusalem. This, the familiar traditional view, is based partly upon other prophecies, which surely require independent treatment, and upon 1 Esdras iv 45, which alludes to the burning of the temple by the Edomites and (see v. 50) to an occupation of Judæan territory by the 'unbrotherly' people. But, as he points out, 'it is true that neither the Chaldeans, nor the destruction of the temple, nor the deportation of the whole people are explicitly mentioned [in Obadiah]'. Moreover, the historical books shew clearly that the Chaldeans alone destroyed the temple; there is no evidence for Edomite hostility at the period ('Edom' for 'Aram' in 2 Kings xxiv 2 is against Jer. xxxv 11), Edom was an ally (Jer. xxvii), and Jews were taking refuge in Edom and elsewhere (*ib.* xl 11). The references in 1 Esdras are extremely explicit upon the occurrence of an Edomite attack which would be quite sufficient to explain the later persisting enmity; they point to a *bona-fide* tradition, but in connecting the events with the fall of Jerusalem in 586 are contrary to other reliable evidence. When Prof. Bewer refuses to connect the Edomite offence with some later event and urges that Winckler's theory of a post-exilic destruction of Jerusalem (about 500 B.C.) cannot be proved, it is enough to point out that the history of the early part of the post-exilic age is unintelligible unless some serious change had occurred to explain the difference of background between the times of Haggai and Zerubbabel and those of Ezra and Nehemiah. The historians of the post-exilic history leave the intervening period a blank, but the criticism of the sources reveals phenomena which force one to infer some drastic vicissitudes even though their character is a matter for conjecture. And upon this problem of Edom and its aggression, which tradition has associated with the fall of Jerusalem in 587-6, hang the dates of the relevant anti-Edomite prophecies or allusions, and these very seriously affect other pre-conceptions which concern the criticism of the prophecies. The dates of prophecies depend upon our knowledge of the historical conditions in the light of which they are to be explained, and the problem of the relations between Edom and Judah-Israel is, if I am not mistaken, more fundamental for Old Testament criticism than ordinary ideas of Edom would suggest.

Die Indogermanen im Alten Orient, by Martin Gemoll (Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1911), is a painstaking and elaborate effort to connect Celtic and other Indo-European myths and traditions with those of the Semites. Attempts of this kind are not a novelty, and the enthusiasm and zeal with which the author delves among a great variety of sources in order to support his many ingenious combinations will be appreciated by those who are already prepared to accept his thesis. To others his conclusions can be little convincing. By philological energy and by clever correlation of similar features in tradition, many remarkable parallels can be found when any two areas are compared, and, needless to say, the author can find strong support for his conclusions in the new facts for the early presence of Indo-Europeans in Asia Minor, as illustrated by the Boghaz-keui tablets. But such is the accumulation of data at the present day that a good and apparently plausible case can, with a little skill, be made out for almost any theory. The book before us, with all its learning and ingenuity, urges a thesis which requires a much more reasoned examination of the sources; as it is, it proves far too much, and confuses ordinary psychological considerations with the vicissitudes of particular environments.

Beiheft xxii of the *Z. A. T. W.* (Töpelmann, Giessen, 1911) contains a reinvestigation of Gen. xiv by Prof. Meinhold of Bonn, who is engaged upon a work on the influence of foreign culture and foreign peoples on Israel's external and internal life. In the course of this task it became necessary to reconsider this much-discussed chapter, and he has therefore presented in independent form an extremely careful survey of the difficult questions which are involved in it. He reaches the conclusion that Gen. xiv is not an original record of Abram, nor is it based upon any such account; there are internal difficulties independent of any Assyrian or other evidence, and the narrative cannot be used in that irresponsible manner which is unfortunately only too common. The chapter has a value, a very real one, but it is not for the history of Abram or of the age to which he is ascribed. The monograph is an excellent piece of scholarly work.

In *The Old Testament* (Arnold, 1912) the Rev. H. C. O. Lanchester aims at presenting 'a plain and intelligible statement, within a short compass, of the main results at which modern study and investigation seem to have arrived. . . . It makes no claim to exhaustive learning or acute critical discrimination; it does not embody the results of wide and deep research; it was written in the study of a country rectory, and the writer has had only occasional access to large libraries'. While accepting some modern critical views, the author has for one of his main objects the demonstration that criticism is not 'highly dangerous'

nor 'actually and necessarily subversive of faith'. The chapters cover the vicissitudes of Israelite history and thought, and there are useful introductory and concluding chapters of a more general character on the Old Testament, its criticism, and its use and value.

Prof. R. A. S. Macalister contributes a *History of Civilization in Palestine* to the 'Cambridge Manuals' (University Press, 1911). A concise account has long been wanted, and this little book will be a useful addition to the library of the theological student. There are nine interesting illustrations and a map, and the not too popular or discursive style makes the book eminently readable. A large amount of information is compressed within the somewhat modest limits, and the author succeeds in giving a good general bird's-eye view of the course of the vicissitudes of Palestine from the earliest times to the present day. The sketch he gives us is unavoidably rather disconnected, owing to the nature of the evidence; and in weaving archaeological and other data into some historical framework the scope of the book has precluded that justification of the views adopted which would be expected in a larger work. Thus, to note two cases:—on p. 55 sq. there are remarks on Saul 'the poor insane king' which, though quite in harmony with some views, ignore the remarkable lament in 2 Sam. i, where Saul's character and prowess are painted in quite another light, and evidently not out of mere flattery. And on p. 57 the reference to the apparent collapse of the power of the Philistines overlooks the hostilities alluded to in 1 Kings xv 27, xvi 15, and the activity of their district in the latter part of the eighth century as illustrated by the Assyrian inscriptions. Prof. Macalister, it may be added, is among those who have an opinion of the part played in Palestinian culture by the Philistine immigrants which, to me at least, seems quite unwarranted. Apart from details of this sort, the little book is an instructive contribution, not the least interesting being the author's account of and remarks upon the events of the last few years. The new era of *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité* was, as he tells us, welcomed with the utmost enthusiasm. It led forthwith to a wholesale buying of firearms, a renewal of old local feuds, and everywhere 'an alarming outbreak of lawlessness and crime of all kinds. Many centuries of evolution will still be necessary before the Fellah or the Bedawy can be trusted without a despotic power to keep him in order.' One seems to have heard of the same sort of thing and the same estimate elsewhere.

To the same series belongs an excellent account of *Ancient Assyria* by Dr C. H. W. Johns. It is admirably full, with a number of illustrations and maps, and it would be difficult to point to any survey as

concise and interesting as is here provided. The evidence is given from first-hand information and with Dr Johns's usual caution, and a careful study of his book will prevent any promiscuous reliance upon 'objective data' which is often indulged in. In making this remark I have in mind his weighty words on the value and credibility of the Assyrian records (chap. i), where he points out the necessity of applying 'criticism' even to the monuments. It may be noticed, in passing, that Mušri, mentioned in the inscriptions of the latter part of the eighth century B.C., is, in some cases, 'probably not Egypt', a conspicuous example being Seve, more familiar to us as So, king of Egypt (Mizraim). In this, of course, Dr Johns is in agreement with prevailing opinion, although naturally this does not mean that he or any one else subscribes to all the efforts that have been made to find this Mušri or Mizraim outside the limits of Egypt proper. A companion volume on Ancient Babylonia is announced.

STANLEY A. COOK.

NEW TESTAMENT.

By his *Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St Matthew*,¹ Dr A. Plummer provided a most useful aid to students and preachers who were anxious to get at the meaning of the First Gospel, without entering too deeply into the question of sources, which bulks so largely in Mr Allen's valuable volume in the *International Critical Commentary*. And now he has increased the debt by collaborating with the Bishop of Exeter in *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians*.² The Commentary is distinguished by all the features for which the International Series of Commentaries is known—a full Introduction, embracing all the subjects usually included under that title, a careful paraphrase of the Epistle verse by verse, excellent notes dealing with the text and its exegesis, and a clear statement of the historical and doctrinal problems which the varied contents suggest. In the lexical field good use has been made of the new light now available. And altogether there is probably no commentary on this, in some respects, the most interesting and important of all St Paul's Epistles, which the English student will find more generally helpful and stimulating.

In saying this, I am far from undervaluing the significance of Dr J. E. McFadyen's recently published volume,³ which is, however, constructed

¹ Elliot Stock, London, 1909.

² T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1911.

³ *The Epistles to the Corinthians with Notes and Comments* (Hodder & Stoughton, London), being the first volume of *The Interpreter's Commentary on the Epistles*.

on somewhat narrower, if novel, lines. The text of the Authorized Version is printed at the head of the page, and underneath the writer has supplied a new translation, marked out by black lettering from the continuous commentary in which it is embedded. This commentary is eminently readable, while based on an exact study of the Apostle's words, and enables the reader to get at the meaning of the Epistle as a whole, without those breaks and interruptions which are so apt to distract the sequence of thought in an ordinary commentary. It is to be hoped that Dr McFadyen's venture will meet with a success, which will encourage him to extend the same process to other books of the New Testament.

Of making of commentaries there is no end, and in Mr H. G. Grey's *St Paul's Epistle to the Romans*¹ we have the first instalment of yet another new series to be known as *The Readers' Commentary*, appearing under the editorship of Dr Dawson Walker and Dr Guy Warman. In this case the Revised Version, with such modifications as the Commentator has found necessary, is printed at the head of the page, and the text is annotated with brief but suggestive notes, which should prove very helpful to the busy pastor or Sunday School teacher. The Introduction is short, but space is found to discuss the literary relation of the last two chapters to the rest of the Epistle. The writer concludes emphatically for their genuineness as part of St Paul's original writing to the Romans.

The well-known series of short commentaries on the Revised Version issued by the Cambridge University Press for the use of schools has received several notable additions. Into the volume on *Thessalonians*, 1, 2 *Timothy*, *Titus*, Mr H. W. Fulford has succeeded in packing a large amount of valuable information, a special excursus being devoted to 2 Thes. ii 3-12. Mr S. C. Carpenter's edition of *Corinthians I and II* may also be warmly recommended, while as regards Dr Walpole's commentary on *The Revelation of St John the Divine* it is sufficient to notice that it follows the line of exposition laid down by Dr Swete in his standard work, in order to commend it to all who desire guidance in the interpretation of this most difficult book.

Five volumes of a new edition, revised and enlarged, of the *Smaller Cambridge Bible for Schools* have also appeared, comprising *Judges* by Dr J. Sutherland Black and *Ruth* by Dr A. W. Streane in one volume, *The First Book of the Kings* by Mr T. H. Hennessy, *The Book of Proverbs* by Mr J. R. Coates, *Joel and Amos* by Mr J. C. H. How, and *The Acts of the Apostles* by Mr H. C. O. Lanchester. The volumes, which are printed on a larger page and attractively bound,

¹ Robert Scott, London.

deserve to secure a new term of success for the most useful series to which they belong, especially in view of the very low price (1s. net) at which they are issued. As regards the Commentary on *Judges*, it may be of interest to recall that Dr Sutherland Black had the advice and assistance of Dr W. Robertson Smith on various points, and that shortly after its first appearance in 1892 the latter 'with pardonable, almost paternal, pride' wrote, "'Judges' looks very well. I daresay it will take people some time to discover that it is the principal Commentary on the book in the English language' (see *Life of William Robertson Smith*, p. 626).

G. MILLIGAN.

PATRISTICA.

Index Apologeticus sive Clavis Iustini Martyris Operum aliorumque Apologetarum pristinorum: composuit EDGAR J. GOODSPEED, Ph.D. (Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1912.)

FIVE years ago the present chronicler had pleasure in welcoming a complete index to the writings of the Apostolic Fathers by Professor Goodspeed (vol. ix pp. 137 f). He has now followed it up by a larger and even more indispensable work, a complete index to Justin Martyr, Quadratus, Aristides, Tatian, Melito, and Athenagoras. It would be impossible to exaggerate the value of such an index to students, and it is hoped that the self-denying labour of Dr Goodspeed and his co-workers will meet everywhere with that gratitude and recognition which they deserve.

Les Pères Apostoliques, IV: Le Pasteur d'Hermas . . ., par AUGUSTE LELONG. (Picard, Paris, 1912.)

Palladius, Histoire Lausique (Vies d'Ascètes et de Pères du Désert) . . . par A. LUCOT. (Picard, Paris, 1912.)

THE reason for bracketing these two works is that they both belong to the series, 'Textes et Documents pour l'étude historique du Christianisme.' The marked excellence of this series, which has now reached the sixteenth volume, has already been recognized by the JOURNAL in what I trust are adequate terms (vol. xi pp. 136 f, 145 f; vol. xiii pp. 145 ff).

It is a great boon to have an annotated edition of Hermas by itself, and I know no edition which can rival this. A quarter of the volume is devoted to an introduction, in which all the important questions connected with *The Shepherd* are discussed. Amongst the Greek sources of the text, fragments of six very old MSS from Egypt are enumerated, one of which, a parchment leaf at Hamburg (saec. iv-v),

is used for the first time in this edition. The editor's prophecy that other fragments would be discovered has been very quickly realized; for the ninth volume of *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* recently published contains the text of a seventh fragment. Three recently published Coptic fragments are also enumerated by Lelong. The text adopted by him is that of Funk, except for the improvements accruing from the Hamburg leaf. The editor might have mentioned that the best edition of the older Latin translation is that of Hilgenfeld (Leipzig, 1873) and of the 'Palatine' Latin translation that of von Gebhardt and Harnack (Leipzig, 1877). As the Greek of the earlier part depends on two MSS only, it seems a pity to preserve itacistic forms like *δυσυχήσεις* (*Vis.* iv 1, §§ 4. 7), which cause needless difficulty to young students: there can be no doubt that *δυσυχήσης* ought to be read there. The notes are all that one could desire. The translation is accurate and a real help: such an inaccuracy as 'toute couverte d'herbes' (p. 281) for *τοῦ ἔχοντος βοτάνης πολλάς* is exceptional. The printing also is extremely careful (slight errors on pp. cvi, 252).

Readers of the JOURNAL who have no personal acquaintance with Abbot Butler's *Lausiac History of Palladius* (Cambridge Texts and Studies, vol. vi, 1898-1904) will have learnt from Mr C. H. Turner's article in vol. vi pages 321 to 355, that it is one of the most important and successful pieces of research carried out in our generation. It is very fitting that the principal results of it should be made accessible to a much larger body of readers than have time or inclination to study the detailed investigations of Abbot Butler. Thanks to him one can now read the *Lausiac History* as Palladius wrote it; thanks to him also one can read it as a historical authority of the first rank. The results thus universally accepted M. Lucot has put together in a thoroughly competent and attractive manner. The introduction deals succinctly with early monachism, Palladius and his work. The translation is helpful, as, though Palladius is not a difficult writer, he is by no means the easiest of Greek prose writers. The notes are thoroughly learned, both on the philological and on the historical side, and take adequate account of literature which has appeared subsequently to Abbot Butler's work (pages 276 f are good examples). The absence of the Latin-French dictionaries of Benoist-Goelzer and Quicherat-Chatelain on page lv appears strange to a foreigner. It seems to me that the right reading in c. 3 § 2 is *κυρίους*: this would explain all the variants. Evidence has accumulated since Mr Turner's article was published (p. 352), confirming the conclusion that the lady commonly known as Melania really had the name Melanias (Hier. *epist.* xxxix 5 p. 305, 10 Hilberg, best MSS) (c. 5 and *passim*). There is an error in the translation on p. 377: *ἐν ἄλλῃ βιβλίῳ παλαιωτάτῳ ἐπιγεγραμμένῳ Ἰπολύτου*

does not mean 'Dans un autre livre très vieux et *manuscrit* . . . d'Hippolyte'. All books were manuscript in those days; the clause means that the book bore Hippolytus's name *in its title* ('entitled or Hippolytus'). There are misprints on pages xiii, 146, 175, 253, 374. This delightful edition of one of the most interesting books of antiquity deserves a most hearty welcome.

S. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi Liber De Catechizandis Rudibus. Edited by W. Y. FAUSSET, M.A. Second edition, revised. (Methuen, London, 1912.)

THE first edition of this book was published in 1896, three years before the JOURNAL came into being. The chief differences between the two editions are that the first was dedicated to Dr Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury, while the second contains no dedication; the second contains a preface, which the first lacked; in the second edition a second appendix 'on the use of the words *catechizo*, *catechesis*, *catechism*' is added. But these are not the only differences. Though the number of pages occupied by the notes has not been increased, some new notes have been added, others have been enlarged. There has been very little excision. The error in the quotation from Horace (page 104) remains. Mr Fausset does not tell us where he gets his text, but presumably he borrows it from the Benedictine edition, whether in its original form, or in the Antwerp, Gaume, or Migne reprint. This is, perhaps, the best that one can do at present, as the Vienna edition is not yet published; but the editor might have told us whether there are any MSS of the treatise in Britain. Even the Benedictines erred sometimes, and an examination of one MS of respectable age would have yielded something. The Latin title offends one: by this time editors ought to know that *Hipponiensis* is the correct form. In chap. xiv, line 60, *Quia* should not be printed as a part of the quotation, since it merely introduces it: line 61 required a note. The printing on pages 18 and 37 is not quite so careful as in the earlier edition.

The *De Catechizandis Rudibus* is an excellent example of St Augustine's style, well fitted to be read by more advanced students of Latin, whether in the department of Latin or of theology. It is fortunate that the English student has such an attractive edition in which to read it as that of Mr Fausset is, and it will be good news to learn that this second edition is exhausted within an even shorter period than sixteen years.

Commodien et son Temps par ADHÉMAR D'ALÈS. (Bureaux des 'Recherches de Science Religieuse', Paris, 1911.)

THE present paper is made up of two articles from the *Recherches de*

Science Religieuse for 1911, pages 480 to 520 and 599 to 616, and is a *résumé* of the arguments in favour of attributing Commodian to the middle of the third century. This, of course, is what may be called the traditional view. M. D'Alès, who is an authority on the theology of Tertullian and Hippolytus, tells us that he has read and re-read Commodian with the utmost care, and then the two volumes of Father Brewer¹ in favour of Arles and the period 458 to 466, but has not been convinced by his arguments. The calm and dispassionate way in which M. D'Alès has treated the question is worthy of all praise, and his treatise deserves to be read by all, whatever be their attitude. The present reviewer must still hold with Brewer, who, encouraged by the support he has received, and undismayed by the opposition his view has aroused in certain quarters, has in preparation a fresh edition of the works of Commodian, with exhaustive commentary. The parallels with Cyprian which M. D'Alès and others have produced are impressive enough; but, of course, Cyprian's influence was widespread and lasting. Even if Brewer's commentary were merely philological, it would have value. It is imperative that Commodian's whole vocabulary and idiom should be subjected to a critical examination. Great difficulty in studying him results from the facts that, on the one hand, so little popular versification has survived, and, on the other, the author seems to have lived away from the main stream of Christian life and thought. Special thanks are due to M. D'Alès for the nearly exhaustive bibliography he has provided.

Geschichtliche Betrachtungen zu Kommodian I. Von H. BREWER. (Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie, Bd. xxxvi (1912) pp. 641-650.)

ONE cannot sufficiently admire Brewer's steadfastness in the battle with his critics. He is ready to repel every fresh attack of the opposition. In the above-mentioned short paper, which is to be continued in the October number of the same periodical, he deals with the criticisms of M. D'Alès, and in my opinion successfully. He also considers the arguments advanced by Professor Carl Weyman of Munich, one of the most erudite patristic scholars of our time, whose weighty authority is against him. The points particularly discussed in this paper are the literary culture of Commodian and his use of the words *martyr* and *martyrium*. Brewer quotes de Labriolle in confirmation of the view that *martyr* &c. in Cyprian always imply torture or death for the Name; it is true that Dr Watson disagrees, but Mr C. H. Turner, in a note which will shortly be published, ranges himself independently on the side of de Labriolle and Brewer. This is a crucial point in the discussion.

¹ Noticed in the JOURNAL for October 1907 and October 1911 respectively.

Sancti Benedicti Regula Monachorum: editionem critico-practicam adornavit D. CUTHBERTUS BUTLER. (Herder, Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1912.)

ALL who are interested in the text of the *Rule* of St Benedict are aware that a paper of the late Ludwig Traube, called *Die Textgeschichte der Regula Benedicti*, which appeared in 1898, marks a new epoch in the textual criticism of the work. Traube pointed out that in St Gall MS 914 (saec. ix in.), formerly of Reichenau, we possess a copy of the copy which Charlemagne caused to be made of the original autograph of St Benedict himself, which at the time was at Monte Cassino. The current text represents another (secondary) family, to which even the oldest MS known, the seventh-century Oxford Hatton MS 48, belongs. This family is distinguished from the other by its more polished Latinity. On the basis of these discoveries Dr Plenkers has prepared an edition for the Vienna *Corpus*, which he has generously lent in MS to Abbot Butler. Butler has distinguished himself as the most acute critic of Traube's theory, and has materially widened the basis of the textual criticism of the *Rule*.¹ Dom Morin's edition of the surviving Cassinese tradition, published in 1900, is worthy of mention, but there is now only one edition to satisfy the reasonable requirements of students, and that is Abbot Butler's. Not only is the type used large and admirable, easy to be read by monks of failing eyesight, but important variants are given, and for the first time something like a complete record of the sources from which the *Rule* is compiled has been provided. There is further an introduction in which the textual tradition of the *Rule* is expounded with perfect clearness, and there are lavish indexes of sources, words, matters, &c., besides an epitome of Benedict's teaching. It was a difficult task which Abbot Butler planned to make an edition suitable both to the philologist and to the monk who may not be a philologist. In both his aims he has attained perfect success, and the work cannot be too highly commended.

A. SOUTER.

¹ Cf. the JOURNAL vols. iii pp. 458 ff, xi pp. 279 ff, xii pp. 261 ff.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, July 1912 (Vol. lxxiv, No. 148: Spottiswoode & Co.). A. C. HEADLAM John Henry Newman—C. H. TURNER The Gospel narrative of our Lord's burial—W. G. F. PHILLIMORE Edward King, Bishop of Lincoln—C. J. SHEBBEARE Probabilism—C. A. BRIGGS Symbolics and Irenics—G. S. DAVIES The Charterhouse in London—C. F. BURNEY New Aramaic papyri and Old Testament history—A. OGLE Liberal Churchmen and the Welsh Bill—Short Notices—Index to vol. lxxiv.

The Hibbert Journal, July 1912 (Vol. x, No. 4: Williams & Norgate). M. NORDAU The degeneration of classes and peoples—C. G. MONTEFIORE The significance of Jesus for His own age—R. K. DAVIS Christ as 'The Truth'—BISHOP OF TASMANIA The Church, the world, and the Kingdom—A. W. F. BLUNT The ungodly organization of society—E. W. LUMMIS Conformity and veracity: 1662 and 1912—M. M. P. MUIR The vain appeal of dogma to science—P. E. B. JOURDAIN Logic, M. Bergson, and Mr H. G. Wells—E. F. CARRITT The artistic attitude in conduct—G. E. FFRENCH The interpretation of prophecy—A. A. BOWMAN The Sistine Madonna—B. A. G. FULLER The gods of Epicurus. A plea for their serious consideration—E. MAHLER Social service. No. 4: The hardships of seamen's wives—Discussions—Survey of recent literature—Reviews.

The Expositor, July 1912 (Eighth Series, No. 19: Hodder & Stoughton). E. KÖNIG The consummation of the Old Testament in Jesus Christ—BISHOP OF OSSORY The Levitical code and the table of kindred and affinity—P. T. FORSYTH Self-denial and self-committal—B. D. EERDMANS The Hebrew feasts in Leviticus xxiii—J. OMAN Personality and grace: 7. Jesus Christ—H. A. A. KENNEDY St Paul and the mystery-religions: 3. The character and influence of the mystery-religions—W. M. RAMSAY The teaching of Paul in terms of the present day.

August 1912 (Eighth Series, No. 20). E. KÖNIG The consummation of the Old Testament in Jesus Christ—W. L. WALKER The subconscious, the superconscious, and the Person of Christ—J. OMAN

Personality and grace: 8. Repentance—F. W. MOZLEY Two words in Galatians—A. R. SIMPSON The unconsumed people—J. STALKER Studies in conversion: 7. Tholuck—W. M. RAMSAY The teaching of Paul in terms of the present day.

September 1912 (Eighth Series, No. 21). E. HILL The Apocalyptic element in our Lord's teaching—H. A. A. KENNEDY St Paul and the Mystery-religions: 4. St Paul and the terminology of the mystery-religions—J. STALKER Studies in conversion: 8. Chalmers—J. OMAN Personality and grace: 9. Justification—A. CARR The Indwelling Trinity—W. J. C. PIKE The angels at the empty tomb: a study in Synoptics—W. M. RAMSAY The teaching of Paul in terms of the present day.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, July 1912 (Vol. xvi, No. 3: Chicago University Press). J. WARSCHAUER The present position of liberal theology in Great Britain—J. W. THOMPSON The alleged persecution of the Christians at Lyons in 177—W. K. WRIGHT A psychological definition of religion—H. R. MACKINTOSH The liberal conception of Jesus in its strength and weakness—T. G. SOARES Practical theology and ministerial efficiency—In memoriam: William Newton Clarke; George William Knox—Recent theological literature—Brief mention—Books received.

The Princeton Theological Review, July 1912 (Vol. x, No. 3: Princeton University Press). W. B. GREENE, jr. The Church and the social question—L. F. BENSON Dr Watt's 'Renovation of Psalmody'—J. R. SMITH The authorship of the Fourth Gospel—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, July 1912 (Vol. xxix, No. 3: Abbaye de Maredsous). J. CHAPMAN The Diatessaron and the Western Text of the Gospels—G. MORIN I. Une production inédite de l'école de S. Augustin: II. *Le Meltis castellum* des chorévêques Pirmin et Landri, Meltburch en Brabant?—A. WILMART I. Fragments du Ps-Origène sur le Psaume xci dans une collection espagnole: II. Le feuillet oncial de Besançon—U. BERLIÈRE Les évêques auxiliaires de Liège (*suite*)—D. DE BRUYNE Une poésie inconnue d'Aileran le Sage—G. MORIN Une rédaction inédite de la préface au supplément du *Comes* d'Alcuin—B. ALBERS Le codex casinensis 230—U. BERLIÈRE Coutumiers monastiques—A. SOUTER Dismembered manuscripts—Comptes rendus—Notes bibliographiques—Appendice: Institut pour la photographie des palimpsestes.

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THE GOSPEL OF PETER.

Is the Gospel of Peter an independent witness to the tradition of the Resurrection? That is the ultimate question which the present paper is an attempt to answer. But in order at all to compass this object, it is desirable to have as wide a basis of facts as possible on which to construct our inductions; in other words, we must extend the field of operations to cover the whole of the newly-recovered fragment of Peter, including (that is) its account of the Passion as well as its account of the Resurrection. And further if what we are concerned to know is whether we possess in this apocryphal Gospel any material independent of previously known documents, any traditions unrepresented in our other authorities, it is clear that the most substantial part of the enquiry will have to consist of a systematic investigation of the relation of pseudo-Peter to our four existing Gospels.

To some it may seem that any such enquiry is really superfluous, so great is the antecedent improbability that a document of the date and character of the Petrine Gospel should have preserved any elements of a genuine tradition not otherwise embodied in extant material. But even the merest chance that, for instance, any part of the substance of the lost ending of St Mark may have survived in 'Peter' would be enough to arrest attention and to justify enquiry. And now that Prof. Lake declares himself 'inclined to accept the suggestion that "Peter" was acquainted with and used the lost conclusion of Mark',¹ it is more than ever incumbent on those who dissent from his position to make good their dissent, if they can, by a close and rigorous examination of the conditions, literary and historical, of the

¹ *Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ* p. 162; it is rather characteristic that the conclusion here so tentatively phrased is put at another point with much more robust certainty, 'in the Gospel of Peter alone is the sense preserved', p. 72.

problem. In such an investigation it is always a little difficult to decide what should be included as really part of the subject, what should be excluded as having no sufficiently direct bearing. As I propose, in other sections of the work of which this paper forms one chapter, to examine what may probably have been contained in the lost ending of Mark, and whether Matthew and Luke knew the Second Gospel in its original or in its present mutilated form, I shall not enter into details upon these questions ; but it is in my opinion practically demonstrable that the First and Third Evangelists only knew the Second Gospel as we know it ourselves, shorn of its conclusion.¹

A. *The external evidence and the date.*

Of the external testimony to the 'Gospel of Peter' and therefore to its date, there is no need to speak more than very briefly, both because the evidence in itself is slight and also because in the chronological conclusions to be drawn from it there is really not much room for divergence.

ORIGEN in *Matt.* x 17 : 'But as to the brethren of Jesus some say that they were sons of Joseph by a former wife whom he had before Mary, basing themselves on a tradition of the Gospel entitled Peter's or of the book of James.'² There is naturally nothing in the extant fragment of 'Peter' to bear out this statement ; but on the other hand there is no reason at all to doubt the testimony of Origen, that this solution of the problem of the 'brethren' of Christ was found in the Gospel of Peter and in the Protevangelium of James.

SERAPION, bishop of Antioch at the end of the second century, wrote (as we learn from Eusebius *H. E.* vi 12) against the Gospel of Peter, 'exposing its false statements for the benefit of certain Christians in the *parochia* of Rhossus'. Rhossus was a town on the Syrian coast, not far to the north-west of Antioch ; and Serapion, in the course of a visitation there, had been appealed to by a section of the Christian community who were dissatisfied as to the regularity of a Gospel established in the local liturgical

¹ If I understand Prof. Lake rightly, he too holds that neither Matthew nor Luke has in fact made use of the lost ending, but he attributes their silence not to ignorance but to intention ; they had the complete Mark in their hands, but wilfully disregarded it (p. 72). The innuendo, which he extends also to 'the early church', appears to me to be gratuitous ; but this is not the place to discuss it.

² The passage is from that part of Origen's commentary on St Matthew which is preserved in the original Greek.

usage, and known by the name 'Gospel according to Peter'. Serapion himself had never met with this Gospel; but the fact that its use at Rhossus was, as it appeared, traditional inclined him in its favour, and in the second century at any rate a large measure of liberty and variety prevailed in the lectionaries of different churches. In the first instance, then, he declined to interfere; but when the objectors returned to the charge with allegations of heresy, he borrowed a copy of the Gospel from the Docetae, the sect among whom it was in special use, and on examining it found that, while the greater part of it was innocent enough, there were things on it which did not correspond to 'the orthodox doctrine of the Saviour', and it was just these things which his letter or treatise proposed to isolate and emphasize. From this information, which of course takes us a good deal further than Origen's, we gather that the Gospel was in circulation well before the end of the second century, that there was nothing which immediately and at first sight differentiated it in type from the canonical Gospels, but that on the other hand it was at least compatible with, if it was not rather actually intended to recommend, a Docetic conception of Christ, that is, a denial of the reality of His human nature.

No possible doubt can exist as to the *provenance* of our fragment from the Gospel which Serapion had accepted on a cursory and condemned on a closer inspection: for its author speaks of the apostles in the first person plural as 'we the twelve disciples of the Lord' and of Peter in the first person singular as 'I Simon Peter', while his account of the Crucifixion and Resurrection is definitely Docetic. Christ suffers neither pain nor death; and seeing that He did not die, He could not, of course, in any literal sense rise again from the dead.

But Docetism, however alien to the spirit of apostolic Christianity, was no product of the later second century. It permeates all forms of Gnosticism, from the simplest and crudest to the developed theologies of Valentinus and Marcion; it is singled out as a pressing danger to Christian teaching alike in the letters of St John of Ephesus and of St Ignatius of Antioch. The Gospel of Peter is not, therefore, necessarily later than the sub-apostolic age because it is frankly Docetic. If it was known, as I myself suppose, to Justin Martyr, writing between 150 and

160, an origin in the second half of the second century is at once put out of question. Prof. Lake judges that 'it is probable that it is not earlier than 100 A.D. and not much later than 130 A.D.', and inclines to a date approaching the first of these two limits: I should myself agree that it ought to be placed at a rather early point in the series of Gnostic Christian writings. For the history of Gnosticism represents on the whole a gradual approach to Catholic Christianity; in its earlier stages its alien non-Christian character is much more pronounced, but as we trace its developement in the later representatives of the movement the definitely Christian features become more and more predominant. Valentinus and Marcion could in some real sense lay claim to the Christian name, because the Christian element, though not the only one, was still the largest and most obvious in their theology. But Valentinus, with whatever reserve of misinterpretation, accepted the Gospels of the Church, and Marcion's Gospel was not only, like Peter, based on a canonical model, but quite certainly resembled its prototype much more nearly than Peter did. Peter, in fact, would appear to represent about the earliest attempt to rehandle the documents of the Christian tradition in the Gnostic interest. I should put it myself roughly between 115 and 130 A.D.

B. Internal characteristics : relation to the Four Gospels.

That Serapion at first sight found nothing so strange in the Gospel of Peter as to call for its discontinuance in liturgical use, must mean that it was not in all parts so abhorrent to the matter and manner of the Gospels with which he was familiar as to excite his immediate suspicion. Perhaps the description in Eusebius, 'he did not go through the Gospel', may be thought to imply that he looked only at the earlier chapters and, at any rate, did not get to the end. And of course, when we come to think of it, it is likely that a Docetic Gospel, fundamentally as it must differ from our Gospels in its account of the Passion and Resurrection, would not differ superficially to anything like the same extent in its account of the Teaching and Ministry of Christ. If Serapion had opened the Gospel of Peter at the point where it happens to be now accessible to us, he could hardly have failed to express himself at the first reading in the same unfavourable

terms which he used at his second reading ; but the preliminary verdict which he actually gave is instructive, because it implies on the part of the Petrine Gospel a general conformity to the lines of the Gospels to which Serapion was accustomed, a conformity which we may properly assume to have been greater in the rest of that Gospel than in the extant fragment. If then we find ourselves on the whole warranted in concluding for the employment of any of our canonical Gospels as sources for 'Peter's' narrative of the Passion and Resurrection, we may feel reasonably certain that our conclusions would be fortified if the body of his Gospel were at our disposal.

At the end of this paper will be found an English version of the fragment, in which all points of contact with the canonical Gospels are numbered for convenience of reference.

a. The dependence of our fragment upon St Mark is not questioned. Often indeed it is impossible to say—so closely does St Matthew follow St Mark in the narrative of the Passion—whether the apocryphal writer is borrowing from the First or the Second Gospel ; it would even have been feasible to argue, had the Passion stood alone, that St Mark had not been used at all, or at any rate that there was nothing to shew that he had been used. But in the later sections there are quite indubitable indications of connexion with St Mark : from St Mark alone can we explain the word for 'swathing' in linen, (p. 192, no. 61) ; the merely partial movement of the stone, no. 84 ; the phrase 'youth', no. 100 ; while the entire episode of the women at the sepulchre follows closely—not, however, quite exclusively—Mk. xvi 3-8, nos. 95-106.

This being once established, we shall be more ready to see traces of St Mark's influence at more doubtful points in the earlier sections—though it will be seen later on that the Petrine writer had special and obvious ground for giving preference to the Second Evangelist in the latter stages of the fragment preserved to us. But it is needless to enumerate such points, since the employment of St Mark's Gospel is admitted on all sides, and the reader can follow them for himself in the apparatus to the translation given below.

b. Of almost all the peculiar additions which St Matthew's Gospel makes to the Marcan text, the Petrine writer is found to

incorporate at least some feature. He has with Matthew the washing of Pilate's hands, no. 1, together with his disclaimer of responsibility, which has, however, been shifted to a later point, no. 88: he retains one out of the three signs which Matthew adds to the rending of the veil of the Temple, namely, the earthquake, no. 57; while the sealing and guarding of the tomb, about which the other Evangelists are obstinately silent, is as prominent in 'Peter' as it is in Matthew.¹ Here again then we are entitled to deduce a general acquaintance with the First Gospel, and to assume that general acquaintance as an element in the decision about parallels that might in themselves be doubtful. I suspect indeed that throughout the narrative of the Trial and Crucifixion 'Peter' was predominantly following Matthew and not Mark; at any rate it is worth noting that he shews a special partiality for the phrase 'the Son of God', which at this part of the Gospel story is also peculiarly Matthaean.²

c. If a similar test is applied with regard to St Luke's Gospel, the result will be found to be similar also. The question is not, it must be remembered, whether 'Peter' made an equal use of all the Gospels which he knew and used: even later writers, in days when the equal authority of all the four canonical accounts was unquestioned, might and did draw on the four in unequal proportions, and at the date when the Petrine Gospel was published it is not to be supposed that the canonical position of the Gospels of the Church was quite what it was half a century later. What we really have to ask is only whether the evidence is sufficient to indicate any sort of real knowledge and use of St Luke or of St John, as the case may be.

Now in St Luke's account of the Trial and Crucifixion there are three main sections that are peculiar to his Gospel—the introduction of a hearing before Herod, the sayings of Christ to

¹ I am by no means certain that, when 'Peter' speaks of 'gall with vinegar' as given to Christ on the Cross during the great darkness, no. 47, he is not borrowing the mention of gall from Mt. xxvii 34, where the First Evangelist transforms the 'spiced wine' of St Mark into an echo of Ps. lxix (lxxviii) 22: though it is perhaps possible that 'Peter' has drawn on the Psalm independently of Matthew. In any case I demur to the suggestion, in Robinson's edition, that 'Peter' has derived his *χολήν μετὰ ὄξους* from the *μετὰ χολῆς* which a very small group of good authorities interpolates after the mention of *ὄξος* in John xix 29, 30; it would be at least as likely that the authorities in question had drawn here upon 'Peter' and not *vice versa*.

² Mt. xxvi 63, xxvii 40, 43, 54; Peter § 3 *bis*, § 11 *bis*.

the women on the way to Calvary, and the repentance of one of the crucified robbers.¹ Of these three episodes the Petrine Gospel incorporates two. The fragment opens with an allusion to Herod, and indeed he is made to play a much more conspicuous part than even in the Third Gospel; for while in St Luke Herod, like Pilate, finds the prisoner not guilty on every count (xxiii 15) and afterwards drops out of the narrative altogether, 'Peter' makes the whole of the final stages of condemnation and insult, as well as the disposal of the body after death, depend on the authority of Herod alone. That 'Peter' carries his Herodianism to this degree is due of course to his *parti pris* of throwing upon the Jews the exclusive responsibility for the Crucifixion, and there is nothing in this which militates against the probability that he found in St Luke the kernel from which his own account was developed. We know that Luke had special connexions with the Herodian household, and, if *entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*, we have no right, as we have certainly no need, to look elsewhere than to St Luke for the source of 'Peter'. Of the women on the way to the Crucifixion 'Peter' says nothing; why we cannot tell, any more than we can tell why he says nothing of Simon of Cyrene and his bearing of the Cross, though all three Synoptists mention it in this same neighbourhood. Our Gospel-writer borrowed an episode here and a phrase there, as the fancy took him or as his dogmatic prejudices suggested. But if St Luke's episode of the women is passed over, his episode of the repentant robber is reproduced in all its main outlines. Not only are the two criminals crucified with Christ called 'malefactors' with St Luke, rather than 'robbers' with St Mark and St Matthew,² but the story of the repentance of one of them, and of the words with which he contrasts the just fate of himself and his companion with the innocence of 'this man', is an instance of contact with St Luke and St Luke alone which even by itself would be enough to weigh down the scale of probability in favour of a literary connexion between the two writers.

¹ Lk. xxiii 34, the first saying from the Cross, is not part of the genuine text of St Luke, and we must not assume that it was contained in 'Peter's' copy of Luke.

² *κακούργοι* . . . *λῃσται*. And the word *κακούργος* is adopted again at a later point and in another connexion, quite in 'Peter's' manner, § 7.

The general presumption thus established may now be pertinently reinforced by several apparent echoes of Lucan phraseology; e.g. no. 9 (cf. no. 77) 'sabbath is dawning'¹; no. 53 'he was taken up', a word used in St Luke's writings (and in the Christian creed-hymn of 1 Tim. iii 16) but not by any other Evangelist²; no. 69 'beating their breasts', a detail peculiar to St Luke; peculiar to St Luke is also the form of the centurion's exclamation, that 'of a truth this man was righteous'—for which the older tradition of Mark and Matthew has 'this man was Son of God'—and 'Peter' here echoes Luke by attributing the use of the same epithet to the multitude, no. 70; no. 81 'two men' of the angels at the Sepulchre with Luke, against the single 'youth' of Mark or 'angel' of Matthew.

d. The dependence of 'Peter' on the Fourth Gospel seems to me to be hardly less certain than his dependence on the other three, but the conclusion has to be approached by a rather different route. Obviously 'Peter' would not have found it quite so easy to interweave in the common material the peculiar elements of an account constructed, like St John's, on rather special lines of its own; not to say that some of the most characteristically Johannine touches were illustrative of just that human aspect of the Life and Passion of our Lord which 'Peter' would most wish to suppress—such as the two words from the Cross 'Woman, behold thy son' and 'I thirst'. Here, therefore, the method proper to the circumstances will be to indicate the points which cumulatively seem to establish 'Peter's' acquaintance with St John; it being again no part of the argument to assert that the Four Gospels are jointly used quite in the later sense, as authorities equal because equally canonical.

Attention may fitly be called in the first place and by way of preliminary consideration to the two phrases which are of most frequent recurrence throughout the Petrine fragment, namely 'the Lord' and 'the Jews'. The presence or absence of the term *ὁ κύριος* is a familiar mark of distinction between later and earlier strata of Gospel narrative. It is never found in the

¹ *σάββατον ἐπιφάσκει*. See the excursus on *ἐπιφάσκειν* at the end of this paper, p. 188.

² *ἀναληφθῆναι* also in the Longer Appendix to St Mark, Mk. xvi 19: but I believe it there also to be derived from St Luke (Acts i 2, 11).

narrative parts of our First and Second Gospels. In the story of the Passion and Resurrection the simple δ 'Ιησοῦς is still the predominant usage even of Luke and John, but the alternative phrase δ κύριος is beginning to appear side by side with the other, Luke xxii 61 'the Lord turned and looked upon Peter, and Peter remembered the saying of the Lord', xxiv 34 'the Lord was risen indeed'¹; it is perhaps with intention that in the Fourth Gospel δ κύριος is never found in the Passion narrative, while in the Resurrection narrative it occurs with rather marked frequency, xx 2, 18, 20, 25, xxi 7, 12.

Here then the Gospels of St Luke and St John with their occasional use of δ κύριος represent the transition to its regular use (to the entire exclusion of the name 'Ιησοῦς) by the Petrine author. But though the progressive fondness for the phrase aptly illustrates at any rate the chronological relation of our documents, an actual literary dependence cannot with any confidence be asserted, for it may be merely a question in this case of the literary atmosphere of the writer's day. On the other hand the second constant feature in Peter's terminology noted above does carry us a good deal further in the direction of contact with the Fourth Gospel. By all three Synoptists the responsible agents of the Crucifixion, though in sum they may equal the Jewish nation as a whole, are always enumerated in separate detail, 'chief priests' 'scribes' 'elders' 'multitude': in the Fourth Gospel the nation's rejection of the Christ is regarded as a single and complete thing, and its solidarity in this is meant to be expressed by the current and comprehensive phrase 'the Jews'. This characteristic feature of St John re-appears with monotonous regularity in 'Peter'; and though something may be allowed for a common *milieu* in the progressively anti-Judaic temper of Christians at large, the preponderance of probability seems to be now on the side of actual literary contact.²

But the sort of presumption so far suggested must of course be reinforced by the more definite evidence of correspondence with the language or subject-matter of the Fourth Gospel in cases where community of idea or expression cannot plausibly

¹ In Lk. xxiv 3 the words 'of the Lord Jesus' are probably not genuine.

² On the anti-Jewish side of 'Peter' see further below, p. 174.

be accounted for by community of atmosphere. Such cases may not be very numerous, but in the mass they are quite substantial, and I invite the reader's close attention to the following. The 'seating' of Jesus on the chair of judgement with the mocking salute 'Judge righteously, O King of Israel' (no. 19) is most naturally explained as a misunderstanding of Jn. xix 13, 14 'he sat on the tribunal . . . and said to the Jews "See here is your King"', since the verb *καθίζειν* in Greek is used both transitively and intransitively, to 'seat' and to 'sit'. In describing Jesus as 'pierced' or 'pricked' with a reed (no. 29), 'Peter' deserts the verb used here by Mark and Matthew in favour of the verb used by John of the 'piercing' of the side¹; just as the word he selects to describe the scourging (no. 31) is neither the Latinizing *φραγελλώσας* of Mk. xv 15 = Mt. xxvii 26, nor yet the periphrastic *παιδεύσας* of Lk. xxiii 22, but the *ἐμαστιγώσεν* of Jn. xix 1. All three Synoptists tell us that the two robbers were crucified 'one on the right and one on the left'; only 'Peter' (no. 34) and John tell us that Jesus was 'between'. The Synoptists have no record of the breaking of the legs; but it is found—in different forms it is true—in the Fourth Gospel and in 'Peter' (no. 43). 'Peter' speaks of 'the nails' in 'the hands of the Lord' (no. 55); but there is nothing in the first three Evangelists to indicate that Jesus was nailed to the Cross rather than bound, and it is only in St John that we hear of 'the print of the nails'. 'Peter' mentions the 'garden' of Joseph: the 'garden' is one of the most characteristic touches of the Fourth Gospel. 'Peter' is full of the rancour of the Jews not only against Jesus but against His disciples; that is why the disciples conceal themselves, and that is why Mary Magdalene is prevented from anointing the body of Jesus (§§ 7, 12): now there is really not a word in the Synoptic Gospels from which 'Peter' could have derived this interpretation of the history, while on the other hand 'the fear of the Jews' is a definite factor in the recital of the Fourth Evangelist.² If 'Peter's' two phrases,

¹ Jn. xix 34 *ἐνυζεν*: Mk. xv 19, Mt. xxvii 30 *ἐτυπτον*.

² Jn. xix 38, xx 19, 26. It is a pure assumption, unsupported by anything in the context, if Prof. Lake supplies *τοὺς Ἰουδαίους* as the object to *ἐφοβοῦντο* in Mk. xvi 8: if anything is needed, I should prefer 'they feared lest they should be thought to be romancing' on the lines of Lk. xxiv 11. But see p. 182 n. 1.

'until the sabbath' (§ 7) and 'the last day of unleavened bread' (§14), which appear to be linked together by the mention, common to both of them, of the grief of the apostles, refer to the day week after the Resurrection, this is a day to which allusion is made in St John only of the four Gospels; but the chronology of 'Peter' is so confused (I am inclined to think that he had no consistent conception of it whatever in his mind) that I should hesitate to build any argument upon it.

But it is especially in the story of the Magdalene, §§ 12, 13, that coincidences are found both in language and in subject-matter which seem to my judgement decisive. The name of Mary Magdalene is prominent in the Passion and Resurrection narratives of all four Gospels; yet though it occurs three times in Matthew, twice or three times in Mark, twice in Luke, on none of these seven occasions is she singled out for isolated mention, the names of one or more of her companions—Mary the mother of James and Joses or 'the other Mary', Salome, Joanna, Susanna—being invariably coupled with hers.¹ In St John on the other hand, though it is true that other holy women are named with her as standing by the Cross, in the Resurrection story the name of Mary Magdalene stands alone and unique. So far as the Fourth Gospel is concerned, we should not have felt sure that any other woman had been present at the sepulchre on Easter morning. Out of St John and the Synoptists 'Peter' constructs in this matter a conflate account. With the Synoptists he speaks of women in the plural: with St John he sets Mary in the foreground, suppresses the names of all other women, and emphasizes her leadership—she 'took with her her friends'. A second point is that Mary is described by 'Peter' (no. 93) as 'a woman disciple of the Lord who was in fear because of the Jews', in terms which seem an obvious echo of St John's description of Joseph of Arimathaea, xix 38. And lastly she 'stoops down' (no. 99) into the tomb and looks in, exactly as she does in Jn. xx 11.²

¹ Mt. xxvii 56, 61, xxviii 1: Mk. xv 40, 47: Lk. viii 2, xxiv 10. In Mk. xvi 1 the names of the women are in my own opinion not part of the original text.

² The verb *παράκλπτειν* 'to stoop down' is peculiar to St John xx 5, 11; for Lk. xxiv 12 is an interpolation imitated from St John's account—though of course the interpolation *may* have been already present in 'Peter's' copy.

Is it too much to claim that the course of the argument up to this point has led us to an overwhelming presumption in favour of the conclusion that the Passion and Resurrection narratives of all our Gospels were present to the mind or the eyes of pseudo-Peter in the composition of his own writing?

And not only did 'Peter' display this full acquaintance with the work of his predecessors over the same ground, but it even seems that their phraseology was so familiar to him that he was able to transpose it freely and to employ it in connexions quite different to its original use; and perhaps sufficient stress has not been laid on this feature. For, however little weight we should be inclined to attribute to the considerations that will now be adduced if they stood alone, they seem to me to acquire real importance when once contact has been established between 'Peter' and the four Gospels; since they suggest that that contact is not simply the result of a single process of conscious borrowing *ad hoc* from documents mastered only for this special purpose, but the natural self-expression of a mind saturated with the language of the Christian Gospels.

Most obvious are the instances of transference from one part of the Passion and Resurrection narrative to another. Pilate, on receiving the news of the Resurrection, tells the bearers of it 'For myself I am clean of the blood of the Son of God, this was your doing' (no. 88), while in St Matthew this saying accompanies Pilate's washing of his hands in the middle of the Trial. During the darkness of the Crucifixion 'many went about with lights, thinking it was night, and fell' (no. 50), though in St John it was the band brought by Judas for the arrest of Christ who 'went with lanterns and torches' and (a little later on) 'fell to the ground'. On the Cross the Lord 'was silent, as feeling no pain' (no. 35), while it is of the examination by the high-priest that St Mark writes 'he was silent and answered nothing'. In the canonical Gospels the crown of thorns is set on Christ's head by 'the soldiers'¹: if 'Peter', whose cue of course it is to minimize the share of the Roman soldiery, writes instead that 'a certain one of them brought a crown of thorns and set it on the Lord's head', he is consciously or unconsciously echoing the language of the Gospels at another point; 'a certain

¹ Mk. xv 16, 17, Mt. xxvii 27, 29, Jn. xix 2.

one' (Mk. xv 36) or 'one of them' (Mt. xxvii 48) ran and filled a sponge with vinegar.

But we can also perhaps recognize in 'Peter' a less obvious but apparently real influence of the language of New Testament documents in quite other parts of their story. The portents of the Resurrection are described in language borrowed from the canonical accounts of the portents at the Baptism. In § 6 the phrase 'there came a great fear' exactly reproduces the wording of Acts v 5, 11. In § 1 the order 'Whatsoever I have commanded you to do to him, do' suggests a reminiscence of phrases like Jn. xiii 27 'That thou doest, do quickly' and Jn. ii 5 'Whatever he tells you, do'. In § 11 the bidding 'to say nothing of what they had seen' reflects in substance and even verbally sayings contained in a very different setting in the Synoptic Gospels, e.g. Mk. vii 36 'he charged them that they should tell no man', Mk. ix 9 'he charged them that they should relate to no man what they had seen' with its parallels.

Now if the proof which has been elaborated in the course of these pages carries to others at all the same sort of conviction which it brings to myself, we have in this so-called Gospel of Peter a very early testimony to the combined use of all four Gospels of the Church. It would be an anachronism to speak of this common use as exactly a recognition of the canonical authority of the Gospels, if 'Peter' is correctly dated at about 125 A.D., since at that date the idea of canonical authority of the New Testament books, even of the Gospels, was still only in the making. But it is something to have been already able to establish, at a point about sixty years before Irenaeus, fifty years before Tatian, and thirty years before Justin Martyr, the knowledge and use of all four of the canonical Gospels in a single writing.¹

So far the enquiry has been developed on the relatively easy *terrain* of extant documents; we have now to proceed to ask whether, when we have set aside the elements of 'Peter's' composition which may reasonably be referred to those known authorities, what remains over is such, either in bulk or in

¹ Probably the same might be said of the Longer Appendix to St Mark (the Last Twelve Verses), which I do not doubt to be even older than 'Peter': but that is *ἄλλης ἀκρίβειας*.

character, as to render probable the suggestion that he was indebted to other sources as well, and in particular to the lost ending of St Mark. With this view let us examine afresh the text of 'Peter', bearing in mind all through the two main pre-suppositions under the influence of which he has obviously rehandled and re-edited his material, namely his anti-Judaic prejudices and his Docetic Christology. Let us begin by saying something in further detail about these two points.

The first three or four generations of Christian history witnessed a progressive growth in antagonistic relations between the Christian and the Jewish religion. At one end of the series we have the picture, drawn by St Luke in the opening chapters of the Acts, of a Christian community which shared in the Jewish Temple-worship and feasts, which enjoyed the respect of the Jewish populace, which found recruits among the Jewish priesthood, just because its new preaching of the Messiahship and Resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth and of the universality of the Salvation to be found in His Name was not conceived of as a substitute for its inherited Judaism but as an addition to it—an addition which was only gradually found to be incongruous with it. At the other end we have Marcion proclaiming the fundamental contradiction between the God of the Old Testament and the God of the New; and if this extreme development only took place outside the sphere and sanction of the great Church, yet even among the Catholics some, as we learn from Justin Martyr (*Dial.* § 47), refused the name of Christian and the hand of brotherhood to those Jewish Christians who continued to observe the Jewish law. Much of the process which had carried Christians from the one of these attitudes to the other is familiar to us in the pages of the New Testament. Like other similar evolutions it did not advance by quite regular and even steps: the primitive Evangelist whose personality has been buried under the symbol Q is more anti-Pharisaic than St Mark. But we can trace a change in tone as we pass from St Mark to St Luke, and still more definitely as we pass from St Luke to St John. When St John wrote the breach was already so complete and the condition of tension so ingrained in the minds of ordinary Christian people that, in looking back over the two intervening generations to the days of the Gospel history, it came natural to

the Evangelist to sum up the forces of resistance to the teaching of Christ as, quite simply, 'the Jews'. Between the Fourth Gospel and Marcion pseudo-Peter finds his appropriate place.

The second characteristic of 'Peter'—perhaps even more marked than the first, because in more obvious contrast to the canonical Gospels—is his Docetism. It is probable enough that this feature would have been less striking if we had his whole Gospel before us; there was, as has already been pointed out (p. 164), less room or need for emphasizing it in a narrative of the Ministry than in a narrative of the Passion and Resurrection. It is probable, too, that the writer's Docetism was not quite the exaggerated form of Docetism which meets us in other Gnostic documents—in the Acts of John for instance, according to which Christ, while in appearance hanging on the Cross, was really conversing with the apostle in a cave on the mount of Olives. 'Peter's' position was, however, as definitely Docetic as that of the false teachers against whom St Ignatius, in his letters to Tralles and Smyrna, enforces the truth and reality of the Birth, Passion, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus Christ. We may conjecture that one reason for the special respect which 'Peter' pays to St Mark's Gospel as an authority—it was natural, to begin with, that a supposed Gospel of Peter should be brought into close connexion with the Gospel which was traditionally regarded as the record of the preaching of the real Peter—was the absence in it of any account of the Nativity; just as I shall suggest further on that a similar attraction lay in the absence, in its present mutilated condition, of any account of the appearances after the Resurrection.¹ Ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη, ἀληθῶς ἔπαθεν, ἀληθῶς ἠγέρθη: subtract Birth and Resurrection from the stumbling-blocks with which a Docetic edition of the Gospel would have to deal, and there is left only the Passion narrative to transform before the material of our existing Mark could be made to fit into the purposes of pseudo-Peter.

We proceed now to the examination in rough detail of the subject-matter of the Petrine Gospel.

¹ To the ἀπῆλθεν with which 'Peter' at the close of his Gospel (§ 13) minimizes the Resurrection, 'He has risen and gone away thither whence He was sent', corresponds the κατήλθεν with which Marcion minimizes the Incarnation at the beginning of his Gospel, 'He came down to Capernaum'.

1. The dominant motive of the first three chapters of the fragment, which deal with the closing stages of the Trial, is the desire to shift the responsibility for the condemnation of Jesus and His Crucifixion from the Romans to the Jews, from the shoulders of Pilate to the shoulders of Herod. The canonical Gospels agree in the picture they give of Pilate's reluctance; if the barer outline of the Marcan account is filled in with fresh touches by the later Evangelists, the proportion of things is not essentially changed; and all four agree nevertheless in throwing on Pilate the sole responsibility for the sentence. But pseudo-Peter detects in Herod a rival magnate whose jurisdiction might be presumed to extend to questions of life and death; once Herod has come into the business, Pilate retires for good, washing his hands in distinction from the rest, in order to make clear his dissociation from their company. No doubt it is for the same reason, to get Pilate off the stage at as early a moment as possible, that 'Peter' has transferred to this point, from its natural place later on in the canonical Gospels, Joseph's request to Pilate that he might have the body for burial.¹ After this Pilate never re-appears on the scene at all, until his sanction is needed for the dispatch of a Roman military guard to the tomb. The mockery of crown and mantle and sceptre and royal salutation, which Matthew, Mark, and John all ascribe to the Roman soldiery (it is apparently attributed in St Luke to the soldiery of Herod and to Herod himself), is by 'Peter' ascribed to the λαός, that is to say, the people of the Jews.²

What remains is as well accounted for by the fancy of the writer or his knowledge of the Old Testament as by the hypothesis of a special source. If mention is made not only of Herod but of Herod's 'judges', we may perhaps suppose that these are introduced as experts in the Jewish Law, on the model of the Deuteronomic legislation (cf. Deut. xvi 18, xix 18), with the object of extending the circle of the responsible agents of the Crucifixion. The definite reference to the Deuteronomic law of the burial of criminals is a still clearer example: quite

¹ It will be noticed that the whole of the second section comes in awkwardly, and breaks the natural connexion of § 1 and § 3. It looks as though 'Peter' determined to transfer the episode to this place after he had already constructed this part of his narrative.

² Mk. xv 16-19, Mt. xxvii 27-29, Jn. xix 2, 3, Lk. xxiii 11.

similarly in the following section 'Peter' explains why the legs of criminals were broken, and why the darkness of the Crucifixion was especially agonizing to the Jews. 'Peter' is a scholar in his own way, and likes to make show of his knowledge in elucidation of the obscurer features of the narrative.

2. In the three chapters which describe the Crucifixion itself, the subject is throughout an indefinite 'they', still referring back to the 'people' of § 3; the centurion of Mark and Luke, the centurion and subordinates of Matthew, the 'soldiers' and 'soldier' of John, have all perforce to disappear¹; the actors are Jews from beginning to end. But a dogmatic motive begins to underlie the positive changes at this part of the narrative: the Lord appears to suffer no pain; the only word recorded from the Cross is given in the form 'My Power, my Power, why hast thou forsaken me?' and is followed not by the verb 'expired' or 'gave up the ghost'² but, very significantly, by the verb 'was taken up'. We have here an adumbration, if nothing more, of the Valentinian doctrine that the Aeon Christ left the human Jesus on the Cross; just as the personification later on (§ 10) of the Cross is a step, if only a step, in the direction of the Aeon Stauros. It is not possible to be equally confident that the unexpected appearance of the term 'Saviour' (§ 4) on the lips of the penitent robber has even a vague connexion with the later Gnostic use of Soter as an Aeon; but at any rate the contrast between the robber's language as recorded by St Luke and as recorded by 'Peter' is the contrast between the historical spirit and its opposite. It is conceivable that a Jewish highwayman should have hailed in Jesus of Nazareth the coming King-Messiah; it is quite inconceivable that he should have thought of Him as universal Saviour.

The only details of these chapters which cannot be directly referred to the canonical Gospels on one side, or to Docetic 'tendency-writing' on the other, are (i) that the legs of the penitent robber were not broken; (ii) that in the midday darkness people went about with lights; (iii) that they were anxious lest the sun should have set while the Crucified was still living, and correspondingly

¹ Mk. xv 39, Lk. xxiii 47, Mt. xxvii 54, Jn. xix 32-34.

² Compare Mk. xv 37, Lk. xxiii 46 (ἐξέπνευσεν); Mt. xxvii 50, Jn. xix 30 (ἀφῆκεν οὐ παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα).

gratified when the sun re-appeared; (iv) that when the Lord's body was laid on the earth 'all the earth quaked'. All these features can be simply and sufficiently accounted for without recourse to the hypothesis of special sources. There is the wish to heighten the effect of the picture, to accentuate the attendant conditions of the supernatural darkness, to interpret the meaning of the earthquake as the shiver of the earth when the Lord's dead body touched it. But the common mark of all these, as well as of most of Peter's other non-dogmatic additions to the Gospel story, is that the starting-point of each developement is to be found in some episode recorded in one or other of the canonical Gospels.

3. The main characteristics are the same, the main explanation is the same, in the chapters (§§ 7, 8, with the first sentence of § 9) which refer to the period between the Burial and the Resurrection. The emphasis on the remorse of the Jews is exaggerated from the notice in St Luke (xxiii 47, 48) of the behaviour of the crowds; the emphasis on the danger to the apostles is exaggerated from the hints contained in St John (xx 19, 26). The story of the guard is expanded from St Matthew; the special addition that elders and scribes joined the soldiers in keeping guard is added perhaps in order to shew that the Jewish authorities had known by experience and wilfully rejected the evidence for the Resurrection—if that term has any meaning in 'Peter's' theology. But I should not quite like to exclude the possibility that the name of the centurion, Petronius, and the detail that the disciples were accused of intention to set fire to the Temple, may have been already current in tradition and not merely figments of 'Peter's' imagination.

4. Chapters 9-11 contain the story of the Resurrection. In the canonical Gospels there is of course, strictly speaking, no account of the Resurrection at all; it is inferred from the empty tomb, from the message of the angel, from the appearances of the Risen Christ. Here is the most fundamental contradiction between the Gospels of the Church and the Gospel written in the name of Peter. The reverent silence of the canonical records permitted 'Peter' to give free play alike to his dogmatic prepossessions and to the love of the marvellous that colours the apocryphal literature in general, with the result that this section

is the most characteristic portion of his work. Yet even under these conditions he follows the indications of the canonical Gospels when and as far as he can, and builds his superstructure on the basis there provided. Matthew is the only one of the canonical writers who suggests any starting-point for reconstructing the events of the Saturday-Sunday night, as he is also the only one to introduce on to the stage of the Resurrection narrative any other characters than the disciples; 'Peter' attaches himself to Matthew, and skilfully seizes the opportunity to develop and embroider his predecessor's material. In Matthew it is not made quite clear whether the *custodia* (xxvii 65, 66; xxviii 11) or 'soldiers' (xxviii 12) are Jewish or Roman: *στρατιῶται* in the narrative of the Crucifixion means no doubt to all four Evangelists Roman soldiers, but it only occurs once in Matthew's tomb-narrative, and the natural impression which arises out of his account is rather that the Jewish authorities had asked for a Roman guard and had been scornfully bidden in answer to make use of the means at their own disposal. 'Peter' perhaps felt the difficulty, allows for both interpretations, and places at the tomb a Roman centurion, soldiers under his command, and Jewish elders and scribes as well. In Matthew the watch, though they witness the descent of the angel and the removal of the stone (xxviii 2-4), play only a subordinate part to the part of the women: in Peter the women are not yet present at the time of the descent, and the only spectators are the soldiers. In this preliminary stage, where the action is still set within the framework of one of the canonical Gospels, there are four variations in 'Peter' to be noted and accounted for. α. The change of the single 'angel' of Matthew into 'two men' finds sufficient authority in the Gospels of Luke (xxiv 4) and John (xx 12). β. That the stone 'moved of itself and yielded partially' is again a modification of the narrative of the First Gospel through the influence of the others—Mark does not say that the angel moved the stone, and Luke mentions that the stone was moved before he brings the angels on the scene at all—reinforced by the thaumaturgic tendency that not only makes stones move but crosses walk and talk. γ. In every one of our four Gospels it is the chief-priests who direct the movement which culminates in the Crucifixion, and in St Matthew's story of the guard they

are still the protagonists (xxvii 62; xxviii 11); in 'Peter' the πρεσβύτεροι take the position of prominence which the Gospels assign to the ἀρχιερείς, and the latter are not mentioned at all.¹ His own acquaintance with Judaism did not extend back behind the destruction of the Temple, and he failed to recreate in imagination a polity in which the high priests were the natural rulers and leaders. δ. If the women, according to the three accounts of Mark Luke and John, visited the tomb at dawn and found it empty, then of course the Resurrection, with whatever supernatural manifestations precluded and accompanied it, took place before dawn: Matthew either did indicate the night of Saturday–Sunday, or might be easily thought to have done so²: 'Peter' amplifies the hint, places the angelic descent in the 'night' in which the Sunday dawned, and to make sure that the supernatural visitation escaped neither the eyes nor the ears of the watch, accompanies it with 'a loud cry in heaven' and 'an abundant light'. Possibly in his chronology of the Resurrection he was not uninfluenced by the liturgical celebration of the Easter festival at a night service.

The events of the night were *ex hypothesi* not recorded in the tradition of the disciples' witness; non-Christian evidence was less easy to check, and a second-century writer who wished to describe the Resurrection and to justify his description on the testimony of eye-witnesses was obviously well advised to fasten upon the presence of the watch and to fortify himself by Jewish and heathen testimony. And we may well allow that he was genuinely influenced by the conception that the great things of God must have been made manifest even to unbelievers.

'And while they were relating what they had seen, again they see coming forth from the tomb three men, and the two of them supporting the third, and a Cross following them; and the heads of the two reached as far as heaven, but the head of him whom they escorted overpassed the heavens. And they heard a voice from the heavens saying, "Hast thou preached to them that sleep?" and from the Cross was heard an answering echo, "Yea".'

¹ 'Priests' are once mentioned, § 7, but only in the third place after 'the Jews' and 'the elders'.

² Matt. xxviii 1: see excursus on ἐπιφώσκειν, p. 188.

Obviously there is nothing here in the canonical accounts to explain 'Peter's' material; has he then drawn on extra-canonical sources? No doubt in some departments of Gnostic literature much stress was laid on the post-Resurrection period, just because it was easiest to find there a setting for the esoteric teaching of Christ to a private coterie of disciples, which was one of the expedients most commonly in use to bridge over the gap between the tradition of the Church and the theology of the Gnostics. In particular an emphasis on the Cross and still more an emphasis on the Preaching in Hades may have had their roots in legends already current, whether in literary form or no. But there seems no sufficient reason for postulating a special 'source': the framework of 'Peter's' story is dictated directly by the desire to inculcate the teaching that the Risen Christ was not consubstantial with men.

5. Chapters 12 and 13, together with part of one sentence near the beginning of chapter 11, take us back to the canonical framework with a description of the visit of the women to the sepulchre, which, while it seems to incorporate fragments of the Johannine narrative—see above, p. 171—is no doubt based mainly on the Second Gospel; and as we are here approaching the point where the known text of Mark breaks off, our main preoccupation will be to see if there is anything in 'Peter's' version to indicate whether or no his Mark broke off at the same point as ours. Such indications are I think given, both in the form of the message entrusted to the women by the angel and (still more clearly) in the notice of their behaviour after receiving the message.

(a) In St Mark the angel promises an appearance of Christ to the disciples, 'He is risen . . . He goes before you into Galilee, there shall ye see Him'. In 'Peter', on the other hand, the promise of the canonical record is suppressed, and something quite different is put into its place, 'He is risen, and has departed thither whence He was sent'. The form of this saying in 'Peter' may not improbably have borrowed something from the corresponding message to the Magdalene in the Fourth Gospel, 'Go tell my brethren that I ascend to my Father': the substance of it can be most plausibly explained by the hypothesis that 'Peter' suppressed the promise recorded in St Mark,

because the promise in St Mark, as he read it, was never fulfilled. In other words 'Peter', like ourselves, possessed only a mutilated Mark.

(b) This conclusion is strongly supported by the final clause of chapter 12 'then the women fled in fear'. No other Gospel than St Mark emphasizes fear and flight on the part of the women; 'Peter' therefore is copying Mark, whose Gospel, as we know it, breaks off with the words 'they fled from the sepulchre, for they were filled with awe and trembling, and told no one anything, for they feared . . .'. Most critics appear to be agreed that this sentence is itself imperfect, and that, as St Mark wrote it, the women feared something or some one¹; but if it was so completed, '*Peter*' shews no knowledge of the complete form, but ends a sentence exactly where our copies end the Gospel.

6. So far we have found two definite indications pointing to the conclusion that 'Peter' (like Matthew and Luke) knew only our present imperfect form of the Gospel of Mark. But Prof. Lake (pp. 161-163) would draw the opposite conclusion from the last words of the Pêtrine fragment, which immediately follow.

The feast of unleavened bread has come to an end; the crowds who have been present are returning to their homes; the Twelve are overwhelmed with grief, but they too begin to disperse and go separately homewards. Simon and Andrew return to their fishing occupation; and with them was Levi the son of Alphaeus, whom the Lord . . . And here alas! the fragment comes to an abrupt end, though we may presumably complete the clause with the words 'called from the receipt of custom', in accordance with the ordinary texts of Mark ii 14.²

It will I think be convenient to the discussion here to treat first of the chapter generally with its introductory statements, and only afterwards to approach the story of the sea of Galilee which Peter is just beginning to relate. On the general question Prof. Lake would lay stress on two arguments.

¹ So Swete, *ad loc.*, quoting Westcott-Hort and Burkitt: so too Lake, p. 71, 'it is much more likely that an object originally followed *ἐφοβήντο γάρ*': see p. 170 n. 2. [Dr Sanday, however, tells me that he believes the sentence to be complete as it stands. And the construction in Mk. x 32 perhaps supports this view.]

² In that verse the Western texts (D and the Old Latin; the Old Syriac is defective) have 'James the son of Alphaeus' in place of 'Levi the son of Alphaeus'.

'Up to this point the last chapters of the Gospel of Peter seem to be based on Mark. There is thus a certain probability that the redactor [i.e. 'Peter'] is still using this source.' I can best illustrate the exact value of this argument if I apply the statement of Prof. Lake, with the necessary changes of name, to the two other Synoptists. 'Up to this point the last sections of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke seem to be based on Mark. There is thus a certain probability that the redactors [i.e. Matthew and Luke] are still using this source.' But in spite of this 'certain probability', no one is clearer than Prof. Lake that after this point Matthew and Luke did not in fact use Mark. If the balance is to weigh in the other direction in the case of 'Peter', it must be on more tangible grounds that the 'certain probability'.

Prof. Lake's other argument is that 'it is also noteworthy that the conduct of the disciples . . . agrees better with what may be best imagined to have been the contents of the lost conclusion than with any other known document'. The reference I suppose is to 'Peter's' account of the apostles' grief and of the breaking up of their company into smaller groups, which drifted separately homewards. But neither of these features is quite unrepresented in extant documents; the dispersal is assumed in St John's narrative of the appearance at the sea of Tiberias (xxi 2), the tears and sorrow are emphasized in the Longer Appendix to St Mark (xvi 10); and that the subjective feelings of the disciples receive scantier mention in the canonical records may be quite as reasonably attributed to the relative austerity of the earlier stages of Gospel writing as to any other cause.

I do not think that these arguments help us much. The introductory sentences offer no presumptions, one way or the other, as to the source from which they are drawn. There is more to be said on both sides when we come to the evidence offered by the concluding sentence of 'Peter'.

Since the scene has shifted to 'the sea', we may assume that no appearance of the Risen Christ at or near Jerusalem is recorded: but every one of our complete narratives contains at least one such appearance, and the Gospel of Mark is the only one of the Gospels which *can* have agreed, while the form of the promise to the women in Mark xvi 7 supplies a *prima facie*

ground for supposing that it *did* as a matter of fact agree, on this point with 'Peter'. In other words, 'Peter' records no appearances in Jerusalem, but may be about to record one at the Sea of Galilee; Mark must have recorded an appearance in Galilee, and may not have recorded any in Jerusalem.

This is really the one and only larger argument worth considering in favour of attributing the story in 'Peter' of which the opening words alone are preserved to us, to a source in the lost ending of Mark. Two smaller points on the same side are the name 'Levi the son of Alphaeus', and perhaps also the use of the term 'the sea'. 'Levi son of Alphaeus' is a description peculiar to St Mark, and for what it is worth Prof. Lake is entitled to rely on it as evidence of a connexion between this paragraph and the Second Gospel. If then 'Peter' borrows it, as is reasonable to suppose, from St Mark, it would no doubt be more likely in itself that he borrowed it from that part of St Mark which was parallel to the point which he had reached in his own work. But such a presumption is only valid in the absence of more definite indications, such as do seem to exist on the opposite side. And considering how lightly 'Peter' passes from one source to another, and how easily he harks back (as in the description 'Herod *the king*') to the phraseology of earlier portions of the Gospel, there is no real improbability in his having gone back for 'Levi son of Alphaeus' to the second chapter of St Mark.

The alternative view is, of course, to find in the last chapter of St John the source of this episode in 'Peter'; and the arguments for and against this second view must now be considered.

'Beyond the fact that both "Peter" and John xxi narrate or imply an appearance to the disciples on the Sea of Galilee, there is nothing to support the suggestion; and decidedly adverse to it is the lack of agreement as to the names of the disciples' (Lake, *op. cit.* p. 161).

What does this 'lack of agreement' come to? The Gospel of John reckons a total of seven disciples, five of them named (Peter, Thomas, Nathanael, the sons of Zebedee) with two that are unnamed. The Gospel of Peter names Peter and Andrew his brother, besides Levi the son of Alphaeus; whether it named or implied others we cannot say, for the fragment breaks off here.

Even though the verb preceding the mention of Levi is 'there was with us' and not 'there were with us', it is not quite impossible that other names followed as well. But let us suppose that no others were named; 'Peter' has not overstepped the limits of the Johannine account, for Andrew and Levi may represent his interpretation of the two unnamed disciples. Indeed, to judge by his proceedings in other cases where they can be tested, we can say this of him with fair certainty, that he shews an independence of his predecessors in respect to names out of all proportion to his independence of them in regard to subject-matter. Let us suppose, with Prof. Lake, that St Mark's Gospel was the standard authority of 'Peter'; the names of Barabbas, of Simon of Cyrene and his sons Alexander and Rufus, of Mary mother of James the little and Joses, of Salome, all disappear in the copy, while conversely the name of Petronius is inserted. It cannot therefore be said to be alien to 'Peter's' manner if he suppresses and even inserts names: if St John's Gospel was his authority here, we might be pretty certain that the names of the disciples would be varied from the original.

And Prof. Lake strangely underrates the points of contact between 'Peter' and the Fourth Gospel in the episode, or so much of it as is preserved to us. The fact that both 'Peter' and John bring the Sea of Galilee into the post-Resurrection narrative is in itself a startling coincidence; and it is hardly less remarkable that the two documents agree in making the actors in the story neither the disciples in general nor yet Peter in particular, but a group of named disciples, more than any individual, less than the eleven. There is no real parallel to this in the extant Resurrection narratives¹—nor indeed, apart from the well-known group of Peter James John (Andrew), in the Gospels as a whole. There is no hint of any such subdivision in the Resurrection narrative of the Second Gospel as far as we have it; on the contrary, the message which the women were to convey to 'the disciples and Peter', Mk. xvi 7, can only be supposed to be leading up either to two appearances—one to St Peter in particular and one to the disciples in general—or to a single

¹ 'The disciples', Mk. xvi 7, Jn. xx 18, 19, 25, 26; 'the Eleven', Mt. xxviii 16, 'Mk.' xvi 14; 'the Eleven and they that were with them', Lk. xxiv 33; Peter (Simon), Mk. xvi 7, Lk. xxiv 34.

appearance to St Peter in company with at least the whole group of the Eleven. Least of all can it be said that the phraseology of St Mark lends any countenance to the idea of partial appearances to three or four disciples at a time.

It will I think be conceded that the reasons for connecting this episode in 'Peter' with a known document in Jn. xxi are at least as cogent as the reasons for postulating its source in the unknown ending of Mark. But the question will still rightly be asked, why (on the hypothesis that the Fourth Gospel was the source) does 'Peter' pass over so many other appearances and select this one in particular? At least one appearance of our Lord in St Matthew's Gospel, three in St Luke, and three in St John, are recorded at earlier points than the manifestation by the sea of Tiberias; why are they neglected, and what reason can be given for the neglect of them which would not equally apply to the story of Jn. xxi?

The answer to the first part of this question has been already anticipated (p. 175); 'Peter', as I conceive, deliberately omits from his Gospel anything which suggests that Jesus rose from the dead in a true human body, and it happens that the appearances to the disciples at Jerusalem recorded by St Luke (xxiv 36-43) and St John (xx 26-29) exclude more definitely than any of the others, by their emphasis on 'touching' and 'thrusting the hand', the conception that the Risen Jesus was a bodiless phantom. I believe for my own part, as I have said, that the absence of any appearances of Christ from St Mark's Gospel, as it was then known, was precisely the reason why 'Peter' at this part of his Gospel preferred to follow it.

The answer to the second part of the question is not quite so easy, and must necessarily be more speculative; but I believe that we shall be working on right lines if we emphasize the fact that the appearance by the sea of Tiberias related in Jn. xxi is the only appearance recorded at length in the canonical Gospels which deals specially with St Peter. A Gospel bearing his name could hardly fail to bring him to the forefront at the conclusion of the narrative; and if stress was laid in 'Peter', as in some other Gnostic documents, on traditions specially committed by the Lord to select disciples, the time of such a commission will naturally have been after the Resurrection, and the recipient can

hardly have been any other than the supposed writer of the Gospel, Simon Peter himself.¹ The book would thus find its natural climax. On these lines I should suggest an explanation, in so far as explanation can be offered under such circumstances at all, of the meaning of the episode which the Petrine Gospel was apparently proceeding to narrate.

To sum up the results of this paper. The attempt has been made first to shew (pp. 164-173) that, due regard being had to the circumstances and conditions of the time when 'Peter' wrote, comparison of the documents makes it infinitely more probable than not that he was acquainted with, and in his own Gospel made use of, all four Gospels of the Church. It would be difficult to say what conception could survive of evidence of literary contact, if its cogency was not admitted in this case. But once it is admitted that 'Peter' used the Fourth Gospel as one of his sources, then again it seems at least much more probable that, in the story introduced by the closing words of the extant fragment, he was depending on that Gospel rather than on the lost ending of St Mark, which there is not the least reason (from any other point of view) to suppose had survived as late as the second century A.D. Therefore 'Peter' adds nothing to the witness of the earliest tradition of the Resurrection.

C. H. TURNER.

¹ It is possible that the names of Andrew and Matthew were selected, or substituted for those disciples mentioned in Jn. xxi 2, just because those particular apostles were already being claimed as channels of secret traditions handed down in Gnostic circles. The fabrication of Gnostic Acts of Andrew and Matthew, or of Peter and Andrew, though these may doubtless not have been quite as old as 'Peter', points in the same direction.

[NOTE. Both Dr Sanday and Dr Lock demur (independently) to the combination, on p. 172, of 'Peter' no. 50 with Jn. xviii 3-6; and in face of their opinion I hesitate to adhere to my own. Yet *ἡμεῶν τε* in 'Peter' is so odd that it seems to me best explained as an echo of an earlier document.]

NOTE ON ἐπιφώσκειν.

THE verb ἐπιφώσκειν is found in two of the Gospels in connexion with time-notice of the Burial and Resurrection narrative. St Luke employs it in his account of the Burial, xxiii 54 καὶ ἡμέρα ἦν παρασκευῆς καὶ σάββατον ἐπέφωσκειν, 'it was Preparation-day, and Sabbath was dawning'; St Matthew in his account of the Resurrection, xxviii 1 ὥστε δὲ σαββάτων τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων, 'late on Saturday, in the [night] that dawns to the first day of the week'. Clearly both these uses of a verb which ought to mean 'to be dawning' are odd enough to excite investigation.

Prof. Lake (pp. 56-60) feels the difficulty, but has no doubt at all as to the remedy. ἐπιφώσκειν must refer to the dawn: 'there is no evidence for it in Greek in any sense except a reference to sunrise.' You have only to assume that both the First and Third Evangelists forgot at what point in the twenty-four hours the Jews began their days, and all is straightforward: Matthew's 'statement implies a reckoning of days in which the dividing line was sunrise, not sunset' (p. 56), Luke 'did not fully understand or had momentarily forgotten the Jewish time-reckoning, and thought that, according to the law, Joseph of Arimathaea and the women had the whole of Friday evening and night at their disposal' (p. 59).

We begin by testing this counter-hypothesis, and we ask in relation to it the two questions, Is it credible in itself? and Does it harmonize with the contexts?

1. Is it really credible that any Christian of the apostolic or sub-apostolic generations was ignorant at what moment the Jewish day began? The 'redactor of the First Gospel', as Prof. Lake calls him, was presumably a Jewish Christian: the evangelist Luke, Gentile Christian though he was, was the companion of St Paul, and sabbaths were presumably observed in the Apostle's company. But quite apart from any special presumptions about individuals, the whole Christian day-reckoning was derived from the Jewish; the Christian Sunday commenced at sunset as the Jewish sabbath ended, and no Christian can by any conceivable stretch of the imagination have thought of any other hour as the dividing line between day and day of his religious kalendar. Least of all could he have been ignorant at what time of day Easter Sunday began.

2. Does it harmonize with the contexts? St Matthew, on the Professor's reading, describes the visit of the women as 'late on the sabbath as it began to dawn towards' Sunday, and paraphrases this as 'the hour before the dawn'; but if a difficulty is thus got over in regard

to ἐπιφώσκειν, a not less serious one surely stares us in the face in regard to ὀψέ. If Prof. Lake finds 'no evidence for ἐπιφώσκειν in Greek in any sense except a reference to sunrise', would he be able to find any evidence for ὀψέ in Greek in any sense except in reference to the hours, let us say roughly, from afternoon to midnight? Therefore the ambiguities in St Matthew are not in the least really cleared away when the Professor has explained that the Evangelist mistook the commencement of the Jewish day. With regard to St Luke he seems to me to be less successful still. Luke, he writes, 'thought that, according to the law, Joseph of Arimathaea and the women had the whole of Friday evening and night at their disposal . . . that the women prepared the spices during the night before the Sabbath'. Dr Lake seems to have overlooked the fact that St Luke records the 'dawning' of the sabbath in verse 54 before he notes that the women returned home and began their preparations of spices and ointments. Here again, then, the hypothesis that ἐπιφώσκειν means sunrise does not work.

We must look in some other direction for the solution of the difficulty. And first we will turn to pseudo-Peter, and see what lessons we can learn from his use of the word under debate. Obviously the word caught his notice, for he has employed it at two separate points, and on the second occasion in two successive sentences. In § 2 Herod assures Pilate that he and the Jews would themselves have seen to the burial, for 'sabbath is dawning' (σάββατον ἐπιφώσκει) and the sun must not set on an unburied criminal'. Further on, after the account of the Crucifixion and Burial, we are told in § 9 that 'early, as sabbath was dawning' (πρωίως ἐπιφώσκοντος τοῦ σαββάτου), a multitude came from Jerusalem and the country round to see the tomb sealed; and 'in the night in which the Sunday was dawning' (τῇ νυκτὶ ἣ ἐπέφωσκει ἡ κυριακή), the Resurrection and the portents that accompanied it took place.

Now if 'Peter' uses the verb twice, once in relation to the Burial, where St Luke had used it, and once in relation to the Resurrection, where St Matthew had used it; if moreover he is found to employ it on the first occasion in just the same phrase as St Luke's, σάββατον ἐπιφώσκει, and on the second occasion in almost the same phrase as St Matthew's, τῇ νυκτὶ ἣ ἐπέφωσκει ἡ κυριακή—the Matthaean phrase τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ omits the noun, but 'Peter's' νυκτὶ is I think the correct supplement—then the natural deduction is that on the first occasion 'Peter' is copying Luke, and on the second occasion is copying Matthew. But Prof. Lake does not believe that 'Peter' used Luke at all. In that case it is all the more remarkable that, independently of Luke, 'Peter' appears to use the phrase σάββατον ἐπιφώσκει, just as Luke does, of sunset: indeed the case is clearer in Peter, since σάββατον ἐπιφώσκει is immediately followed by ἡλιον μὴ δύναι. Prof. Lake can no longer

write that there is no evidence for *ἐπιφώσκειν* in Greek in any sense except a reference to sunrise; for here is evidence in pseudo-Peter. After all, however, this is only an *argumentum ad hominem*; let us suppose it admitted that 'Peter' has borrowed *ἐπιφώσκειν* from Luke as well as from Matthew, and it still remains true that 'Peter' found no difficulty in adopting the word and interpreting it of the evening. At whatever exact moment of the day he may be supposed to place the conversation between Pilate and Herod on the subject of the burial, the moment to which the conversation looks forward can only be sunset: that 'sabbath is dawning' and that 'the sun may not set on the corpse of a criminal' exposed on the gallows, are two parallel and mutually complementary parts of the argument.¹

What then is the true explanation of St Luke's language? I think it is simply this, that, if you have to employ for the time-definitions of a system that began its day at sunset the terminology of a language which postulated a day that began with sunrise, you will naturally find yourself using expressions of the one that are strictly applicable only to the other. In other words, when St Luke wanted to talk in Greek of the commencement of the Jewish day, he still talked of its 'dawn'.² Some such hypothesis seems to me to involve far fewer difficulties than that which Prof. Lake so lightly assumes to be the only rational one.

¹ It does not necessarily follow either that Matthew used *ἐπιφώσκειν* of the evening, or that 'Peter' when writing on his own account would do so: In § 9 *πρωίης ἐπιφώσκοντος τοῦ σαββάτου*, which is 'Peter's' own phrase, naturally means 'early in the day as sabbath was dawning', while his remaining phrase 'the night in which Sunday dawned', if it correctly interprets (as I think it does) St Matthew's *τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάταν* 'the . . . which dawned towards Sunday', shews that he could learn from the context to connect *ἐπιφώσκειν* in one author with night as well as in another with sunset. But I am by no means sure, though the case is not so clear, that St Matthew does not use the word in the same sense substantially as St Luke; if so, the Resurrection will have been placed by him in the *early* hours of the night Saturday-Sunday.

² Archdeacon Allen (on Mt. xxviii 1) tells us that there actually is an Aramaic word meaning both 'dawn' and 'the beginning of the technical day' i. e. evening.

[NOTE. In the translation, pp. 191-195, capital type is used for words and phrases which seem to be derived from the parallel passage in one or other of the Four Gospels, italic type where words or phrases are borrowed apparently from other parts of the canonical writings.]

TRANSLATION OF THE GOSPEL OF PETER.

[Then Pilate washed his hands]

- § 1 But of the Jews none ¹WASHED HIS HANDS, ¹ Mt. xxvii 24.
nor did ²HEROD nor any one of his judges; ² Lk. xxiii 7-11.
and when they would not wash themselves,
Pilate rose.

And then Herod ³*the king* ordered ⁴*the Lord* to be ⁵SEIZED, telling them, ⁶*'Whatever I have ordered you to do to him, do.'*

- § 2 But Joseph the friend of Pilate and of the Lord was present there; and knowing that they were going to crucify him, he ⁷WENT TO PILATE AND ASKED for the Lord's body for burial. And Pilate ⁸*sent to Herod* and asked for his body; and Herod said, 'Brother Pilate, even if some one had not asked for him, we ourselves would have buried him, seeing that ⁹SABBATH IS DAWNING.' For it is

¹⁰*written in the law* that ¹¹*the sun should not go down* on one that has been put to death.

- § 3 And ¹²*he handed him over* to the people the ¹³DAY BEFORE *their* FESTIVAL, ¹⁴THE UNLEAVENED BREAD; and they seizing the Lord began to push him at a run and to say, 'Let us drag about ¹⁵*the Son of God*, having got ¹⁶AUTHORITY over him.' And they ¹⁷CLOTHED HIM ¹⁸WITH PURPLE, and ¹⁹SATE him on the judgement-seat, saying, 'Judge righteously, O ²⁰KING ²¹*of Israel*.' And ²²*one* ²³*of them* ²⁴*brought* ²⁵A THORNY CROWN and ²⁶SET it ON THE Lord's HEAD; and others stood up and ²⁷SPAT IN his eyes, and others ²⁸BUFFETED HIS CHEEKS; others began to ²⁹*prick* him ³⁰WITH A REED, and some to ³¹SCOURGE him, saying, 'With this ³²*honour* let us *honour* the Son of God.'

- § 4 And they brought ³³TWO MALEFACTORS, and crucified the Lord ³⁴BETWEEN them. ³⁵*But* he was *silent*, as though he had no pain.

And when they had raised the cross, they

⁵ 'Rose': perhaps 'departed' (*ἀνίστη* for *ἀνίστη*).

³ Cf. Mk. vi 14, Mt. xiv 9.

⁴ Lk., Jn., cf. p. 169.

⁶ Mt. xxvii 27, Jn. xix 17.

⁶ Cf. Jn. ii 5, xiii 27 f.

⁷ Mk. xv 43.

⁸ Lk. xxiii 7.

⁹ Lk. xxiii 54.

¹⁰ Cf. Jn. x 34, xv 25.

¹¹ Cf. Eph. iv 26 (Deut. xxiv 15 [17]).

¹² Jn. xix 16, Lk. xxiii 25,

Mk. xv 15 = Mt. xxvii 26.

¹³ Jn. xii 1, xiii 1 (cf. vi 4, vii 2).

¹⁴ Mk. xiv 12 = Mt. xxvi 17.

¹⁵ Cf. Mt. xxvi 63, xxvii 40,

43, 54 (Jn. xix 7).

¹⁶ Jn. xix 10 (Lk. xxiii 7).

¹⁷ Jn. xix 2.

¹⁸ Mk. xv 17 (Jn. xix 2).

¹⁹ Jn. xix 13.

²⁰ Mk. xv 18 = Mt. xxvii 29,

Jn. xix 3.

²¹ Cf. Mk. xv 32, Jn. xii 13.

²² Mk. xv 36. ²³ Mt. xxvii 48.

²⁴ Jn. xix 29. ²⁵ Mk. xv 17.

²⁶ Mt. xxvii 29, Jo. xix 2.

²⁷ Mk. xv 19, Mt. xxvi 67.

²⁸ Mt. xxvii 68, cf. Isa. l 6.

²⁹ Cf. Jn. xix 34.

³⁰ Mk. xv 19.

³¹ Jn. xix 1.

³² Mt. xxvii 9 f.

³³ Lk. xxiii 32, 33.

³⁴ Jn. xix 18.

³⁵ Mk. xiv 61, Mt. xxvi 62.

³⁶ INSCRIBED on it that ³⁷ 'THIS IS THE KING
²¹ *of Israel*'.

And laying down his garments before him,
they ³⁸ DIVIDED them and CAST the ³⁹ LOT OVER
THEM.

⁴⁰ BUT ONE OF those MALEFACTORS ⁴¹ RE-
PROACHED them, saying, ⁴² 'WE for the ill
which we have done are suffering as we do;
BUT THIS MAN, who has become Saviour
of men, what wrong hath he done you?'
And being angry with him, they gave orders
that his ⁴³ LEGS should not be BROKEN, in
order that he might die in torment.

§ 5 And ⁴⁴ IT WAS midday, AND DARKNESS
overshadowed ⁴⁵ ALL Judaea; and they were
troubled and anxious to know whether the
sun had set, seeing that he was still alive;
for it was contained in their scriptures that
the sun should not set on any that had been
put to death.

And ⁴⁶ ONE of them SAID, 'Give him ⁴⁷ *gall*
with VINEGAR to drink'; and they mixed it,
and ⁴⁸ GAVE IT HIM TO DRINK, and ⁴⁹ FUL-
FILLED ALL THINGS, and CONSUMMATED their
sins on their own heads.

But many began to ⁵⁰ *go* about *with lights*,
supposing it was night, and *tumbled down*.

And the Lord ⁵¹ CRIED aloud, saying, 'My
Power, my Power, hast thou FORSAKEN ME?'
And ⁵² HAVING SO SAID, he ⁵³ *was taken up*.
And at that very hour ⁵⁴ THE VEIL OF THE
TEMPLE of Jerusalem was burst IN TWO.

§ 6 And then they tore away ⁵⁵ *the nails* from
the Lord's *hands*, and ⁵⁶ LAID him on the
earth; and ⁵⁷ ALL THE EARTH QUAKED, and
⁵⁸ *great fear came*. Then the sun shone, and
it was found to be ⁵⁹ THE NINTH HOUR,
and ⁶⁰ THE JEWS rejoiced, and gave Joseph
his body to bury it, because he had been
seeing what good he did. And receiving
the Lord, he washed him and ⁶¹ SWATHED him
IN LINEN, and took him into his ⁶² OWN TOMB,
called 'Joseph's ⁶³ GARDEN'.

³⁶ Mk. xv 26.

³⁷ Mt. xxvii 37.

³¹ See above, p. 191.

³⁸ Mk. xv 24 (Mt. xxvii 35,
Lk. xxiii 34).

³⁹ Jn. xix 24.

⁴⁰ Lk. xxiii 39. ⁴¹ Mk. xv 32
(Mt. xxvii 44).

⁴² Lk. xxiii 41.

⁴³ Jn. xix 31.

⁴⁴ Lk. xxiii 44.

⁴⁵ Mt. xxvii 45.

⁴⁶ Mk. xv 36. ⁴⁷ Mt. xxvii 33.

⁴⁸ Mk. xv 36 (Mt. xxvii 48).

⁴⁹ Jn. xix 28, 30.

⁵⁰ Jn. xviii 3, 6.

⁵¹ Mt. xxvii 46, Mk. xv 34.

⁵² Lk. xxiii 46. ⁵³ Ac. i 2,
Lk. ix 51.

⁵⁴ Mt. xxvii 51, Mk. xv 38
(Lk. xxiii 45).

⁵⁵ Jn. xx 25.

⁵⁶ Mt., Mk., Lk., Jn.

⁵⁷ Mt. xxvii 51.

⁵⁸ Ac. v 5, 11.

⁵⁹ Mt. xxvii 46, Mk. xv 34.

⁶⁰ Jn. xix 31, &c.

⁶¹ Mk. xv 46.

⁶² Mt. xxvii 60.

⁶³ Jn. xix 41.

§ 7 Then ⁶⁶ *the Jews* and ⁶⁴ *the elders and the* ⁶⁴ Mt. xxvi 3, xxvii 1.

priests, seeing what harm they had done themselves, began to beat their breasts and to say, ⁶⁶ 'ALAS FOR OUR SINS: judgement and the end OF JERUSALEM IS NIGH.'

⁶⁵ Lk. xxiii 48 *v.l.* (but as in p. 166 *n.* 1, Peter may be the source of the *v.l.*).

But I with my companions gave myself up to grief, and we were struck to the heart, and we ⁶⁶ concealed ourselves, for search was being made by them for us as malefactors and as intending to fire the Temple. And at all this we fasted and sat ⁶⁷ MOURNING AND WEEPING night and day until the Sabbath.

⁶⁶ Cf. Jn. xx 19.

⁶⁷ Cf. 'Mk.' xvi 10.

§ 8 But the scribes and ⁶⁸ PHARISEES and ELDERS BEING GATHERED TOGETHER, hearing that the whole people were murmuring and beating ⁶⁹ THEIR BREASTS, saying, 'If all these great signs came to pass at his death, see how ⁷⁰ RIGHTEOUS A MAN he was!'—the elders were afraid and went ⁷¹ TO PILATE and besought him, SAYING, 'Put soldiers at our disposal, in order that they may guard his sepulchre for THREE DAYS, FOR FEAR HIS DISCIPLES COME AND STEAL HIM AWAY, and THE PEOPLE suppose that he has risen from the DEAD and do us harm.' And PILATE put at their disposal to guard the tomb Petronius ⁷² *the centurion* with soldiers, and there accompanied them to the sepulchre elders and scribes. And all of them together that were there with the help of the centurion and soldiers rolled ⁷³ A BIG STONE and set it ⁷⁴ AT THE DOORWAY OF THE SEPULCHRE. And they sealed it with ⁷⁵ *seven seals*, and fixed camp there and kept guard.

⁶⁸ Mt. xxvii 62, xxviii 12.

⁶⁹ Lk. xxiii 48.

⁷⁰ Lk. xxiii 47.

⁷¹ Mt. xxvii 62-66.

⁷² Mk. xv 39.

⁷³ Mt. xxvii 60.

⁷⁴ Mk. xv 46 (Mt. xxvii 60).

⁷⁵ Apoc. vi (cf. Mt. xxvii 66).

§ 9 And ⁷⁶ *early* ⁷⁷ *at Sabbath dawn* a multitude came from Jerusalem and the country round to see the sepulchre as it was sealed.

⁷⁶ Jn. xxi 4. ⁷⁷ Lk. xxiii 54.

But in the night in which the Lord's day ⁷⁸ DAWNED, while the soldiers were on guard, two and two to a watch, there ⁷⁹ *came a loud voice in the heaven*, and they ⁸⁰ *saw the heavens opened* and ⁸¹ TWO MEN ⁸² DESCENDING thence, ⁸³ *having a great light*, and standing

⁷⁸ Mt. xxviii 1.

⁷⁹ Mk. i 10, 11, Mt. iii 16, 17, Lk. iii 21, 22.

⁸⁰ Cf. Jn. i 51.

⁸¹ Lk. xxiv 4. ⁸² Mt. xxviii 2.

⁸³ Cf. Mt. iii 15 *cod a.*

by the tomb. And that stone which had been thrust against the doorway moved of itself and ⁸⁴ yielded slightly, and the tomb was open and both ⁸⁵ YOUTHS entered. ⁸⁴ Cf. Mk. xvi 4. ⁸⁵ Mk. xvi 5.

§ 10 Then those soldiers at the sight awoke the centurion, and also the elders, for they too were present on guard. And as they were relating what they had seen, again they see three men coming out of the tomb, and two of them upholding the third, and a Cross following them; and the heads of the two reached as far as heaven, but the head of the one who was escorted by them passed the heavens. And they heard a voice from the heavens saying, 'Hast thou preached to them that are fallen asleep?' and from the Cross was heard an answer, 'Yea.'

§ 11 Then the party conferred with one another, and determined to go and report matters to Pilate. And while they were still thinking of it, once more they see a vision of the heavens opened, and a man descending and ⁸⁶ ENTER-⁸⁶ Mk. xvi 5.
ING THE SEPULCHRE.

At this sight the centurion and his men hurried off, night though it were, to Pilate, abandoning the tomb where they were on guard: and in great distress they related everything that they had seen, ⁸⁷ DECLARING ⁸⁷ Mt. xxvii 54.
'OF A TRUTH HE WAS SON OF GOD'. Pilate answered and said, 'I am clean ⁸⁸ of the ⁸⁸ Mt. xxvii 24.
blood of the Son of God; it was *your* doing.'

Then all the party approached and made humble request of him and begged that he would order the centurion and his men to ⁸⁹ say nothing of what they had seen. 'For', ⁸⁹ Cf. Lk. viii 56, Mt. xvii 9.
said they, 'it is better for us to incur very great sin before God rather than to ⁹⁰ fall into ⁹⁰ 2 Reg. xxiv 14.
the hands of the people of the Jews and be stoned.' So Pilate ordered the centurion and his men to say nothing about it.

§ 12 And ⁹¹ AT DAYBREAK ON Sunday ⁹² MARY ⁹¹ Lk. xxiv 1.
THE MAGDALENE, a ⁹³ DISCIPLE OF THE LORD ⁹² Jn. xx 1.
⁹³ Jn. xix 38.

—who being AFRAID because OF THE JEWS, since they were burning with anger, had been unable to do at the Lord's sepulchre what women are ⁹⁴ WONT to do for their loved ones ⁹⁴ Jn. xix 40.

at the moment of death—taking her friends with her, went to the sepulchre where he had been laid: and they were afraid lest the Jews should see them. And they said, 'Although we could not wail and lament on the day when he was crucified, let us do so now at his sepulchre. But ⁹⁵ WHO WILL ⁹⁵ Mk. xvi 3.

ROLL AWAY FOR US that stone which was laid at THE DOORWAY OF THE SEPULCHRE, so that we may go in and sit down by him and do what is due? ⁹⁶ FOR it was a BIG stone, ⁹⁶ Mk. xvi 4.

and we are afraid of being seen. And if we can do nothing else, let us just throw down at the doorway what we are ⁹⁷ BRINGING ⁹⁸ *for* ⁹⁷ Lk. xxiv 1. ⁹⁸ Mk. xiv 9.
⁹⁷ Mt. xxvi 13.
a memorial of him, and wail and lament all the way home.'

§ 13 And on arriving they found the tomb open; and they approached and ⁹⁹ STOOPED ⁹⁹ Jn. xx 11.
in. And they ¹⁰⁰ SEE there A YOUTH SITTING ¹⁰⁰ Mk. xvi 5.

in the middle of the tomb, comely and CLOTHED WITH A splendid ROBE, who said to them, 'Why have you come? Whom ¹⁰¹ SEEK YOU? Is it him ¹⁰² WHO WAS CRUCI- ¹⁰¹ Lk. xxiv 5.
FIED? He HAS RISEN and departed. But if ¹⁰² Mk. xvi 6, Mt. xxviii 5.

you believe it not, stoop in and ¹⁰³ SEE THE ¹⁰³ Mt. xxviii 6.
PLACE WHERE HE LAY, that ¹⁰⁴ HE IS NOT ¹⁰⁴ Mk. xvi 6.
there; for he has risen and ¹⁰⁵ *returned* thither ¹⁰⁵ Cf. Jn. xvi 5, 7, 28.

whence he was sent forth.' Then the women ¹⁰⁶ WERE AFRAID and FLED. ¹⁰⁶ Mk. xvi 8.

§ 14 Now it was the last day of the Unleavened Bread, and a good many ¹⁰⁷ LEFT on their ¹⁰⁷ Lk. xxiii 48.
way back home because the feast was over. But we the Lord's twelve disciples wept and grieved; and ¹⁰⁸ *each* of us started *homewards* ¹⁰⁸ Cf. Jn. xvi 32.
in sore grief for what had happened.

But I, ¹⁰⁹ SIMON PETER, ¹¹⁰ *and my brother* ¹⁰⁹ Jn. xxi 1-3.
Andrew took our nets and went off to the ¹¹⁰ Mt. iv 18 (Mk. i 16).
SEA; and there was with us ¹¹¹ *Levi the son* ¹¹¹ Mk. ii 14.
of Alphaeus, whom the Lord . . .

THE RESURRECTION APPEARANCES.

THE recent volume of Oxford Essays¹ will receive a hearty welcome from those who desire to see modern difficulties of belief handled in a modern way and in language which is not too technical to appeal to a wide circle of readers. It is characterized, as a whole, by a refreshing optimism which believes that careful statement or, if need be, re-statement is the best defence of the fundamental truths of the Christian religion. The Essayists are not all of one mind, even in some matters of first-rate importance; but they are united by a spirit of devout reverence for the high topics which they have ventured to treat. Some of them might perhaps allow, in view of conclusions reached in essays other than their own, that here and there the volume offers what might be called tenable positions rather than secure foundations. The variety of mental, and even of theological, outlook adds to the value as well as to the interest of the book, especially when it is regarded as a study rather than as a pronouncement.

A hearty welcome is not inconsistent with a measure of friendly criticism; and the present very incomplete review of a few of the Essays will for the most part be confined to points which specially challenge attention and seem to require reconsideration. I have been unwilling to make so imperfect a contribution to this JOURNAL, but it has been urged upon me that an immediate notice might serve a useful purpose, and that other essays might be dealt with by other writers. The essays on 'The Historic Christ' and 'The Interpretation of the Christ' appeal most directly to my interest, or, perhaps I should say, lie most in the line of my own studies; but I cannot refrain from a brief comment on the essay on 'The Atonement'. I shall take these essays in the reverse order.

1. Mr Moberly's exposition of the difficulties which attend the

¹ *Foundations: A Statement of Christian Belief in Terms of Modern Thought*, by seven Oxford men. (Macmillan & Co., 1912.)

earlier theories of the doctrine of the Atonement is written in a chaste and winning style and with remarkable lucidity. It is only when we reach the statement of the new conception which was offered in his father's impressive book, *Atonement and Personality*, that we feel disappointment. The use of the term 'penitence' in the interpretation of our Lord's relation to the sin of mankind still remains to trouble us. Long ago McLeod Campbell spoke of Christ as the Great Confessor of Humanity; and perhaps these words venture as far as we may rightly go in this particular direction. We may admit that the thought offered to us by Dr Moberly, and insisted on afresh by his son, reaches nearer to the heart of the mystery: we may admit also that the boldness of the thought may find a justification in the astonishing words of St Paul, 'He made Him to be sin for us'. Yet it might have been hoped that the thought would be capable of a somewhat different presentation, which should not necessitate the use of the word 'penitence' in a sense which to many must seem as unreal as it is unfamiliar.

Does not *penitence*, we are bound to ask, involve as an indispensable element *self-blame*, and not merely the sense of shame? Must not its language be, 'We have sinned . . . of our own fault'? Love's self-identification with the sinner may go as far as the sense of shame, on the ground of physical relationship (as of mother and child) or of deeply affectionate friendship. It may go as far as self-blame without losing touch with reality, if it is conscious that further effort on its part might have prevented the shameful issue. But can self-blame be genuine where *ex hypothesi* there has been no responsibility for the sin?

May we not enter a plea for an exposition of the *thought*, if this be possible, which shall avoid the employment of the word *penitence* in a non-natural sense? If it is not possible—if the theory depends on this new use of the word, we cannot hope that the plain man will find satisfaction in it.

2. The essay on 'The Interpretation of the Christ', which is offered as the joint production of Mr Rawlinson and Mr Parsons, is of special value in its study of the Christology of St Paul. It is linked on to the preceding essay, of which we are to speak presently, by some thoughtful paragraphs which indicate a different position, more particularly in regard to the Resurrec-

tion of our Lord. The importance of the eschatological hope which the earliest believers had received (with whatever modifications) from their Master is duly recognized, and the history of that hope in St Paul's experience and teaching is well expressed. The essay weakens towards the close, and it may be regretted that the Fourth Gospel should have been treated at all, if it could only be considered in a few pages—*ne taceretur*, as the writers themselves admit.

Even in the excellent study of St Paul some points suggest a too eager adoption of the newest affirmations of modern interpreters. The assertion that the Corinthians were regarding the Eucharist *ex opere operato* as a mechanical guarantee of salvation has been taken over much too hastily, and the suggestion which connects this misinterpretation with 'the theology of the mysteries' will not serve to commend it for long. Indeed the paragraphs on the Greek 'Mystery Religions' which immediately precede, modern as they are in their conception, are almost obsolete already, and may well be removed from a second edition of the book. The curious amalgam which goes by the name of 'the theology of the mysteries' falls to pieces when it is confronted by the original texts. Moreover, one of the services which Schweitzer has recently rendered has been his emphatic and reasoned judgment that no influence of this kind can be securely traced in the writings of St Paul. The recasting of this section of the essay would enhance the value of an admirable contribution to the study of the Pauline theology.

3. Mr Streeter's study of 'The Historic Christ' will fascinate the attention of all serious readers of this volume. It deserves at every point the most careful consideration. It opens with a eulogy of Dr Schweitzer and the 'thorough-going eschatologists'. But Mr Streeter's own elaborate investigations in the Synoptic Problem enable him to steer clear of the numerous mistakes into which Schweitzer was led owing to his ignorance or neglect of what is called 'the lower criticism'. One exception must be made in our congratulation on this head. Even Mr Streeter can allow himself to represent John the Baptist as saying, 'The kingdom of God is at hand' (p. 93). But the only statement to this effect in the New Testament is the verse in St Matthew, where the words, 'Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand',

are placed in the mouth of the Baptist. Neither St Mark nor St Luke corroborates this. We need not indeed deny the possibility that the Baptist may have spoken of the kingdom of God. But, from the point of view of Synoptic criticism, we are bound to observe that the writer of St Matthew's Gospel is at this point following St Mark's narrative, and is himself responsible for the change of St Mark's phrase, 'preaching a baptism of repentance for the remission of sins' into 'preaching . . . saying, Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand'—a phrase which he introduces again later as his paraphrase of St Mark's summary of the preaching of our Lord at the opening of the Galilean ministry (Matt. iv 17, Mark i 15). On critical grounds it appears certain that in both places the writer of St Matthew's Gospel is offering us a paraphrase of his own, which (however justifiable as a paraphrase) ought not to be made the basis of a historical argument. Accordingly, when this phrase is measured at its due value from the point of view of Synoptic criticism, it is legitimate to doubt whether the Baptist himself ever spoke of the kingdom of God, and we shall be more than ever disinclined to admit Mr Streeter's unfortunate description of John as being an 'Apocalypticist' as well as a 'Prophet'. Surely it is ancient Hebrew prophecy, and not 'apocalyptic' in the hitherto accepted sense of the term, that forms the background of the Baptist's preaching.

The point here in question is not so trifling as might at first sight appear. There is a characteristic distinction between the message of John and the message of Jesus, which is plainly discernible in the earlier strata of the evangelic records, though it is obscured by the paraphrastic modifications of St Matthew's Gospel. John says in effect, Repent, for fear of the Coming Wrath: Jesus says, Repent, in hope of the Coming Kingdom. Not indeed that John is without a hope: but the hope is in Another, who is to him 'the Coming One' (Mark i 7 *ἐρχεται*: Luke vii 19 *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*). He looks forward not to the Kingdom, but to the Mightier One whose way he is preparing. And even thus his hope is a fearful hope—a fiery baptism. By all means let us do the utmost justice to every indication of popular apocalyptic hope which the gospel narratives offer to us: but let us beware of exaggerations—and surely it is an exaggeration to represent John the Baptist as an Apocalypticist.

But we must pass on, tempted though we may be to consider other points in this stimulating essay, to that part of it which is certain to arouse the greatest misgiving in many of its readers. The gravity of the question raised in the section which treats of the Resurrection of our Lord necessitates a somewhat full discussion : it cannot, with justice to the writer, be dealt with in a summary fashion. At the outset we must gratefully recognize the entire reverence with which the Essayist handles the subject, and the modest and temperate tone in which he expresses his conclusions. A preliminary topic is happily removed from controversy by his definite acceptance, on the ground of his reading of the history, of the fact of the Empty Tomb.

We start then with two admitted historical facts : (a) The Body of Jesus was not to be found in the tomb on the morning of the first day of the week ; (b) On that same day and from time to time afterwards the Lord manifested Himself to His disciples, but 'not to all the people'. How are we to link up these two facts ?

1. No question seems to have arisen in the early days. It was enough to say, 'God raised Him from the dead on the third day'. The Church found no difficulty in the thought that the material Body was resuscitated and left the tomb ; and that by the exercise of miraculous power the Lord could make it visible or invisible, recognizable or unrecognizable, as He chose, and could at last pass up with it from earth to heaven at the Ascension.

This material view of a revival of the physical Body has in our days proved exceedingly difficult ; and the difficulty has made itself felt most keenly in regard to the Ascension. The changed conception of the earth's form and of its place in the solar system made it impossible any longer to conceive of heaven as a locality somewhere far above our heads. And the question could not but be asked, Where did the material Body go to ? No answer was forthcoming.

Other objections connected with the nature of physical bodies, with their natural life-story of growth, age, and dissolution, further discredited the simple notion of a revival of the Body that had been crucified. It also came to be felt that, as our own resurrection could not now be thought of as a reassembling of the material elements of our present bodies and their physical

restoration to life, so too the Lord's resurrection could not rightly be interpreted in the old way, if it was indeed to be the type of the resurrection life for ourselves.

2. The sacred documents were interrogated afresh. It was observed that the various narratives included details which pointed the way to a new conception of the character of our Lord's Body after the Resurrection.¹ A change had passed over it. It was the same, and yet not the same. It was released from the old limitations: it was wholly under the control of the Spirit which it served.

I think it is of some importance at the present moment to call attention to the masterly exposition of this conception which was given us by Bishop Westcott in his series of studies which is entitled *The Revelation of the Risen Lord*. A few paragraphs must be quoted in full.

The Revelation of the Risen Christ is, indeed, in the fullest sense of the word, a Revelation; an unveiling of that which was before undiscovered and unknown.

Nothing perhaps (if we may anticipate results yet to be established) is more surprising in the whole sum of inspired teaching than the way in which the different appearances of Christ after His Resurrection meet and satisfy the aspirations of man towards a knowledge of the unseen world. As we fix our thoughts steadily upon them we learn how our life is independent of its present conditions; how we also can live through death; how we can retain all the issues of the past without being bound by the limitations under which they were shaped. Christ rose from the grave changed and yet the same; and in Him we have the pledge and the type of our rising.

Christ was changed. He was no longer subject to the laws of the material order to which His earthly life was previously conformed. As has been well said: 'What was natural to Him before is now miraculous; what was before miraculous is now natural.' Or to put the thought in another form, in an earthly life the spirit is manifested through the body; in the life of the Risen Christ the Body is manifested (may we not say so?) through the Spirit. He 'appears' and no longer is seen coming. He is found present, no one knows from whence; He passes away, no one knows whither. He stands in the midst of the group of Apostles *when the doors were shut for fear of the Jews*. *He vanishes out*

¹ Some early writers had ventured to speak of our Lord's Body as being immaterial after the Resurrection, but their speculations were incautious and failed to find acceptance.

of sight of the disciples whose eyes were opened that they should know Him. And at last *as they were looking He was taken up, and a cloud received Him out of their sight.*

The continuity, the intimacy, the simple familiarity of former intercourse is gone. He is seen and recognized only as He wills, and when He wills. In the former sense of the phrase, He is no longer with the disciples. They have, it appears, no longer a natural power of recognizing Him. Feeling and thought require to be purified and enlightened in order that He may be known under the conditions of earthly life. There is a mysterious awfulness about His Person which first inspires fear and then claims adoration. He appointed a place of meeting with His Apostles, but He did not accompany them on their journey. He belongs already to another realm, so that the Ascension only ratifies and presents in a final form the lessons of the forty days in which it was included.

Thus Christ is seen to be changed, but none the less He is also seen to be essentially the same. Nothing has been left in the grave though all has been transfigured. He is the same, so that the marks of the Passion can become sensibly present to the doubting Thomas: the same, so that He can eat of the broiled fish which the disciples had prepared: the same, so that one word spoken with the old accent makes him known to the weeping Magdalene: the same, so that above all expectation and against the evidence of death, the Apostles could proclaim to the world that He who suffered upon the Cross had indeed redeemed Israel; the same in patience, in tenderness, in chastening reproof, in watchful sympathy, in quickening love. In each narrative the marvellous contrast is written—Christ changed and yet the same—without effort, without premeditation, without consciousness, as it appears, on the part of the Evangelists. And if we put together these two series of facts in which the contrast is presented, we shall see how they ennoble and complete our prospect of the future. It is not that Christ's soul lives on divested of the essence as of the accidents of the earthly garments in which it was for a time arrayed. It is not that His body, torn and wounded, is restored, such as it was, to its former vigour and beauty. But in Him soul and body, in the indissoluble union of a perfect manhood, are seen triumphant over the last penalty of sin.

The Gospel narratives thus offered fresh and welcome results to a closer study. It was observed, moreover, that St Paul, in speaking of the future of our bodies, had expressly declared that 'flesh and blood' could not inherit the kingdom of God. Alike for those who had died and for those who remained until

the Second Coming it would be necessary that 'this corruptible should put on incorruption': not that we desire to be 'unclothed'—so ran his own hope—but clothed upon, that the mortal may be swallowed up by life'.

In this way a new conception was gained of our Lord's resurrection; a conception which met the difficulty as to the Ascension, and also brought His resurrection again into line with the future resurrection of Christians. A change had passed over the sacred Body in the tomb: such a change as brought it wholly under the control of the Spirit, made it spirit-ruled in the completest sense; dematerialized (if the word may for the moment be allowed), spiritualized; capable of being manifested at will, of being withdrawn at will. It could pass out of the grave-clothes without disturbing them: they were left for a witness, even as the stone was rolled back for a witness. The Lord was free to manifest Himself to whom He would, as He would, and when He would: and to close the series of His manifestations by ascending before the eyes of His disciples in this spiritual Body, which was no longer trammelled by the conditions of our earthly experience.

Now although this new interpretation removes certain obvious objections which have discredited the cruder view, and brings consistency into the statements of Scripture regarding our Lord's resurrection and the future resurrection of His followers, yet it remains altogether beyond the limits of our present experience and can only be accepted as a matter of faith. We cannot even conceive the process of change by which the material Body could be thus transformed and rendered a spiritual Body. It is a new thought offered to us by the Gospel narratives as interpreted by St Paul's declaration as to the nature of resurrection bodies.

The appearances of the Risen Lord are thus presented to us as a Revelation of a higher mode of human existence. We may accept them as such, notwithstanding our intellectual inability to comprehend them fully or to explain them in terms of our experience of physical life. Here, as everywhere in our Faith, we come quickly upon mystery. But we may remember that mystery is not peculiar to Religion; it accompanies all investigation of life, even upon its lowest levels.

3. Our Essayist seems unable to rest in this position. He desiderates a more intelligible conception.

He does not accept the theory that the appearances were nothing more than subjective visions, which originated in the minds of the disciples, as the outcome of the unique circumstances in which they were placed and the overpowering emotion which the Crucifixion had aroused in them. He is convinced that if the appearances are to be described as visions, yet they must be held to be the result of some external stimulus. And he is satisfied to believe that our Lord, having spiritually survived His death by crucifixion, was able as Spirit acting in the spiritual sphere to convey to His disciples the certainty of His ever-abiding life and His continued presence with them: to say in effect by such self-manifestations, 'I am the Living One; and I died; and, behold, I am alive for evermore'; and, further, 'I am with you all your days even unto the end of the world'.

That in the minds of the disciples these self-manifestations of the Living Lord took the form of bodily appearances was both necessary and inevitable. It was necessary, because in no other way could sufficient certainty, or indeed any certainty at all, be conveyed to them. And that they thought of them and spoke of them as the external appearances of a material body was inevitable: they with their mental limitations could not do otherwise; nor otherwise could they have conveyed their own certainty to those to whom they spoke.

But what then—for the question rises of itself—of the empty tomb? The historical evidence for this is to our Essayist's mind irrefragable. He can only make the suggestion that, although the natural explanations of the fact hitherto offered are quite unconvincing, we may not as yet have exhausted the possibilities of natural explanation, and may content ourselves with saying that in our present state of ignorance we cannot tell what became of the Body.

It is to be observed that our Essayist does not reject *a priori* the possibility of miracle, though he desires to call miracle in aid as little as possible. The 'objective vision' theory, as outlined above, itself involves the intervention of the Living Lord in a manner which is quite beyond our experience—which is, in other words, properly miraculous. 'It is the Lord's doing, and

it is marvellous in our eyes.' But it commends itself to him on the ground that it is more nearly analogous to our experience than the conception of the dematerialization of the Body and its subsequent control by the Spirit with a view to self-manifestation in a visible form.

Each of these conceptions (2 and 3) has its own difficulty. No question is raised with either as to the certainty of the continued life and activity of our Lord beyond the grave, or of His 'objective' spiritual presence with the faithful both then and now. The former conception is difficult, because it involves a transmutation of the earthly Body, and then a series of self-manifestations of the Lord in this transformed and spiritualized Body. The latter conception is difficult, because it too involves a series of self-manifestations of the Lord under the semblance of an earthly body. If these are not to be mere visions—and it is allowed (p. 134) that the New Testament writers give the impression that they very clearly distinguished them from subsequent appearances of the Lord in visions—they must involve a supernatural action to which our experience offers no secure parallel.

If this second conception appears less difficult on metaphysical grounds to certain minds, we are still bound to ask whether on grounds of history it is not more difficult than the first. The first gives an intelligible explanation of the fact that the tomb was empty: the second leaves that fact wholly unexplained. The Body must then have been conveyed away by human hands—the hands either of friends or of foes: if of friends, there was deception such as is utterly inconsistent with the whole story and its issue: if of enemies, the old question remains, Why, when the Resurrection was proclaimed and was exercising so potent an effect, was not the Body produced? Why was the proclamation met only by persecution, when an obvious remedy was at hand?

Further, when the whole course of the history is considered, can we believe that it would have been what it was if the disciples had not been persuaded that the Body had miraculously left the tomb? Would not the second conception fail altogether as a historical explanation, supposing that the disciples could have known that the Body was still somewhere on earth passing through the stages of corruption? And if it be suggested in reply

that a watchful Providence kept this fact from them lest their faith should fail of its needed intensity, are we not being asked to introduce an element of deception, or at least of permitted illusion, into the very foundation of the Christian Church?

To these difficulties which the second conception presents I can myself see no answer. The possible gain from the metaphysical point of view is altogether outweighed by the loss from the historical point of view: and this to my mind is decisive.

I can understand that by minds constituted or trained otherwise a decision will not be so readily reached. I would record my personal belief that the second conception, if carefully guarded from losing what I have termed its supernatural element, need not be considered inconsistent with the statement of the Creed, 'the third day He rose again from the dead'. Yet on the grounds which I have endeavoured to indicate I cannot think that it is a reasonable interpretation of the facts, or that it could commend itself to the general consciousness of the Christian Church.

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE TESTIMONY OF IGNATIUS AND POLYCARP
TO THE WRITINGS OF ST JOHN.

It has been urged as an objection to the residence of the apostle John at Ephesus that Ignatius in his letter to the church of that city makes no mention of him, though he speaks of his readers as *associates in the mysteries with Paul* (§ 12) and refers to St Paul and St Peter when writing to the Romans (§ 4). No negative argument, however, can be derived from the two allusions to St Paul. There is a strong case for a literary relation of some kind between *Rom.* 4 and *1 Clem.* 5,¹ and the allusion in *Eph.* 12 arises from a train of thought which dominates at the moment the mind of Ignatius. St Paul on his last journey to Rome, as we learn from *2 Tim.*, had travelled from Miletus to Troas, and thence by the Via Egnatia, the very route to be followed by Ignatius himself, who was therefore, to use his own words, *on the high road of those journeying to die unto God treading in the footsteps of Paul*. He may have heard the tradition of St Paul's journey from the Ephesian delegates, and Polycarp, who was doubtless present at the interview, makes similar allusions in *ad Philip.* 3, 9. On the other hand, Ignatius makes just such a reference to St John as we might have anticipated when he writes, *Ye were at all times of one mind with the apostles* (*Eph.* 11). Here the words 'at all times' prohibit a limitation of the reference to St Paul.

A second objection, that of Pfeleiderer, that if Ignatius had read St John's writings he must have used them in his conflict with Docetism, possesses some point if St John was not an apostle or if Ignatius had not appealed against the heretics to apostolic authority.

Our argument rests not only upon specific parallels but upon the general similarity of the two writers. We must admit items of evidence which though of little significance when considered in isolation indicate when taken together that, to use Dr Sanday's phrase, Ignatius had absorbed St John's teaching *in succum et sanguinem*. If he had not long meditated on the documents, he had passed much of his life in a church permeated by St John's influence, and the negative evidence of his letters makes strongly against his residence in Asia. Moreover, as we shall see, this argument does not take account of all the evidence.

¹ Lightfoot recognizes this in his commentary on *1 Clem.* (1 p. 149), but I think he seriously understates the evidence. Thus he omits the parallel which is found with others in *Rom.* 2, '... in the West ... from the East ... set ... rise ...' (ch. 2). Compare *1 Clem.* 5, 'both in the East and in the West ... becoming an example of endurance.'

The doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ is for Ignatius not so much a conclusion as a postulate. He is God's *only Son* (*Rom.* inscr.), a phrase which Ignatius, who probably did not understand the pathetic force of *μονογενής*, probably regarded as its equivalent. Christ existed *before the ages with (παρά) the Father and in the end appeared* (*Mag.* 6). He is described in § 7 as one who *came forth (προελθόντα) from one Father and is with One* (cf. *Jn.* εἰς τ. κόλπον) and *departed unto One* (*John* xvi 28, 'I came forth and go to the Father'). The case for a reminiscence is much strengthened by another parallel with the same verse in the next paragraph. The use of the prepositions here is very Johannine.

The term Logos as applied to our Lord represents a climax of St John's thought. Ignatius uses the term as one which is already recognized. He varies and treats it allusively. Thus he uses it with the genitive, *who is His word* (*Mag.* 8), and speaks of Christ as God's mind (*γνώμη*, *Eph.* 3) and *the veracious utterance in which God speaks truly* (*Rom.* 8). He greets the Smyrnaeans *in blameless spirit and in the word of God* (cf. however 1 *John* ii 14, 'the word of God abideth in you'). Again, only by his martyrdom will the career of Ignatius become a 'word of God' and not a mere cry of pain (*Rom.* 2). He writes that *there is one teacher who spake and it was done, even the things which he hath done in silence are worthy of the Father* (*Eph.* 15). This passage seems to refer to the agency of Christ in creation, but Ignatius usually applies the term 'Word' to the son as incarnate (cf. *ἐξηγήσατο*, *John* i 18).

Both St John and Ignatius emphasize the subordination of the Son. We notice Ignatius's double parallel with the following passage:—

<p><i>'I do nothing of myself but as the Father taught me . . . and he that sent me is with me, . . . I do always the things that are pleasing (τὰ ἀρεστά) to him'</i> <i>John</i> viii 28-29.</p>	<p><i>'As the Lord without the Father did nothing . . . so neither do ye'</i> (<i>Mag.</i> 7). (Jesus Christ) <i>'in all things pleased (εὐηρέστησεν) him that sent him'</i> (<i>Mag.</i> 8).</p>
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In the same chapter of *Jn.* (v. 58) we have the saying, 'Before Abraham was I am.' No other scripture justifies the Ignatian epithet *timeless* (*Pol.* 3) and the present participle in *τὸν ἄφ' ἐνὸς πατρὸς προελθόντα καὶ εἰς ἕνα ὄντα καὶ χωρήσαντα* (*Mag.* 7).¹

Westcott summarized the terminology in which St John described the Incarnation as follows: (i) It is a mission (*πέμπω*, *ἀποστέλλω*), note

¹ It is doubtful whether the Oxford Society of Historical Theology was right in holding that the argument is strengthened by the allusion to the patriarchs in *Philad.* 9, where the thought is probably suggested by the *descensus ad inferos* (cf. *Mag.* 9).

especially ὁ πέμψας με; (ii) a coming (ἔρχομαι, ἐξέρχομαι); (iii) in flesh; (iv) a manifestation (φανερωθῆναι). We find in Ignatius the following parallels: (i) ὁ πέμψας αὐτόν (twice) but nowhere ἀποστέλλω, a word very common in the Synoptics; (ii) προέρχομαι twice; (iii) 'flesh' with antidocetic force *passim*; (iv) φανερώω three times, φαίνω twice. We may notice the occurrence of the former verb in *Sm.* 1. After stating how Christ ἐφανερώθη, Ignatius adds that *from that time every sorcery and spell began to be destroyed* (ἐλύετο) *Eph.* 19. So in 1 John iii 8 Christ *was manifested* (ἐφανερώθη) *that he might destroy* (λύσῃ) *the works of the devil*.

We will notice here the first occurrence of the very striking phrase, *the perfect man* (*Sm.* 4). The idea of the phrase is Johannine, for Pilate's words *Ecce Homo* are an instance of St John's irony. The speaker meant 'Behold the fellow'; but the reader interpreted the phrase as 'Behold the ideal man', in accordance with the use of 'man' in *Rom.* 6, *then I shall be a man*. The phrase *perfect man* deserves notice for the further reason that it is probably the only one which can be adduced to shew that the influence of St John upon Ignatius was oral¹; but the hypothesis is unnecessary, for we find *the perfect fidelity* in *Sm.* 10 and *the new man* in *Eph.* 20, and this may have been suggested by St Paul's 'the second man' and helped by the different doctrine of the perfecting of Jesus which we find in *Hebr.*

The Ignatian doctrine of the Christian ministry is connected with the Ignatian Christology. The following passages are typical: *Be subject to the bishop and to one another as Jesus Christ to the Father [according to the Flesh] and the apostles to Christ and the Father that there may be unity both in the flesh and in the Spirit* (*Mag.* 13). *As the Lord did nothing without the Father . . . do nothing without the bishop* (*Mag.* 7). We may interpret in the light of this passage a sentence which is sometimes misunderstood, *When ye are subject to the bishop as to Jesus Christ, then ye appear to me to be living not after the manner of men but after the manner of Jesus Christ* (*Trall.* 2). This means no more than that subordination is a divine principle and that the earthly order has a heavenly counterpart. The sentence is based on the Johannine saying which is constantly before the mind of Ignatius, *As the father hath sent me so send I you* (John xx 21). In the following passage the thought is similar, *For every one whom the housemaster sendeth* (πέμπει) *over his own stewardship, him it is necessary to receive* (δέχεσθαι) *as him that sent him*

¹ I am strongly inclined to attribute to St John the very striking phrase of the *Preaching of Peter*, 'the Law and the Word.' Christ sums up not only all revelation but all authority. This phrase may have suggested the Ignatian designation of the Roman church as Χριστόνομος (v. l. Χριστόνυμος), but I attribute the word as also some other phrases in the letter to the direct influence of the *Preaching*.

(τὸν πέμψαντα) (*Eph.* 6). Here we seem to have a conflation of Matt. x 40 with John xiii 20. In δέχεσθαι Ignatius varies with Matthew against John and in τὸν πέμψαντα with John against Matthew.

Order is the condition of unity and unity is our author's motto-word. He is a man *composed unto unity* (*Philad.* 8). Neither the noun nor the cognate verb is found in the N. T. or sub-apostolic literature, but they occur sixteen times in Ignatius. We may compare the series of emphatic 'ones' which are so conspicuous in the Gospel, 'one fold', 'I and my Father are one', 'gather into one', 'that they may be one as we are', and the six instances in Jn. xvii. The phrase 'composed unto unity' may itself be suggested by τετελειωμένοι εἰς ἓν, John xvii 23. We note also ἡνωμένος τῷ πατρὶ (of Christ) (*Smyrn.* 3, *Mag.* 7). This last phrase and the absence from Ignatius of the idea of 'the unity of the Spirit' make the Johannine parallels much closer than those of Eph. iv 3-6.

The eucharistic phraseology of Ignatius is distinctively Johannine. This is well illustrated by his variation of phrase when recalling 1 Cor. x 16-17, an epistle which he uses more than any other scripture: *For there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ and one cup unto unity of His blood* (*Philad.* 4). The next passage is a Mosaic of Johannisms: *There is in me no matter-loving fire but living water, speaking (καὶ λαλοῦν, v. l. ἀλλόμενον) and saying within me (ἐν ἐμοί), Come to the Father. I do not delight in the nutriment of corruption or in the pleasures of this life. I desire the bread of God which is the flesh of Christ who was of the seed of David, and I desire as drink His blood which is imperishable love* (*Rom.* 7). We observe here not only the Johannine comparison of the Spirit to water but evidence of an allusion to Jn. iv, for the reading of Ps.-Ignatius 'leaping and saying' is far too happy an explanation of the reading λέγων καὶ λαλῶν to be incorrect, and he has often preserved the true text. The words, *come to the Father*, recall St John's 'the Father seeketh such'. Apart from the evidence of Ps.-Ignatius the case for an allusion to Jn. iv is strong; but if we admit his reading there is no room for hesitation, for the word 'leap' is nowhere else applied to water (*Abbott Joh. Grammar* 2314).

The Johannine *bread of God* is explained as Christ's *flesh* and is contrasted, as in John vi 27, with *the nutriment of corruption* ('meat which perisheth'). We observe also that as the discourse in Jn. closes with an emphatic assertion of the spirituality of the doctrine (John vi 63) so in our passage Christ's blood is *imperishable love*. Compare *Trall.* 8, *In faith which is the flesh of the Lord, and in love which is the blood of Jesus Christ*. Again, in *Eph.* 5 the Eucharist supplies the metaphor 'bread of God', but there is a larger reference as in John vi 31 f. If St John writes, 'Except ye eat . . . ye have not life . . . He that eateth

... hath eternal life ... I will raise him up ...' (vi 53, 54), Ignatius calls the Eucharist *a medicine of immortality, the antidote that we should not die, but live for ever in Jesus Christ* (Eph. 20). In each passage the truth is stated positively and negatively, and life is 'in' or 'by' Christ. The Eucharist is a pledge of the reality of Christ's manhood in *Sm.* 6, *They abstain from the Eucharist and prayer because they do not confess that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour.* The same doctrine probably underlies John xix 34 and 1 John v 6-8. These passages clearly are allusive to previous teaching and this is especially the case with the second, which is for us obscure. It has been well discussed by Law in *The Tests of Life* p. 119f. If we are right in our interpretation of St John, Ignatius shews great familiarity with his thought. Our view is confirmed by the statement of Ignatius that Christ *was baptized in order that by His passion He might cleanse water* (Eph. 18). Here the efficacy of baptism is connected, as in John, with the death of the cross. We may mention at this point and compare with John iii 3 f, *It cannot be that a head be born without limbs* (Trall. 11). The case for a reminiscence confirms and is confirmed by the parallel with John iii 8, which we are about to discuss.

The Ignatian doctrine of the Spirit is thoroughly Johannine. It not only reproduces St John's three great metaphors, unction, irrigation, inspiration; it shews on closer examination traces of verbal reminiscence. We read in *Philad.* 7, *For if some wished to deceive me according to the flesh, yet the Spirit is not deceived being from God.* The Spirit is here the Spirit of truth as contrasted with the Spirit of seduction (cf. 1 John iv 6); and He is said to proceed from God, a doctrine explicit in the N. T. only in John. Ignatius continues, *The Spirit is not deceived, for He knoweth whence He cometh and whither He goeth.* This passage is for our purpose one of the most important in Ignatius. We must paraphrase it, 'We know that Jesus said (John iii 8) that we men know not the whence and the whither, but He Himself knows.' The hypothesis of an allusion to this saying is confirmed by the parallel which we have just noticed with John iii 3, and by the form of the sentence which is even more significant. We must paraphrase, 'You remember, I am sure, the saying of Jesus (John iii 8) about the unknown movements of the Spirit, but He Himself knows them.' Moreover, this use of 'whence', 'whither', 'come', 'go' is distinctively Johannine. We observe that Ignatius assumes that his readers will recognize his allusion, and this assumption goes a long way to prove that the *logion* was already embodied in a widely circulated document. We have already observed that Ignatius has the Johannine phrase 'living water'. This water is clearly symbolical of the Spirit, for it is said to speak, and this is a turn of expression very characteristic of

St John. Thus in John xiv 26 He 'teaches', 'brings to memory', in xv 26 He 'testifies', in xvi 8 'reproves', in xvi 13 'speaks'.

Ignatius attaches much importance to knowledge. *Why do we foolishly perish*, writes Ignatius in *Eph.* 17, *not knowing the gift (v. l. unction) which He hath sent?* The words follow the phrase *the knowledge of God which is Jesus Christ*. This last phrase has a Johannine ring and both citations recall such passages as 1 John v 20, 21. With *Children of [the light of] truth (Philad. 2)* compare 'Every one that is of (ἐκ) the truth' (John xviii 37). The heretics are *advocates of death rather than of the truth (Sm. 5)* and the Ephesians *live according to truth (Eph. 6)*. With *Be truly a disciple of Jesus Christ* compare 'Ye are truly my disciples' (John viii 31, cf. xv 8). In *Eph.* 16 doctrinal is worse than moral corruption. Probably Ignatius means that to be an antinomian in principle is the worse phase of evil, but on the whole the Ignatian conception of knowledge is probably less Hebraistic and ethical than St John's.

A Johannine trait which we find in Ignatius is the fondness for abstract or summarizing nouns. As St John describes Christ as 'the truth', 'the life', 'the true vine', and God as 'love', 'light', 'spirit', so in *Sm.* 10 we have *the perfect fidelity* and by an inversion *knowledge of God which is Jesus Christ*, in *Trall.* 11 *unity of God which is Himself*, in *Mag.* 7 *blameless joy which is Jesus Christ*, in *Mag.* 15 *in concord of God, having acquired unwavering spirit which is Jesus Christ*, and in *Eph.* 14 *faith is the beginning and love the end, and the two being together are God*. Ignatius has St John's antitypal use of ἀληθινός, in *death true life (Eph. 7, of Christ; so Eph. 11, Trall. 9, Sm. 4)*. We may compare Polycarp's description of Christ as *the true (ἀληθής) love (Phil. 1)*, and we may doubt whether he could have coined the phrase without the help of 1 John iv 16 ('*God is love*'), a memorable aphorism which probably suggested the phrase of *Eph.* 14.

One would have expected that a writer who, according to a tradition which I believe to be primitive but cannot here discuss (*Ap. Const.* vii 46), was a convert of St Paul, was familiar with his epistles and on his way to martyrdom, would have reproduced the Pauline doctrine of the cross. But we might describe Ignatius as less Pauline and more Johannine than St John. If we except the isolated phrase *who suffered for our sins* which occurs somewhat conventionally in a eucharistic context (*Smyrn.* 6), Ignatius only asserts two Johannine doctrines of the cross, its reality and its attractive power. Perhaps his determination to be martyred was deepened by meditation on St John's insistence on the voluntary character of Christ's death, and his strange aspiration that he may *rise in his chains* by meditation on the *stigmata*. I am inclined, however, to think that Ignatius uses the word ἀντίψυχον with more

fullness of meaning than Lightfoot supposed, in *Eph.* 21, *Sm.* 10, *Pol.* 2, 6. The word is wonderfully apt if Ignatius is thinking of the words in which St John a few years before encouraged the churches to which Ignatius wrote to face delation and martyrdom, 'He laid down his life (ψυχὴν) for (ὑπὲρ) us: and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren' (1 John iii 16). We thus explain the repetition. St John's words not improbably influenced 1 *Clem.* 49 *ad fin.*

In John xii 32 Christ shortly after the allusion to the Greeks who came to Him says, 'I if I be lifted up will draw all men unto me.' We seem to have an echo of this in *Sm.* 1, *that He might lift an ensign for all ages—whether among Jews or Gentiles*, and perhaps in the curious passage in *Eph.* 9, where the cross is *the engine by which (men) are lifted up to the heights*.

We must now endeavour to disentangle the reminiscences which suggested the following passages: *Shun ye those vile offshoots that gender a deadly fruit, whereof if a man taste, forthwith he dieth. For these men are not the Father's planting; for if they had been, they would have been seen to be branches of the Cross and their fruits imperishable* (*Trall.* 11), and of *which fruit are we, that is, of His most blessed Passion* (*Sm.* 1). The phrase φτεῖα παρός must be derived ultimately from Matt. xv 3 ('which my heavenly father did not plant') or its source, but the recurrence in this variant form in *Philad.* 3 suggests the influence of an uncanonical Gospel.

Lightfoot's note (p. 291) shews that the comparison of the cross to the tree of life occurs in Justin, Clem. Alex., Melito, and probably Papias. The passage seems to imply the allegory of the vine, for the simile of the branch occurs in the N. T. only in John xv 2. We are confirmed by γεωργεῖ in *Philad.* 3, where the suggestion is less probably from 1 Cor. iii 9, and Polycarp's *your fruit*, with which we compare 'beareth much fruit' (John xv 5). Behind the Ignatian *branches of the cross* there probably lies the equation cross=tree=tree of life=vine. The following points support the suggestion. (1) The equation which Dr James (*Apoc. Anecd.* ii p. xxiv) is inclined to attribute to the Gnostics, bush=tree=cross, may be a parody. Perversely understood, the bush of Exodus might become a symbol of that which presents the appearance of sacrifice without its reality. (2) In *Orac. Sibyll.* 5. 256 'the man from the sky stretched forth his hands upon a fruitful (πολυκάρπου) tree'. We compare 'very fruitful vine'. This passage has very early roots. (3) The dominant topic of the Letters to the seven churches is the disciplinary measures which St John took against the Nicolaitans and the excommunication of 'Jezebel'. The converse to this is represented in the promises in which the blessings of communion with Christ are prominent. The allusion to 'the tree of life' is probably eucharistic. The tree of life=the vine.

We conclude that the allegory of the vine was known to Ignatius and Polycarp.

For whom did Christ die? Ignatius answers with St John that Christ *raised an ensign . . . both among Jews and among Gentiles* (*Smyrn.* 1); to Him *every tongue hath been gathered together* (*Mag.* 10). The words may be suggested by Isa. lxvi 8, but the thought is that of John xi 52. But the subjects of redemption are *the children of God* and *the children of [the light of] truth* (*Philad.* 2). Perhaps there is here a tendency to a doctrine of predestination which may underlie his statement that the Trallians are blameless *οὐ κατὰ χρῆσιν ἀλλὰ κατὰ φύσιν* (*Trall.* 1). Ignatius here deserts St Paul and innocently uses language used later in some Gnostic systems. We may compare his use of *pleroma* (*Eph.* inscr.) and 'matter-loving' as='carnal' (*Rom.* 7). In this connexion we may notice the over-statement, *No man professing faith sinneth and no man professing love hateth* (*Eph.* 14). Ignatius wrote with haste, but his generalization recalls 1 John in three ways: (1) The assertion of a principle in the form of an ideal generalization; (2) 'love', 'hate'; (3) the condemnation of profession which is so prominent in the polemic of 1 John. Compare *It is better to keep silence and to be than to talk and not to be* (*Eph.* 15). A little later Papias condemned in the same region *those who say many things and introduce an alien discipline*.

The antithesis, 'love' and 'hate', suggests the sharp bisection of life which is a fundamental characteristic of St John. This appears in the sentence which contains the earliest instance of the word 'Christianity': *The work is not of persuasive rhetoric; Christianity is a thing of might when it is hated by the world* (*Rom.* 3). 'Work' has here a Johannine ring, as has the last half of the sentence (cf. 1 John iii 18). We have the Johannine *the Prince of this world* in *Eph.* 17, *Mag.* 1, *Trall.* 4, *Rom.* 7, *Philad.* 8. The phrase cannot originate in 1 Cor. ii 6, where the rulers are earthly; but this verse may have led Ignatius to substitute *αἰῶνος* for *κόσμου* unconsciously.

The presentation of the Resurrection in our epistles is thoroughly Johannine. In *Smyrn.* 2 we read that Christ *raised Himself*. When Lightfoot described the phrase as unscriptural he probably forgot John x 8, 'I have power to take it again.' The agency of Christ is also asserted in Polycarp's *promised to raise us from the dead* (*Phil.* 5), a promise which is not recorded by the Synoptists but by St John in John v 21, 25, vi 44. It is important to observe that Polycarp is not only acquainted with St John's distinctive teaching, but with the attribution of it to Christ. The Johannine theology was already embodied in a Gospel.

It is characteristic of St John's doctrine that he fuses the physical

and spiritual aspects of the principle of the Resurrection (John xi 24-26, 1 John iii 14, 'We have passed from death unto life because we love the brethren'). With this compare, *to love that they may rise again* (Smyrn. 7). So Christ is described as *our true life* (Smyrn. 4), *our inseparable life* (Eph. 3). Compare *His life* (τὸ ζῆν αὐτοῦ) *is not in us* (Mag. 5), where the argument is Pauline but the phrase Johannine.

In *Philad.* 10 we have a reminiscence of St John's doctrine of glory. Ignatius writes *glorify the name*, adding *and ye shall be glorified*. Here we note (i) the 'name' used absolutely (only Acts v 41, 3 John 7, Rev. xv 4); (ii) 'glorify the name' (of God) (only John xii 28, Rev. xv 4); (iii) the connexion of glorifying and being glorified (John xvii 1).

Christ's ascension and return in glory occupy a subordinate position in St John and almost disappear in Ignatius. We find, however, the emphatic phrase *ἔσχατοι καιροί* in *Eph.* 11, with which we may compare *it is the last hour* (1 John ii 18). Future judgement is not mentioned except in the twice-repeated *shall not inherit the kingdom of God* (*Eph.* 16, *Philad.* 3, cf. 1 Cor. vi 9). The phrase is somewhat conventionally used and Christ is nowhere described in terms of kingship.

The power of the ascended Christ is asserted in a sentence already discussed, *Christianity is a thing of might when it is hated by the world*, which is obviously Johannine, and in the striking sentence *Christ, being in the Father, the more appears* (*Rom.* 3). This summarizing phrase indicates long familiarity with the thought of Jn. xiv. Compare 'Greater works . . . because I go to the Father' (v. 12), 'the world beholdeth me no more but ye behold me' (v. 19), 'ye shall know that I am in the Father' (v. 20).

Johannine Incidents.

In estimating the evidence of allusions to narrative we must remember the extreme rarity of allusions to evangelical incidents other than the credal which characterizes early Christian literature. (1) No negative inference can be drawn from the absence of allusion to our Lord's appearance to Thomas, for it may well be that Ignatius would regard the saying of Christ cited from *The Preaching of Peter* in *Smyrn.* 3 as more conclusive than any deduction from the narrative of that appearance; the strange device by which the docetists met that passage (*Ac. Jo.* 89) may be as old as Ignatius. But is there no allusion to the appearance to Thomas? We may note the following points. After citing from *The Preaching of Peter*, *Lay hold and handle me* (ψηλαφήσατε, cf. Luke xxiv 39, 1 John i 1), Ignatius continues *Straightway they grasped Him* (ἡψαντο) *and believed*. We note this verb is used in John xx 17, and that only in John xx 29 is belief explicitly stated to result from an

appearance after the Resurrection. Again, we have already observed that the Ignatian doctrine of the ministry is an expansion of John xx 21. Again, according to *Eph.* 17, our Lord *breathed upon the church*, to which the only N. T. parallel is that of John xx 21. The modalistic christology of Ignatius, or perhaps one should say terminology, may perhaps be connected with John xx 28.

(2) Ignatius referring to the incident of the anointing writes, *our Lord received the ointment upon His head in order that He might breathe incorruptibility upon His church. Be not anointed with the evil savour of the teaching of the ruler of this world (Eph. 17)*. It is clear that the passage reads back into the incident the metaphors of 1 John ii 20, 27 *Ye have an anointing from the Holy One . . . The anointing which ye have received abideth in you and ye have not need that any should teach you*, and this is confirmed if we accept Zahn's plausible conjecture in *Eph.* 17, *the unction which the Lord hath sent (πέτρομψεν)*. Is there, then, anything in St John's narrative which justifies this interpretation of it? I reply that we may find our clue in the words *The house was filled with the odour of the ointment*. Origen explains the house as 'omnem huius mundi domum ac totius ecclesiae domum', and the fragrance as 'odor doctrinae qui procedit de Christo et Sancti Spiritus fragrantia' (*Hom. i in Cant.* 12 cited by Abbott *Joh. Gram.* 2329). In the Arabic *Preaching of Thomas* (Lewis *Mythological Acts of Apostles* p. 90), in a passage which probably derives from an early source, Christ appears and 'a sweet scent proceeded from his mouth and filled the house with the odour of its fragrance'.

St John, we observe, omits from his narrative the saying of Christ, 'She hath anointed my body beforehand for the burying'; but if we are right he has not so much omitted these words as allegorized them. The ointment was a preservative against corruption, a prophecy of the Resurrection, a sacrament of life. Incorruptibility passed, as Origen suggests in *c. Cels.* vi 79, from the head to the body, which is the Church—from the 'housemaster' (*Eph.* 6) to the house. The same mysticism probably underlies the phrase 'about a hundred pounds weight' in John xix 39. Like so much else in the Gospel and Epistles and Revelation it presupposes St John's oral teaching. Perhaps we may avail ourselves of a phrase which Carlyle might have used and write, 'according to the Gospels he was twice anointed with the antidotes against corruption, a fact significant of much.' The hint which is given in the one incident by the phrase 'the house was filled' is given in the other by the mystical number. If our view of these incidents is justified we have an indication of St John's attitude towards historical fact. He is neither inventing allegories nor reproducing a diary, but preaching about his memories or traditions. His view is that Christ had always

meant more than He seemed to mean. The riding upon an ass into Jerusalem, the withered fig-tree, the feet-washing, the supper, the darkness into which Judas passed, the title, the darkness, the fragrance which filled the house after the anointing, were all 'significant of much'. St John's conception of a Gospel is not at bottom different from St Mark's.

In his next paragraph Ignatius, as we have already observed, again interprets St John's mysticism. He writes, *He was baptized in order that by His passion He might cleanse water (Eph. 18)*. When we remember Polycarp's allusion to the testimony of the cross, it is arbitrary to refuse to connect the passage with John xix 34, 35, 1 John v 6. In *Smyrn.* 1 Ignatius again refers to the baptism. Both passages are quasi-credal and like their Johannine parallels polemical, and the phrasing in *Smyrn.* 1 has been already shewn to be Johannine.

Our last parallel is important as it indicates a knowledge of St John's teaching in its present forms. In *Philad.* 9 Ignatius is picking up the thought of § 5, which ranks the prophets with the apostles because 'they too pointed to the Gospel in their preaching. . . . They too *were saved* in the unity of Jesus Christ . . . in the Gospel of the common hope'. In § 8 the thought turns to the N. T. again and in § 9 Ignatius returns to the thought of § 5 in the words, *He Himself being the door of the Father, through whom Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and the prophets and the apostles and the church enter in. All these things combine in the unity of God. But the Gospel hath a singular pre-eminence in the advent of the Saviour . . . His Passion, Resurrection . . . the prophets preached of Him.* Not only is the thought of the passage the same as that of the earlier, but the prophets are again associated with the apostles because of their preaching in the unity of God or Christ.

The parallelism is so close that we may assume that both passages spring from the same vein of reminiscence. We are justified, therefore, in completing in § 9 the phrase *enter in* with the help of § 5 and in adding 'and are saved', and we are confirmed by the occurrence of 'Saviour', which he uses elsewhere three times and which may be due here to the reminiscence.

We conclude that the description of Christ as *the door through whom all enter (and are saved)* is a reminiscence of Jn. x 9, 'I am the door; by me if a man enter in he shall be saved.'

The case for an allusion is much strengthened when we observe that the point of the parallel is the unity of the salvation and that this thought is emphasized in John x, and that in this very letter Ignatius seems again to recall that chapter for the purpose of enforcing unity, *Shun divisions and false doctrines; and where the shepherd is, there follow as sheep. For many specious wolves take captive . . .* (§ 2). We compare in the allegory of 'the shepherd of the sheep' the words 'the

sheep follow him' and not the stranger (John x 3 f), and in the allegory of the 'good shepherd' 'the wolf seizeth them . . . my sheep know me . . . hear . . . one flock, one shepherd' (v. 12 f). We cannot attribute these parallels to any other Biblical allusion to shepherd and sheep, for in Jn. x alone is the emphasis on heresy and division. Nor can we attribute the parallels to a recollection of St John's oral teaching; for we find in one epistle of Ignatius parallels with each of the three component parts of a Johannine discourse. These metaphors do not occur elsewhere in Ignatius. There is nothing nearer than 'pastor' in *Rom.* 9, which is probably suggested by 1 Pet. ii 25, and 'follow' (*Smyrn.* 8). We may, in conclusion, observe how completely the Johannine similes appear in the letters. We have 'light', 'living (and leaping) water', 'inbreathing', 'unction', 'the door', 'the shepherd', 'wolves', 'the vine'.

Parallels with POLYC. ad Philip.

We have already considered two of Polycarp's Johannisms, 'the truth itself' and the promise of Christ to raise the dead. The following passage is as near to 1 John iv 2-3 as any early citation can be expected to be. The context of the passage will be shewn to be Johannine.

Every spirit which confesseth not that Jesus hath come in the flesh is antichrist, and every one who confesseth not the witness of the cross is of the devil (*ad Philip.* 7).

Every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God: and every spirit which confesseth not Jesus is not of God: and this is the spirit of antichrist (1 John iv 2-3).

The variant phrases 'of the devil', 'antichrist' have parallels in St John's context (1 John iii 8) and in a similar passage (2 John 7). 'The witness of the cross' we have already discussed, and we have suspected that *the true love* was suggested by 1 John iv 16.

I owe to Stanton's *Gospels as Hist. Doc.* the following:—

If we do his will and walk in his commandments and love what he loved (*ad Philip.* 2).

Do his will (John vii 17, cf. 1 John ii 7). If ye love me, keep my commandments (John xiv 15). Walk as he walked (1 John ii 6). Hereby know we that we love God and keep his commandments.

I rejoiced with you (*συνεχάρην*) greatly insomuch as ye received (*δεξαμένοις*) . . . the fullness of the true love and escorted them (*προπέμψαυ*) and were associated in the truth (*ιδ.* 1).

Compare the general tenor of 3 John 3-8 and the use of *ἐχάρην*, *προπέμψας*, *συνεργοὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ*.

In veritate sociati. Ch. X (*ib.* 10).

In estimating the evidence of Ignatius we must remember that his seven letters printed in large type do not occupy more than thirty octavo pages. Two of the seven have no theological purpose in view. The remaining five were hurriedly dictated and there is a great deal of repetition. Yet how large a part of the Johannine theology can be discovered in this narrow compass! It is the Jewish side of the Gospel which is mainly absent, and on this side Ignatius was, as he confessed to the Philadelphians (§ 8), somewhat ill-equipped. He took higher ground: *My charter is Jesus Christ; the inviolable charter is the cross and His death and His resurrection.* This position is itself Johannine (John v 36-39).

We may go further and assert that the Johannine theology is no recent acquisition of Ignatius. It is at the basis of his thinking, the *datum* and not the *probandum*. St John's thought and methods of expression have become part of the furniture of his mind. When the epistles were written he must have been familiar with it for many years.

It has been thought that the fact that Ignatius and St John belong to the same school of thought is sufficient to account for the parallels which we find in their writings. This explanation is inconsistent with some of the evidence which we have considered and, apart from this, is shipwrecked on the rock of the personality which is revealed to us in the Johannine writings. Critics of the most opposite views have been impressed not only by the spiritual power of *John* but also by its uniqueness. Mr E. F. Scott, for instance, who seems to regard St John as a contemporary or younger contemporary of Ignatius, writes such phrases as 'unique religious temperament', 'The Johannine thought even more than the Pauline is bound up with a personal temperament and experience', 'A single hand rests upon every line of it', 'a work of genius' (*The Fourth Gospel* pp. 15, 16, 30, 32; cf. Sanday *Historical Character &c.* pp. 302-303). But the impress of this master-hand is upon the material used by the bishops of Antioch and Smyrna. Their Johannisms are not from the crude raw-material of *John* but from that material already transfused and moulded. The religious genius which the Johannine writings reveal and yet conceal is that of an older contemporary of our writers.

But our study of the letters has proved, not only the influence on St John, but also that his Epistles and Gospel were already written. The hypothesis of oral influence does not account for the parallelisms. They presuppose the existence of St John's teaching in its present form, and in the instance of the parallels with Jn. x in its present order and arrangement, and in one place Ignatius assumes that a distinctively Johannine logion was known to his readers.

Our conclusion is confirmed by Ignatius's omission to refer to St John in his letter to the Ephesians. To suppose that if St John had been an apostle he would have been associated with St Paul in that letter is, as we have seen, to misunderstand the point of the allusion to the latter apostle; but it is difficult to believe that, if the teacher who so profoundly influenced Ignatius had still been living, Ignatius would not at the close of his letter have addressed to him a salutation.

H. J. BARDSLEY.

THE DICTION OF THE PSALTER AS A CLUE TO ITS DEVELOPEMENT.

THE received text of the Psalter, omitting the captions and some other extraneous details, amounts to nearly 19,000 words. The vocabulary from which this text is derived consists of over 2,100 words, the exact number depending upon the rigour with which closely allied forms are separated. Such an enumeration, of course, takes no account of conjectural emendations of the text, however plausible.

Even a casual scrutiny of this vocabulary reveals the fact that a small number of words occur many times, while a much larger number occur but few times. About 230 words occur so frequently that they alone constitute about two-thirds of the whole text. These words, which each occur in thirteen or more Psalms, will be called 'common' in the present discussion. On the other hand, about 1,900 words are each found in not more than twelve Psalms. These words will be called 'rare'. Of the 'rare' words, nearly 900 occur in but a single Psalm. (Words occurring in from one to four Psalms constitute about 15½ % of the entire text; words in from five to eight Psalms, about 9 %; and words in from nine to twelve Psalms, about 7 %.) Taken all together, the 'rare' words make up about 32 % of the text.

In fixing a feasible line of division between the words to be called 'common' and 'rare', there appear to be good reasons (1) for classifying all the words by the number of Psalms in which they occur rather than by their total number of occurrences (mere repetitions within a single Psalm being much less important than appearances in different Psalms), and (2) for placing the dividing-line so as to set by themselves words that occur in twelve Psalms or fewer. This latter principle was adopted only after long consideration. But, since it is essentially arbitrary, care has been used to avoid making the position of the dividing-line too influential. There can be no doubt about the great difference

between the words that occur in many Psalms and those that occur in but few. Those that occur in a number close to the assumed line of division are regarded as somewhat debateable in character.

When the distribution of the 'rare' words is examined, many interesting phenomena are disclosed. These obviously have critical importance, though the interpretation of them is not always easy. The distribution proves to be decidedly unequal. The study of it emphasizes that marked difference of literary texture and method in different parts of the Psalter of which careful students are well aware. Not only do the topics vary, and the general spirit and tone, but the lexical and rhetorical materials also vary greatly. Although it is not my purpose here to discuss this entire statistical field, it will be interesting, in passing, to note some of the general phenomena.

If the Books of which the Psalter is made up be compared, it will be found that the percentages of 'rare' words are as follows:—

Book	I.	Pss.	1-41	.	.	31.8 %
"	II.	"	42-72	.	.	34.1 %
"	III.	"	73-89	.	.	35.4 %
"	IV.	"	90-106	.	.	33.7 %
"	V.	"	107-150	.	.	31.2 %

All percentages in this and following tables are arrived at by comparing the total number of occurrences of the words considered (including all repetitions) with the total number of words in the text of the Psalm or Psalms in view. These figures, therefore, concern the balance of words in the full text, not the proportions of its vocabulary.

Not only is Book III the strongest in 'rare' words in general, but it is also considerably the strongest in the 'rarest' words (those in not more than four Psalms). In regard of the 'rarest' words, as well as of all the 'rare' words, the grading of the Books is this: III, II, IV, I, V. This indicates that in Books I and V there is a noticeable tendency to the use of a limited vocabulary, and presumably, therefore, to the reiteration of somewhat similar phrases and ideas.

Without seeking to imply too much regarding the individuality or integrity of certain special groups of Psalms, a few cases may be cited, as follows:—

<i>Asaph</i> Pss. (50, 73-83)	.	.	.	.	.	36.9 %
<i>Miktamim</i> (16, 56-60)	.	.	.	.	.	35.5 %
<i>Korah</i> Pss. (42, 44-49, 84-85, 87-88)	.	.	.	.	.	30.2 %
<i>Songs of Ascents</i> (120-134)	.	.	.	.	.	28.3 %
Alphabetic Pss. (9-10, 25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 119, 145)	.	.	.	.	.	27.7 %
<i>Egyptian Hallel</i> (113-118)	.	.	.	.	.	23.6 %

The above summary statements suggest that the individual Psalms

vary extraordinarily in the percentage of 'rare' words in them. The full table is as follows:—

	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	
52 %		58, 60, 65				52 %
48 %					129	48 %
46 %	19			91		46 %
45 %		51				45 %
43 %	2	45, 68			150	43 %
42 %	23		78, 83		107, 114, 137	42 %
41 %					108, 132, 139	41 %
40 %	17, 39		76, 80	104	144, 147	40 %
39 %	11, 18, 35	69			124	39 %
38 %	8, 40		73, 77	106	126, 149	38 %
37 %		64		105	110	37 %
36 %	22	50, 70	74, 88, 89	93, 94	119	36 %
35 %	6	55, 72	75, 79	90	127	35 %
34 %	10	62				34 %
33 %	7		81			33 %
32 %	29, 15, 32, 38	44, 49		92, 102	109, 122	32 %
31 %	5, 12, 37	42, 46, 63	87	103	140	31 %
30 %	1, 16, 26, 31, 36	57, 59			133, 141	30 %
29 %		48			142	29 %
28 %	25		82	101	116, 148	28 %
27 %	4, 20	43, 52	84	95, 98	111, 112, 120	27 %
26 %	9, 30, 33	71		96	123	26 %
25 %	13, 27					25 %
24 %	28, 41	53		100	128, 146	24 %
23 %	21			97	131, 135	23 %
22 %		61, 66	85	99	113, 121	22 %
21 %	14	56			130, 145	21 %
20 %	24				136, 143	20 %
19 %	34	47			118, 125	19 %
18 %	3	54			117	18 %
13 %		67	86		115, 138	13 %
0 %					134	0 %

It is necessary only to examine a few examples at the top or bottom of this table to see that the method by which it is arrived at has value in sifting the materials in the Psalter into significant grades. As might be expected, there is no special homogeneity at the top of the list; for Psalms that are 'strong' (in rare words) may be so for a variety of reasons. But the Psalms that are 'weak' prove to have some striking marks of similarity. At all events, in these Psalms there is a marked tendency to conventionality of expression, and this conventionality must be one that is somewhat characteristic of the Psalter as a whole (as follows from the method by which the table is secured). Although this conventionality is not of an entirely uniform quality, yet on the whole it may be called 'liturgical', using that word somewhat broadly. What this involves will appear to some extent in the sequel.

Just as it is futile to expect that each of the five Books of the Psalter shall present a uniform texture, so it may be with the single poems within them. Many of these poems, perhaps most of them, shew signs of some sort of compositeness; that is, they seem to consist of materials that are not of a common and single origin. This may be said without entering upon the historical question involved—whether, for example, it has resulted from an editorial process of piecing together diverse utterances for some practical purpose. Just how, or why, many of the Psalms may be composite, is not the question. The possibility of compositeness is more and more widely conceded. If such a possibility be admitted, it follows that it is to be investigated by comparing the small units called ‘verses’. Accordingly, in spite of the apparent minuteness of the process, it is not foolish to extend this ‘rare-word test’ to the verses within the Psalms.

It is assumed that the ‘verses’ of the Psalter, as commonly counted, have a much greater individuality as units than the very arbitrary ‘verses’ in most other books, especially those in prose. Although the received verse-division is debateable at some points, and rests upon accents the date and significance of which are not settled, yet, on the whole, it furnishes a convenient and trustworthy means of separating the text into small portions for critical examination.

Since ‘rare’ words constitute about one-third of the Psalter, we assume that a normal verse anywhere should contain about one in three such words. The verses vary considerably in length, but the average proportion remains the same. Roughly classified, the 2,455 verses in the whole Psalter divide into groups as follows:—

Excessive	.	.	.	27	1.1 %
Very strong	.	.	.	355	14.5 %
Strong	.	.	.	489	19.9 %
Normal	.	.	.	700	28.5 %
Weak	.	.	.	503	20.5 %
Very weak	.	.	.	157	6.4 %
Barren	.	.	.	224	9.1 %

The collocation of these different sorts of verses in a given Psalm is often suggestive, especially where the transitions are sudden.

Without taking up space by a complete enumeration, it will be interesting to give the list of verses that are ‘very weak’ or ‘barren’ (devoid of ‘rare’ words), as follows:—

	Barren.	Very weak.		Barren.	Very weak.
1	6°		7	2, 11, 18°	
3	3, 5	4, 7	8		5
4	7	2, 4	9	2, 11	20
5		6, 12	10	6, 11, 16	12, 13
6		6	11		7°

	Barren.	Very weak.		Barren.	Very weak.
12		8	68	11	20, 36°
13	6		69	2, 28	7, 4
14	4	7°	70		5
15		1	71	1, 19	20, 24°
16	1, 2	8, 9, 10	72	1	
17		1, 6	73	25	
18	4, 47, 50	25, 28	74		19
19		2	75	10	
20	10°	2, 7	76		8
21	2, 8, 9, 14°		77	14	2
22	18	27, 28	78	3, 39	5, 21, 42
23		6°	79		9, 13°
24	6, 10°	2, 3	80		18
25	1, 20	2, 11, 15	82	6	8
26	3		83		5, 19°
27	7, 8	2, 9	84	5, 9, 13°	3
28		3, 9°	85	7, 8	9
29	11°	3	86	1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8	5, 9, 17°
30	9, 11	2, 4, 13°	87		5
31	15, 16	2, 8, 18, 20	88	2	
32	11°	2	89	17, 26, 27, 43	2, 9
33	5, 6, 9, 13, 21	12	90	14	3, 17°
34	2, 4, 7, 14, 20		92	2, 9	10, 12
35	24	10, 20	93		3
37	36	28	94	7	15, 16
38		17	95	3	7
41	11	3, 8, 10, 12	96	3, 4	13°
43		3	97	6, 9, 10	
44	5, 8, 9	18	98		3
45	18°		99	2	4, 9°
46		3, 6, 11	100		3, 5°
47	3, 7		101	1	7
48	2, 9	11	102	16	3, 20
49	20	2, 3	103	1, 17	
50	6	7, 16	104	31, 33	35°
51	17		105	3, 4, 7	
52	5	11°	106	1, 3, 8, 31, 44	47°
53	5	7°	107	1, 8, 15, 21, 31	
54	9°		108	2, 6	5
55	17	13, 20	109	2, 21, 26, 27, 31°	16, 28
56	4, 5, 11, 12	14°	111		6
57	6, 8, 12°		112		1, 6, 7, 8
59	3	17	113	1, 2, 4	
60		12	115	1, 3, 5, 8, 15, 16	12, 18°
62	13°	8	116	2, 9	
63	5	12°	117		2
64	11°		118	1, 6, 7, 8, 17, 21, 23, 24, 26, 28, 29°	15
65	3				
66	2, 4, 8, 16, 18		119	13, 65, 91, 137, 149, 160, 175	43, 62
67	3, 4, 6				

	Barren.	Very weak.		Barren.	Very weak.
120	1, 6		138	1, 5, 7	2, 4
121	7, 8°		139		14, 24°
122	1, 9°		141		8
123	1	2	142		5
125	1	2, 5°	143	9, 11	2, 8
128	1, 6°		144	3	
129		8°	145	1, 2, 10, 17, 21°	20
130	3, 6		146	1, 2, 6	10
131		1	147		20°
134	1, 2, 3°		148	1, 4	14°
135	1, 12, 16, 18	3, 5, 6, 13, 17, 19, 20	149	2	
136	1, 2, 7, 21, 22, 25, 26°				

Final verses are marked with a °.

The above table brings into view the following curious facts:—

(a) Nineteen Psalms contain neither 'barren' nor 'very weak' verses, viz.: 2, 36, 39, 40, 42, 58, 61, 81, 91, 110, 114, 124, 126, 127, 132, 133, 137, 140, 150. Thirty-two more Psalms contain no 'barren' verses, viz.: 5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 15, 17, 19, 23, 28, 38, 43, 46, 60, 70, 74, 76, 79, 80, 83, 87, 93, 98, 100, 111, 112, 117, 129, 131, 139, 141, 142.

(b) On the other hand, twelve Psalms contain more than three times the average number of 'barren' verses, viz.: 21, 56, 67, 86, 113, 115, 118, 120, 128, 134, 138, 146; and seventeen more contain over twice the average. Furthermore, eight Psalms contain more than three times the average number of both 'barren' and 'very weak' verses together, viz.: 3, 86, 117, 123, 125, 134, 135, 138; and twenty-one more contain over twice the average.

(c) Initial verses are 'barren' in thirty-two cases, viz.: 7, 9, 16, 21, 25, 34, 48, 69, 71, 72, 86, 92, 101, 103, 106, 107, 108, 113, 115, 118, 120, 122, 123, 125, 128, 134, 135, 136, 138, 145, 146, 148; and 'very weak' in twelve cases, viz.: 4, 15, 17, 19, 20, 30, 31, 49, 77, 89, 112, 131. Both of these lists are more than twice as long as would be expected. Parallel with this is the case of final verses, which are 'barren' in twenty-two Psalms, and 'very weak' in twenty-eight. If we include with the above those initials and finals that are simply 'weak', it proves that 53 % of the Psalms begin, and 65 % of them end, with a verse that is below 'normal'.

(d) Where reiterated refrains occur, similar facts appear. Thus in Psalms 57, 67, 107 the refrain-verses are 'barren', and in 42-43, 46, 80 they are 'weak'. On the other hand, however, the refrain-verses in Psalm 49 are 'very strong'—but this is a peculiar case.

(e) The alphabetic Psalms contain less than the average of 'barren' and 'very weak' verses, but more than the average of 'weak' verses; so that the proportion of verses below 'normal' is about that of the whole Psalter. These Psalms, however, contain much more than the average

number of 'normal' verses, so that 'strong' verses are few. Two notable cases are Psalms 34 and 145, both of which contain five 'barren' verses, and both, also, an unusual number below 'normal'.

(f) The so-called 'royal' Psalms, and the 'historical' ones (like 78 and 105), generally transfer the emphasis towards the 'strong' end of the series, though the 'royal' class presents phenomena which are considerably mixed.

The total text of the 224 'barren' verses amounts to about 1,600 words. Their vocabulary includes 209 of the 230 words that are here classified as 'common' in the Psalter (i. e. occurring in at least thirteen Psalms). Certain words naturally occur often, simply because they are frequent everywhere in the Psalter; and, on the other hand, many words occur but a few times (28 only once, 35 only twice, 29 only three times). Whether the absolute number of occurrences of any word in these verses is noticeable depends on the percentage, as compared with the total occurrences, of the word in the whole Psalter. The 'barren' verses constitute about 9 % of the entire Psalter. It is fair, then, to say that if 15 % or more of all the appearances of a word in the Psalter are in these verses, the fact begins to be noticeable; and if the percentage rises much above this, it signifies that the word in question seems to *prefer* such verses, or to be characteristic of them. Words that occur two or three times as often in 'barren' verses as in all other sorts of verses may be said to constitute a peculiar vocabulary for such verses. It proves that the rigid application of this statistical test brings out facts that have interest and significance. Accordingly, it is worth while to present some classified lists of the words found in these verses, noting both the absolute number of their occurrences and the percentage that this number bears to the total number of their occurrences in the Psalms.

Words very frequent in 'barren' verses:—יהוה 119 times, 17 %; כל 60 times, 17 %; אלהים 55 times, 15 %; כי 51 times, 12 %; inseparables with pronouns, 41 times, 9 %; עולם 30 times, 22 %; חָסֵד 28 times, 22 %; עַל 28 times, 9 %; לֹא 26 times, 8 %; שָׁם 26 times, 24 %; ידֵה 25 times, 37 %.

Words moderately frequent:—הַלֵּל 21 times, 32 %; שָׁמַיִם 21 times, 28 %; עֲשֵׂה 20 times, 18 %; אֵת (accus.) 19 times, 13 %; אֶרֶץ 18 times, 10 %; זָמַר 18 times, 44 %; בָּרַךְ 17 times, 24 %; נִפְשׁ 17 times, 12 %; אֶתָּה 16 times, 13 %; רָאָה 16 times, 16 %; כְּבוֹד 15 times, 31 %; מָלַךְ 15 times, 22 %; עָם 15 times, 13 %.

Seven words occur 14 times, among them בָּטַח, 30 %; טוב (adj.), 20 %; יִשַׁע, 25 %; קָרָא, 25 %; שָׁמַח, 27 %; four words occur 12 times, among them רִוּחַ, 24 %; four words occur 11 times, but none with high percentages; five words occur 10 times, among them גִּדּוּל, 33 %; הוּא, 21 %.

Of the 166 words that occur less than 10 times, the following are

noticeable:—נצל 9 times, 20 % ; צדקה 9 times, 26 % ; בקש 7 times, 26 % ; פלא 7 times, 24 % ; ניל (vb.) 6 times, 32 % ; חיה 6 times, 20 % ; חסה 6 times, 24 % ; עליון 6 times, 27 % ; צרה 6 times, 25 % ; שיר (vb.) 6 times, 23 % ; בשר 5 times, 31 % ; צבא 5 times, 22 % ; נגר 4 times, 21 % ; עזר 4 times, 23 % ; מרום 3 times, 23 % .

If now we gather together the words, the percentage of which in 'barren' verses is 20 or more (as compared with the whole number of their occurrences in the Psalter), and arrange them in order, we get the following list:—

זמר 44 %, 18 times	צדקה 26 %, 9 times	עזר 23 %, 4 times
ידה 37 %, 25 "	בקש 26 %, 7 "	מרום 23 %, 3 "
גדול 33 %, 30 "	קרא 25 %, 14 "	עולם 22 %, 30 "
הלל 32 %, 21 "	ישע 25 %, 14 "	חסר 22 %, 18 "
ניל (vb.) 32 %, 6 "	צרה 25 %, 6 "	מלך 22 %, 15 "
כבוד 31 %, 15 "	שם 24 %, 26 "	צבא 22 %, 5 "
בשר 31 %, 5 "	כבוד 24 %, 17 "	הוא 21 %, 10 "
בטח 30 %, 14 "	רום 24 %, 12 "	נגר 21 %, 4 "
שמים 28 %, 21 "	פלא 24 %, 7 "	טוב 20 %, 14 "
שח 27 %, 14 "	חסה 24 %, 6 "	נצל 20 %, 9 "
עליון 27 %, 6 "	שיר (vb.) 23 %, 6 "	חיה 20 %, 6 "

All these words are more than twice as frequent in 'barren' verses as would be expected. Nearly half of them are also more than twice as frequent in 'very weak' verses as would be expected. Hence we are abundantly justified in saying that they shew a marked tendency to appear apart from 'rare' words.

It is, of course, doubtful whether a pronoun like הוא should be considered as significant in such a list as this. And also it may be questioned whether it is worth while to make much of those words which occur only three or four times in these verses, namely עזר, מרום, and נגר. (In using the table, it should be noted that in the calculation the formula הללריה is not counted when occurring at the beginning or close of a Psalm.)

Without sifting the uses of these words at this point, it may be interesting to note that they are somewhat widely scattered through the 'barren' verses, being found in 177 of the 224 such verses—one word in 60 verses, two in 54, three in 42, four in 17, and five in 4. In more than half of the 'barren' verses, then, at least two of these words appear. This fact has importance when it comes to drawing inferences from the list as given. For reference, the list may here be given of those verses containing three or more of these words:—

7 : 2, 18	47 : 3, 7	102 : 16	118 : 1, 8, 26, 29
13 : 6	56 : 5	103 : 17	135 : 1
18 : 4, 50	57 : 6, 12	104 : 31	136 : 1, 2, 7, 25, 26

20 : 10	64 : 11	105 : 3	138 : 5, 7
21 : 2, 8, 14	66 : 2, 4	106 : 1	143 : 11
24 : 10	72 : 1	107 : 1, 8, 15, 21, 31	145 : 1, 2, 21
33 : 21	89 : 17	108 : 2, 6	148 : 1, 4
34 : 7	92 : 2	109 : 21	149 : 2
44 : 9	95 : 3	113 : 1, 2, 4	
45 : 18	101 : 1	115 : 1	

Something of the prevailing character of these verses can be seen by massing together those in which the words under consideration are most frequent, as follows:—

7. 18 I will give thanks to Jahweh according to his righteousness, and will sing praise to the name of Jahweh Most High.

21. 8 For the king trusteth in Jahweh, and through the loving-kindness of the Most High he shall not be moved.

24. 10 Who is this King of glory? Jahweh of Hosts, he is the King of glory.

47. 7 Sing praises to God, sing praises; sing praises to our King, sing praises.

66. 2 Sing forth the glory of his name; make his praise glorious.

89. 17 In thy name do they rejoice all the day; and in thy righteousness are they exalted.

92. 1 It is good to give thanks to Jahweh, and to sing praises to thy name, O Most High.

103. 17 But the lovingkindness of Jahweh is from everlasting to everlasting upon them that fear him, and his righteousness unto children's children.

105. 3 Glory ye in his holy name; let the heart of them rejoice that seek Jahweh.

106. 1; 107. 1; 118. 1, 29; 136. 1 O give thanks to Jahweh; for he is good; for his lovingkindness is for ever.

109. 21 But deal thou with me, O Jahweh the Lord, for thy name's sake; because thy lovingkindness is good, deliver thou me.

136. 26 O give thanks to the God of heaven; for his lovingkindness is for ever.

143. 11 Quicken me, Jahweh, for thy name's sake; in thy righteousness bring my soul out of trouble.

145. 1 I will extol thee, my God, O King, and I will bless thy name for ever and ever.

2 Every day will I bless thee, and I will praise thy name for ever and ever.

21 My mouth shall speak the praise of Jahweh, and let all flesh bless his holy name for ever and ever.

148. 4 Praise him, ye heavens of heavens, and ye waters that are above the heavens.

(These verses are cited simply because they happen to contain at least *four* of the words now in view.)

To these may be added others from the list of verses containing at least *three* of the words in view, viz. :—

13. 6 But I have trusted in thy lovingkindness; my heart shall rejoice in thy salvation.

18. 4 I will call upon Jahweh, who is worthy to be praised; so shall I be saved from mine enemies.

50 Therefore I will give thanks to thee, Jahweh, among the nations, and will sing praises to thy name.

20. 10 Save, Jahweh; let the King answer us when we call.

21. 2 The King shall joy in thy strength, Jahweh; and in thy salvation how greatly shall he rejoice.

33. 21 But our heart shall rejoice in him, because we have trusted in his holy name.

44. 9 In God have we made our boast all the day long, and we will give thanks to thy name for ever.

45. 18 I will make thy name remembered in all generations; therefore shall the peoples give thee thanks for ever and ever.

47. 3 For Jahweh Most High is terrible; he is a great King over all the earth.

57. 6, 12; 108. 6; cf. 113. 4 Be thou exalted, O God, above the heavens; and thy glory above all the earth.

64. 11 The righteous shall be glad in Jahweh, and shall take refuge in him; and all the upright in heart shall glory.

72. 1 Give the king thy judgements, O God, and thy righteousness to the king's son.

95. 3 For Jahweh is a great God, and a great King above all gods.

101. 1 I will sing of lovingkindness and judgement; unto thee, Jahweh, will I sing praises.

102. 16 So the nations shall fear the name of Jahweh, and all the kings of the earth thy glory.

104. 31 Let the glory of Jahweh endure for ever; let Jahweh rejoice in his works.

107. 8, 15, 21, 31 O that men would praise Jahweh for his lovingkindness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men.

113. 1; cf. 135. 1 Praise, ye servants of Jahweh, praise the name of Jahweh.

115. 1 Not to us, Jahweh, not to us, but to thy name give glory, for thy lovingkindness, and for thy truth's sake.

118. 8 It is better to take refuge in Jahweh than to put confidence in man.

26 Blessed be he that cometh in the name of Jahweh ; we have blessed you out of the house of Jahweh.

136. 2 O give thanks to the God of gods ; for his lovingkindness is for ever.

7 To him that made great lights ; for his loving kindness is for ever.

138. 5 Yea, they shall sing of the ways of Jahweh ; for great is the glory of Jahweh.

7 Though I walk in the midst of trouble, thou wilt revive me ; thou shalt stretch forth thy hand against the wrath of mine enemies, and thy right hand shall save me.

149. 2 Let Israel rejoice in him that made him ; let the children of Zion be joyful in their King.

The most casual inspection of the list of words given on page 227, and of the verses in which they appear in conjunction, shews that the statistical method that has been followed leads towards the isolation of a body of words and passages that are strongly 'liturgical'. At least twelve of the words are verbs of worship. Almost all of the remaining words are more or less regularly applied to God or His acts in expressions of worship. Several words are employed in the formation of conventional formulae, like *בִּי לְעוֹלָם חֲסִדּוֹ*. The impression of the list of words is corroborated by the selection of verses that has already been presented, and would be greatly intensified if this selection were extended. There can be no question, then, that the process that has been followed has led to the separation of a small vocabulary of a definite character. It remains to make some critical remarks about the process and its results.

Regarding details in the mechanical process used, it should be said, first, that the fixing of the arbitrary line between 'common' and 'rare' words so that words occurring in thirteen or more Psalms were assigned to the former class, and words occurring in twelve or fewer Psalms to the latter, was only made after numerous tests as to the justice and convenience of it. To guard against error, special care was exercised not to lay much stress upon evidence drawn from words that lay close to the assumed line of separation. As between the great bulk of the 'common' words and of the 'rare' ones there cannot be any doubt that the two classes are distinct. Such a general distinction is found in all literature. It should be said, also, that in the handling of the kinds of verses that are here called 'barren', 'very weak', &c., similar pains have been taken to guard against emphasizing verses the assignment of which to their respective classes is somewhat doubtful. In short, while the process used is not only mechanical, but liable to doubt as concerns certain debateable points, an effort has been made

to use it in such a way as to bring out results that are independent of such details.

As illustrating the point with regard to the distinction between 'barren' and 'very weak' verses, it may be worth while to note that 'barren' verses differ as to the relative 'commonness' of the words they contain. Thus, 33 'barren' verses contain only words that are found in at least thirty-three Psalms (more than one-fifth of all); 20 more such verses contain only words found in at least twenty-five Psalms (more than one-sixth of all); nearly 100 more verses contain only words found in at least seventeen Psalms (about one-ninth of all). That all these verses should be called 'barren' is clear. The other 'barren' verses contain some words that occur in only from thirteen to sixteen Psalms, and hence these verses should be used with more caution. In particular, three verses (34. 14; 49. 20; 89. 26) should be set aside, since they each contain two 13-Psalms words.

Here is a convenient point to insert the remark that both the Asaph and the Korah groups of Psalms shew peculiarities as contrasted with the rest of the Psalter. In both groups the number of 'barren' verses is below the average; and those that appear are mostly not of the 'most barren' type, or else occur in such a way as to arouse question as to their being part of the original text.

Turning now to the results before us, several lines of remark at once suggest themselves.

Such a method as has here been employed can be used in dealing with almost any body of literature, and especially one, like the Psalter, which is made up of a large number of independent or separate pieces. It may be expected to bring to light what a physiologist would call the 'connective tissue' which envelopes and binds together individual organs that have some peculiar unity and character of their own. It is probable that if the method were applied to an ordinary poetic anthology, it would simply bring into view commonplace words and expressions that are always required in expression. This would be especially likely if the material examined were narrative or descriptive prose. Even in the Psalter it might be expected that analysis of any reasonable number of verses, like the 224 'barren' verses, would shew a considerable prominence in them of words that have no peculiar significance—such verbs, let us say, as *אמר*, *בוא*, *דבר*, *המך*, *היה*, *ידע*, *נתן*, *פעל*, &c. The fact is, however, that in these verses such ordinary words are, most of them, used simply with ordinary or average frequency—all the above verbs, for instance, occurring in these verses within a point or two of the normal percentage. Instead, the method brings to light a special vocabulary and with it a special set of expressions, almost all connected with the function of liturgical worship. This would have been still

more plain if space had permitted the exhibition of the whole mass of statistical facts.

Turning to the results thus far noted, it will be useful to look more closely at the usage of the words given on page 227, both in 'barren' verses and elsewhere in the Psalter, since this will still further emphasize the character of the materials.

זמר Always to God. Hardly used outside of the Psalms.

ידה Hiph. Always to God, except 45. 18 (?); 49. 19. Also decidedly a Psalter word.

גדל In barren verses only of God or His works. So usually in Psalms (25 out of 30 cases).

הלל Piel or Hithp. Always to God, except 10. 3; 49. 7; 52. 3; 78. 63.

גיל Always to God, except 13. 5.

כבוד In barren verses only of God. So in about two-thirds of all cases in Psalms.

בשר In barren verses only in sense of 'humanity' or 'mankind'. Elsewhere in Psalms always literal.

בטח In barren verses only toward God, except 115. 8 = 135. 18 (toward idols); 118. 8. This is the usual sense in Psalms (31 out of 46 cases).

שמים In barren verses only of the heavens as God's creation, residence or sphere. This is the usual Psalter usage.

שמח In barren verses only in connexion with God, and mostly of ritual action, except 35. 24; 89. 43. So usually in Psalms (39 out of 52 cases).

עליון Only of God, except 89. 28.

צדקה Always of God, except 99. 4, 106. 3, 31; 112. 3. 9. **צדק**, though more common in Psalms, in barren verses is relatively but half as frequent.

בקש In barren verses only toward God, except 37. 36 (general enquiry); 122. 9 (Jerusalem's good). Psalter usage divided between 'seeking' God or good things, and 'pursuing' evil.

קרא Always to God, except 42. 8; 49. 12; 147. 4, 9.

ישע In barren verses only of God's direct action. So usually in Psalms, except 18. 42; 33. 16; 44. 4, 7.

צרה Three times as frequent, relatively, in barren verses as **צר**.

שם In barren verses only of God. So usually in Psalms (98 out of 108 cases).

ברך In barren verses mostly addressed to God (13 times); but 118. 26 *is*, similar address to men, and 29. 11; 115. 15; 134. 3 of God's action. Address to God rather predominates in Psalms (39 out of 70 cases), but God's action is named in 19 cases.

רום In barren verses usually in praise of God (10 times), but 89. 14, 43,

of God's action. Former use occurs, all told, in Psalms 16 out of 50 cases.

פלא Niph. ptc. always, except 31. 22; 118. 23.

חסה Always toward God.

שיר Always to God.

עור In barren verses only of God's action. So usually in Psalms, except 22. 12; 72. 12; 107. 12.

מרום In barren verses of God's sphere or supremacy. So in Psalms usually, except 56. 3; 73. 8; 75. 5, of man's pride.

עולם In barren verses only regarding God's nature, action, or worship. So usually in Psalms. Closely coupled with **הָסֵד** 43 times, of which 35 are in formula of acclamation.

חסד Always of God, except 109. 12, 16; 141. 5. See **עולם**.

מלך In barren verses only of God, except 21. 2, 8; 72. 1 (the ideal king); 102. 15 (kings generally). The usage of God is not the usual one in Psalms (22 times out of 67).

צבא In barren verses only in the divine title or of the heavenly hosts. So usually in Psalms, except 44. 10=60. 12=108. 12; 68. 12, 13.

הוא In barren verses only of God, except 89. 27 (the ideal king). So usually in Psalms (41 out of 48 cases).

ננר In barren verses only in praise or testimony to God. So usually in Psalms, except 111. 6; 147. 19, of God's action.

מזב In barren verses only of God or His worship, except 52. 3: 7 times in acclamations. Usage divided elsewhere.

נאל In barren verses only of God's direct action. So usually in Psalms, except 7. 3; 33. 16; 50. 22; 71. 11; 72. 12 (the ideal king).

חיה In barren verses only Piel, of God's action, except 118. 17; 119. 175. So in Psalms in 18 cases out of 30.

This summary shews a striking uniformity in the attitude and the topics of which these words—of course, with many others—are expressions. With but few exceptions, also, the usage emphasized in the barren verses is that common for these words elsewhere. We thus have before us a cumulative demonstration of the fact that in the Psalter what we have called 'the connective tissue' of the collection largely consists of utterances of praise, adoration and prayer, such as are frequent in all elaborate liturgies. It is from just this material in the Psalter that all Christian liturgies have drawn scores of formulae. If the whole body of passages that are most closely associated with the type of expression before us were cited, it would appear that they embody so much of a general conception of God and of man in relation to God as to imply a theology of considerable extent, though expressed in terms suggesting actual use in public worship. There is usually the air of collective utterance, and even of that impersonal shaping that

belongs to traditional formulae. Many expressions are conventional and stereotyped.

That the Psalter not only contains much such matter, but is characterized by it—so that it is justly described as a ‘hymn-book’ or ‘prayer-book’—is universally recognized. It might seem, then, that our conclusions, here reached by a very tedious process, are only what might have been expected and need no demonstration. For it is sometimes assumed that the whole Psalter is of a more or less uniform texture, not only adapted to use in public worship, but conceived and shaped under more or less uniform conditions and impulses. But this assumption is contrary to the evidence of the phenomena. A large number of cases can be cited to shew that in the Psalter are passages and whole poems that do not readily class themselves with the special type of utterance now before us. These portions are extensive enough to be themselves inductively analysed, with results somewhat peculiar. In particular, the ‘plaintive’ material (outcries of distress and denunciatory invocations), the ‘didactic’ or ‘moralizing’ material, the ‘historical’ material, and perhaps some other classes—all these present too great differences from the ‘liturgical’ material to be readily merged in it.

If one were dealing with a modern anthology—with a modern hymn-book or prayer-book, for example—one might expect that the same writer or a single group of writers might give expression to a great variety of sentiments and ideas, couched in extremely various forms. Part of this heterogeneity would result from the multifarious historical and literary suggestions unconsciously operating in the writers’ minds. Part of it would arise from the inherent versatility of modern thought and style. But these things are not to be expected in any such degree in so ancient a literature as the Psalter, although, of course, most of the Biblical literature is far removed from the primitive stages of culture. At least we may say that the assumption that all the different kinds of material found in the Psalter are referable to the varied operations of the same mind or the same class of minds is to be accepted only on reasonable demonstration. The burden of proof rests upon those who favour the assumption, rather than on those who doubt it.

This aspect of the question receives light from a study of the distribution in the Psalter of the material here called ‘liturgical’. For the distribution is not at all uniform. Whole Psalms differ greatly from one another, and also parts of Psalms, and even consecutive verses. It looks as if there had been extensive editorial manipulations of matter already in existence. If this be so, then important critical inferences suggest themselves.

Here is a suitable place to insert a summary of the relative distribu-

None		1	58			114, 126, 127
Below 2 %		15, 38, 39	49		94	110, 132, 139, 140
" 3 %		12, 35, 41	42, 55, 60	73, 78, 81		123, 133, 137
" 4 %		2, 6, 10, 17, 19	45, 51, 62, 64, 65	74, 77, 82, 83, 88	90, 101	121, 129, 141
" 5 %		3, 4, 11, 32, 37, 40	45		93, 104	109, 128
" 6 %		8, 14, 16, 23	50, 53, 69		95, 102, 105	112, 119, 124, 130, 147
" 7 %		7, 18, 22, 26, 27	44, 59, 68	76, 79, 87		116, 120, 122, 131
" 8 %		5, 13, 25, 36	46, 70, 72	85, 89	91, 106	142, 144, 146
" 9 %		31	56	75, 80		107, 125, 143
" 10 %		9, 28, 29	63, 66, 71	84		135
" 15 %		20, 21, 30, 33, 34	47, 48, 52, 61		92, 97, 98, 103	108, 111, 149
" 20 %			54, 67	86	96, 99, 100	115, 117 118, 134, 148
" 30 %		24	57			113, 138, 145, 150
Over 30 %						136

While it is true that certain Psalms appear in the above table where they do for peculiar reasons (e. g. 136 because of its recurrent refrain-line, 150 solely because of repetitions of הלל), yet, on the whole, the table well represents the wide differences of frequency of these critical words.

It is worth observing that the majority of the above words, *in the senses noted*, are scattered through the Old Testament somewhat irregularly, not seldom occurring in ways that raise the question whether they have not been brought in with materials that are editorial and therefore relatively later than their main contexts. Opposite is a summary

of nearly twenty of these words, including all those 30 % or more of the occurrences of which are in the Psalter.

If space allowed, many interesting remarks might be made about the distribution of these words, as well as of the rest that are not tabulated. As a single example, it may be noted that, although all but one of the words are found in 1 Is., none of them occur in chaps. 15-23.

We may now gather up some of the facts about verses of an evidently 'liturgical' character that seem to be imposed upon or interpolated into materials of some other sort.

Reference has already been made (p. 225) to the fact that many *final* verses are 'barren' or 'very weak'. Where these follow passages that are not only 'strong', but obviously different in topic and spirit, we naturally infer that the finals are 'antiphons', either simply liturgical in purpose, or more or less euphemistic, or both. Notable illustrations are 7. 18; 21. 14; 32. 10-11; 14. 7=53. 7; 52. 10-11; 79. 13; 106. 47—with others that are more debateable (see Grimm *Euphemistic Appendixes* pp. 8-22). When one has begun to note these phenomena, one is led to suspect that they exist also in cases where their obviousness has been obscured in an effort to make the connexion smooth. I have elsewhere argued that 45. 18 is an illustration of this editorial process (see *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1900, p. 193). Other possible cases of this are 20. 10; 23. 6; 83. 19.

Several cases of 'barren' or 'very weak' *penultimate* verses occur, having similar qualities with the above finals, as, for example, 5. 12; 12. 8; 13. 6; 18. 50; 33. 21; 59. 17; 70. 5=40. 17; 75. 9. Sometimes the final verse completes the antiphon, but not always obviously.

Parallel with the case of final verses is that of *initial* verses. Of such verses that are decidedly 'weak', the following may be instanced as probably opening antiphons: 9. 2-3; 34. 2-4; 48. 2; 77. 22; 89. 2-3; 101. 1. This list includes only cases in which there is some noticeable contrast between the tone of the antiphon and that of the poem proper.

Parallel, again, is the case of the *refrains* in certain Psalms. Almost all of these, as has been noted (p. 225), are 'barren' or 'weak'. In 57 the contrast with the context is marked. Whether the beautifully varied refrains of 107 are inserted antiphons or parts of the original composition is not entirely clear. The device of the refrain is used in 49 in a didactic rather than in a liturgical spirit. Analogy raises a peculiar question about 42, where the refrain contains words that suggest the antiphon-hypothesis, and where it euphemistically rectifies the tone of depression in the main poem. In this Psalm, too, v. 9, which is Jahvistic, is 'weak', and marked by liturgical words. Con-

Gn	Lv	Dt	Jos	Sa	Is ¹	Jer	Ho	Am	Jon	Na	Zp	Zc	Pr	Ru	Dn	Neh	Pss
Ex	Nu		Jg	Kg	Is ²	Ezk	Jl	Ob	Mi	Hb	Hg	Mal	Job	La	Ezr	Chr	
זמר	.	.	.	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	41
חסד	.	1	1	.	2	1	.	.	.	1	1	.	.	1	.	.	25
ידה	2	.	.	2	5	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	.	1	67
עליון	4	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	21
רם	1	.	.	4	2	4	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	33
הלל	.	.	1	.	1	4	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	61
פלא	2	1	1	.	.	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	2	1	28
נורל	2	2	.	.	1	3	1	.	.	1	.	3	.	.	1	4	25
מלך	.	.	.	1	3	5	.	.	.	.	1	2	1	.	.	.	19
קרא	5	4	2	2	4	1	6	5	1	1	1	2	.	6	1	.	51
שבת	1	8	.	5	2	3	4	.	2	1	1	3	13	1	2	1	39
צדקה	.	1	2	1	5	13	2	.	2	.	1	1	1	1	2	.	29
נל	.	.	.	.	4	6	.	1	2	.	1	2	3	.	.	.	17
מרום	.	.	.	.	4	3	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	11
בטח	.	1	5	9	5	4	16	2	1	1	1	.	10	4	.	1	46
שמים	13	4	6	1	2	18	1	15	4	1	2	1	2	6	4	1	60
שיר	3	1	.	2	.	2	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	6	10
צרה	3	.	2	1	4	2	3	3	8	.	1	1	7	2	.	1	24
כבוד	9	2	1	1	4	1	6	12	4	19	2	.	2	1	.	1	34

nected with these phenomena is the curious separation of 43 from 42, although they have parallel expressions and the same refrain. If 43 was originally part of the main poem, how did it become separated? And why does the LXX mark it לָרִיר? Why, also, as a whole is it so much 'weaker' than 42? Is it not possible that 43 is a euphemistic enlargement of 42, adapted to it at the opening by the quotation of several expressions, and, with the refrains and v. 9 of 42, completing the thought in a brighter tone?

Space fails for the discussion of other antiphonic phenomena, such as the interjections in 56. 4-5, 11-12; and also for some questions about verses to which סֵלָה is appended. Regarding the latter, it may simply be said that out of 70 such verses, 11 are 'barren' and 17 otherwise 'weak', and that all but one of the 'barren' verses contain words in our critical 'liturgical' list. Among these verses are several cases that seem antiphonic.

A line of enquiry related to the foregoing may be applied to those Psalms that consist of marked divisions or sections of very diverse character. In some cases the diversity is so great as to provoke the wonder whether the existing text has not resulted from some accident, or at least from an arbitrary editorial process. Of about twenty-five Psalms with decided sectional structure, about two-thirds occur in Books I and II (18, 19, 22, 24, 27, 28, 29, 36, 40, 44, 50, 60, 65, 68, 69), and all those in Book V bear the title לָרִיר (108, 109, 144). In addition, there are some examples in Books III and IV (74, 89, 90, 102, 104, 106). When statistically examined as to the proportions of 'rare' and 'liturgical' words (the latter listed on p. 227), as compared with the total text, the sections often present curious contrasts with one another. In most cases the phenomena correspond to those already noted in this paper; but there are also some facts that suggest additional conclusions.

As illustrating the fact that rare words and liturgical words are usually found in inverse proportions, the following cases may be cited:—

Psalms	29	a	1-2, 10-11	16 % rare	18.8 % liturgical
		b	3-9	40 "	3.5 ! "
			In b there would be no liturgical words were it not for two lines (3b, 9c), both of which may be glosses.		
Psalms	44	a	2-9	18 % rare	14.9 % liturgical
		b	10-27	38 "	1.6 ! "
			Here, also, the percentage of liturgical words in b is not beyond doubt.		
Psalms	108	a	2-6 (v. Ps. 57)	21 % rare	27.3 % liturgical
		b	7-14 (" 60)	51 "	1.6 "

Psalms 28: a 1-5	28 % rare	1.6 % liturgical
b 6-9	18 "	23.5 "
Psalms 109: a 1-20	36 % rare	2.0 % liturgical
b 21-31	25 "	14.5 "
Psalms 144: a 1-11	33 % rare	7.5 % liturgical
b 12-15	57 "	0 "
Psalms 90: a 1-12	41 % rare	2.1 % ? liturgical
b 13-17	15 "	7.7 "

Other cases illustrate the fact that differences in the two columns of percentages do not always correspond :—

Psalms 22: a 2-12	32 % rare	10.0 % liturgical
b 13-22	53 "	1.3 "
c 23-32	26 "	7.7 "
Psalms 50: a 1-15	36 % rare	8.2 % liturgical
b 16-23	35 "	1.5 "
Psalms 60: a 3-6	56 % rare	0 % liturgical
b 7-11	64 "	2.4 "
c 12-14	29 "	4.8 "
Psalms 18: a 2-4	33 % rare	19.0 % liturgical
b 5-16	50 "	4.0 ? "
c 17-25	26 "	3.3 "
d 26-46	43 "	2.6 ? "
e 47-51	17 + "	22.5 "

These last cases emphasize the point that scarcity of 'rare' words may not coincide with frequency of 'liturgical' ones, implying that in the 'connective tissue' of the Psalter there is more than one strain of material.

This latter point will be clearer if we set together the percentages of all the sections that contain comparatively few 'rare' words, viz :—

90: 13-17	15 % rare	7.7 % liturgical
29: 1-2, 10-11	16 "	18.8 "
18: 47-51	17 + "	22.5 "
28: 6-9	18 "	23.5 "
44: 2-9	18 "	14.9 "
104: 31-35	18 "	18.4 "
24: 1-6	19 "	6.4 "
24: 7-10	21 "	36.8 "
106: 1-5, 47	21 "	20.4 "
108: 2-6	21 "	27.3 "
42: 6, 9, 12	22 "	8.3 "
27: 1-6	25 "	7.9 "
27: 7-4	25 "	4.2 "
102: 13-23	25 "	9.4 "
109: 21-31	25 "	14.5 "
18: 17-25	26 "	3.3 "
22: 23-32	26 "	7.7 "
28: 1-5	28 "	1.6 "
36: 2-5	28 "	2.9 "

Here, as in the comparison of the Psalms as wholes, it appears that, while fewness of 'rare' words usually goes with emphasis upon liturgical words and ideas, it does not always do so. In other words, the process of analysis that leads to the conclusion that the 'connective tissue' of the Psalter is predominantly 'liturgical' leads also to the further statement that this 'connective tissue' contains some other materials, especially in those strata where 'rare' words become relatively more numerous.

The main purpose of this paper is to call attention to some facts, rather than to draw conclusions from them. Hence the processes by which the facts have been collected and classified have been, as nearly as may be, absolutely mechanical. But the drawing of inferences cannot be mechanical in the same way, though the facts have a certain logic of their own. It will not be out of place to suggest briefly what this logic of the facts seems to be to the writer of this paper.

Reference has already been made to the possible objection that all the phenomena here cited and emphasized are not only stylistic, but stylistic in such a way as to be psychologically explicable without involving factors of period or school or special circumstances in their genesis. The differences of literary texture, it may be said, are marks simply of variations of mood and topic, or the yielding to changing memories and impulses, such as may occur in a single mind or a single group of minds under ordinary conditions of religious and social experience. Without stopping for argument, this essay assumes that this general hypothesis is not tenable here. Rather, it is assumed that such differences of texture as those before us imply important differences of character or situation or purpose on the part of the authors and editors of the Psalter, and hence that they have historical significance for the formation of a general theory of the origin of the collection.

The rigid application of the 'rare-word test' has enabled us to identify and isolate a large body of more or less 'weak' material—whole Psalms, parts of Psalms, or single verses—with one or more characteristic vocabularies. The most 'barren' stratum of this proves to be 'liturgical' in a somewhat definite way. But this shades off into utterances that seem more 'didactic' or 'plaintive'. These mixed strata contain some 'royal' references, and they sometimes adopt an acrostic form. Between the 'liturgical' material and these other materials there is no obvious connexion, and still less between it and other materials that might be named.

In regard to the 'liturgical' material, it is notable, in the first three Books of the Psalter, that the verses, sections and even whole Psalms that are 'barren' or 'weak' usually occur in such connexions as to seem like expansions of, or interpolations into, other sorts of material.

Often they sound euphemistic. Often, as with most of the refrains and some other isolated verses, they resemble antiphons. On the whole, they give the impression of being *imposed* upon something that already exists and is more or less complete without them. The position and relations of these passages lead us to believe that these Books, especially the first, have been extensively worked over in the spirit and style that is relatively more common in Books IV and V. Hence we infer that considerable 'liturgical' editing was one of the latest steps in the shaping of the Psalter into its present order and plan.

But the interesting interweaving of this 'liturgical' material with other material suggests the further inference that among the latest influences upon the whole collection were some others. Of these, three are notable:—(a) the 'royal', personifying the genius or ideal of Israel as 'David', 'the king', or 'the anointed'; (b) the 'didactic', expressing itself sometimes in moralizing acrostics; and (c) one type of the 'plaintive', magnifying the distinction between 'the righteous' or 'the godly' on the one side, and 'the wicked' on the other, and thus giving voice to the depression of the religious part of the community in the face of widespread and often militant worldliness. Just what was the order of these several influences, what groups of writers they probably represent, or to precisely what periods they are to be referred, are questions beyond the scope of this note. It is enough to say that there is reason, perhaps, for holding that the strictly 'liturgical' redaction was not the last, but was succeeded, or at least accompanied, by the others. But there is also reason for questioning whether the 'liturgical' editing of the Psalter is not connected with certain phenomena in other parts of the Old Testament, especially with the insertion and treatment of various poetical passages, with the 'prayers' that are attributed to sundry persons, and with many features of Chronicles. If so, any theory about one set of facts must be adjusted to the others.

In connexion with these questions arise others regarding the relative age of Book I, or, better, of the 'David' Psalms in general, compared with the rest of the Psalter, and also regarding the whole hypothesis of the Maccabaeian origin of the collection. For these questions we have here no room, except to make two remarks. It is not impossible that the 'David' groups, although perhaps including early pieces, are mainly later than the 'Asaph' and 'Sons of Korah' groups. The trend of the evidence, as the writer views it, particularly in the light of the interlocking of the phenomena of the Psalter with those of the Old Testament generally, is not favourable to the Maccabaeian hypothesis, especially in any extreme form.

WALDO S. PRATT.

EVAN. 157 (ROME. VAT. URB. 2).

II

THE readers of this JOURNAL were given a foretaste of the character of the witness Evan. 157 in the last number. We proceed now in St Luke and St John with a far more interesting text.

The key to the situation was not unnaturally sought in the Jerusalem Syriac lectionary, but in this apparent disappointment awaited us. A deeper examination, however, would seem to confirm the view that the three surviving mediaeval MSS of this version are very far from representing the original, for, amid wide disagreement with 157, we find occasional but unmistakeable fundamental agreement. Already in St Matthew (xx 30, xxvi 1, besides places in combination with other *syr*) and St Mark (viii 29, besides combinations) a few touches are observable; but in St Luke and St John it becomes more marked. Consult:

- Luke vi 10 + μετ οργης *fam* 13 *syr hier* and Latins (with D X Λ);
 vi 20 των ουνων *pro* του θεου, but more especially:—
 vii 6 — ου (*ante* μακραν) Alone with *syr hier*^{ABC} (see also verse 10).
 vii 44 + και (*ante* υδωρ) Alone with D *de diatess* and *syr hier* (against other *syr*).
 viii 49 — αυτω with *NBLX* four cursives, *εμ* only of Latins, *sah boh*, and *syr hier* (against the other Syriacs).
 xviii 9 + και λεγει (*post* λοιπους) Cf. *syr hier*.
 xviii 24 — περιλυπον γενομενον *NBLfam* 1 Paris⁹⁷ *syr hier copt* [not D d nor Latin nor other *syr*].

To which add xxi 36 — παντα with 382 only of known Greeks and all *syr* (of *syr hier* only codex^b *semel*, which is nearest to us, see above on Matt. xx 30, xxvi 1) against *diatess*, Latins, and *aeth*, due probably to similarity in *syr* of παντα ταυτα and ταυτα παντα.

To this add:

- John ix 35 — ηκουσεν ο ιησους οτι εξεβαλον αυτον εξω Practically alone with *syr hier*.
 xvi 33 — εν τω κοσμω θλυψιν εχετε Practically alone with *syr hier* and Δ⁸⁷.

These, whether due to homoioteleuton in Greek and Syriac or not,

are very noteworthy. No other authorities omit this last important saying. In D it occupies exactly one line. This may point to community of arrangement at some time in D d, Δ, *syr hier* and 157, for, at John v 32 — και οὐδα etc., *ex homoiotet.*, occupies two lines in D d, the previous one and the last of these ending *περι εμου*. Older than this, however, must be the parent Graeco-Latin stock of Evan. 157 in shorter lines than D d, and more like those of a (see John iii 35).

It is not as if we were running freely with *syr hier*; we are often against it. Then consider such places as John xviii 4 *ιδωv* for *ειδωs* D 157 and a handful, *syr hier*, but also *syr sin*, with *arm* and *aeth*. Above, at John ix 35, it is particularly noteworthy, because it follows John ix 31 already noticed in the last number for Syriac influence. At John x 17 we find the half of a conflation of Aphraates; at John xii 3 *syr sin* conflates. We undo half of it.¹ At John xii 4 we conflate.

Evan. 157 the product of bilinguals.

Ancient Greek errors:—Luke xvi 20 — *ος* (*post* Λαζαρος). A very ancient error shared by \aleph B D L X Ψ 33 *a d e sah boh arm aeth Clem Dial*, against the rest of the Greeks and all the Syriacs. It occurs from ΛΑΖΑΡΟCΘΕΒΕΒΛΗΤΟ.

Luke xx 20 + *τους* (*ante* υποκρινομενους) 157 alone. This from final *τους* in the preceding word ΕΚΑΘΕΤΟΥCΥΠΟΚΡΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΥC.

John xi 44 — *ο ιησους* from ΑΥΤΟΙCΟC.²

ix 35 — *εις* (*post* πιστευεις) Solely from ΠΙCΤΕΥΕΙCΙCΤΩΝΙΟΝ.

These are *Greek* errors, but bilingual influence intrudes promptly at John ix 38 *fin.* αυτον (*pro* αυτω) 157 with only D 96 and a few lectionaries, but all *LATINS* 'adoravit eum' for *προσκυνησον αυτω*.

Ancient Latin errors:—A clear case of *Latin* (although the Syriac agrees) occurs at John vi 19 — και *ult.* (*ante* εφοβηθησαν) 157 with five cursives only, and a *vg*^D and *syrr*. E⁷⁸ seems to give the key, for it writes: *Fieret* for *fieri et*, no doubt from confusion in FIERIETIMVERVNT.

John iii 26 — *συ* 157 practically alone with *a l r vg codd*⁷, from

¹ (Referred to in the last number of the JOURNAL) thus: *syr sin* says 'Now Mary took a vase of a pound of oil, nard of good pistis . . .' The Greek is merely: 'Ἡ οὖν Μαρία λαβοῦσα λίτραν μύρου νάρδου πιστικῆς . . . but 157, apparently alone of Greeks (unrecorded by Birch), substitutes αλαβαστρον for λιτραν. This agrees with *syr^{ach} pesh* and the *dialess arab* confirmed by F^{lat}. It looks therefore as if *syr sin* had conflated from a similar text to ours and not that we had taken the wrong half of the conflation.

² In this same verse is a *Latin* error from the same cause. For while 157 is alone in dropping ο ιε, *a l r aur tol* omit *eis* from ΙΗΣΕΙC.

CVITVTESTIMONIVM, and not from Greek $\omega\varsigma\mu\epsilon\mu\alpha\rho\tau\gamma\rho\eta\kappa\alpha\varsigma$, which is perfectly plain, and only misled *Havn.* 3 into writing $\omega\varsigma\ \textit{pro}\ \omega\ \sigma\upsilon$.

John iii 35 + $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ (*post* $\delta\epsilon\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon\nu$) Practically alone 157^{vid.} A reference to the Latin of *a* or *l* will again shew that $\epsilon\iota$ in $\epsilon\iota\upsilon\varsigma$ might be misread for $\epsilon\iota$ and incorporated after *DEDIT*.

Mark x 27 + $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ (*post* $\alpha\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$). This is clear Latin (*D et latt*), but the point is emphasized just above at ch. x 21/25 where the Greek article is left out three times over, and again below twice at x 33 and 35.

Attention may be directed to Luke ix 8 where $\upsilon\pi\omicron\ \tau\iota\omega\nu\ \delta\epsilon$ is *repeated* instead of $\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\nu\ \delta\epsilon$. In the Versions a similar expression serves in repetition.

The Latin may be further illustrated at Matt. xv 11 $\epsilon\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \sigma\acute{\omicron}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (*pro* $\epsilon\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \sigma\acute{\omicron}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$). So 157. Compare the Latin 'ex ore, hoc'. Remove the comma, read $\epsilon\chi\omicron\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\varsigma$ and we have the ablative ready to be turned into this Greek genitive. Similarly *ille* and *illi* often lead to confusion by overflow into Greek documents. There are many instances of it. Notice Luke xviii 21 $\text{'}\omicron\ \delta\grave{\epsilon}\ \epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\nu\ +\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\ [\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha]\ 157$ with *G c fl syrr* and *aeth* for 'qui ait haec'. Wordsworth notes that *f* and two *vg* codices write 'at ille ait haec', but *bfr* write 'et ait ille haec' (*c fl l* 'et ait *illi* haec') shewing how *ille* became *illi*. See also Luke xix 36, xxii 38.

Further Matt. xxi 7 + $\delta\epsilon$ (*post* $\eta\gamma\alpha\gamma\omicron\nu$) 157. 'Et addux . . . ' *latt* and *syrr*, but not apparently Greek, except 243 (which I have already named elsewhere as partaking of as much Latin influence as some of the Lectionaries).

We have been taught to look to bilinguals (of which *D d* is the most notorious example) for violent 'accommodation' of Greek to Latin, and Latin to Greek. Yet in 157 I can shew as curious and wonderful things.

In Luke viii 29 Evan 157 alone substitutes $\epsilon\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon\tau\omicron$ for $\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$. Upon consulting *D^{sr}* you find that while holding $\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$, his *Latin d* has: 'custodiebatur', which is also read by *b fl l q r aur m* and *g*, 'detinebatur' by *e*, 'ut custodiretur' by *a c*; practically then by all the Old Latins, and it is the way of the Syriac as well. How did it get back into Greek? St Jerome has cleared up the matter by substituting *custoditus*, so that only the Latin *g*, (= *G^{vs}*) retains the ancient Latin reading. But Greek 157 ('revised on the most ancient copies in Jerusalem')¹ has this ancient non-Greek form, which we see is *pre-Hieronymian*.

¹ There are some eight other MSS known which have these subscriptions, but their texts, while having some points of contact, are not by any means identical.

Consult the immediate neighbourhood to see that the 157 text is ancient here, as at Luke ix 34 *επεσκιαζεν*, the imperfect (for *επεσκιασεν*), agreed to by **NBL Paris**⁷ and two Greek lectionaries with a Latin.

Sympathy also exists between 157 and the Bohairic and the Sahidic versions.

It seems quite certain that this Constantinopolitan text passed through Egypt at some time early in its history. Its agreement with the group including the bilingual T and the new MS W shews this. Note also:

Matt. ix 18 Order: *ελευτησεν αρτι* Absolutely alone with *sah* and *boh*.

xxi 11 „ ο προφητης ιησους **NBD** 157 *sah boh d Orig* 1/3.

xxiii 4 + αυτοι δε (*ante τω δακτυλω*) **NBDL** 33 157 *d sah boh syr Iren Hier Op imp.*

Luke v 18 + αυτον (*post θειναι*) **BLΞ** 157 *sah boh syr arab goth diatess.*

v 38 — και αμφοτεροι συντηρουνται **NBLW** 1.33.157.604 *sah boh.*

vii 10 — ασθενουντα **NBLW** 1.157.604 *sah boh it^{pl} syr sin hier aeth.*

xvii 15 εκαθερισθη (*προ ιαθη*) **D** 157 *b d f l r sah [non boh] syrr aeth goth diatess.*

xxiii 24 — περιλυπον γενομενου **NBL** 157 *fam i sah boh syr hier.*

xx 23 — τι με πειραζετε **NBL** 157 *fam i sah boh arm e [non latt rel syr aeth].*

xxiii 8 — πολλα **NBDKLMTH** *fam* 1.157 *sah boh syr cu sin d.*

xxiii 20 + αυτοις (*post προσεφωνησεν*) **NBLT** 124.157 *sah boh syrr aeth a.*

xxiii 25 — αυτοις **NABDPXTΔΔ** *al. unc^s sah boh a d d [contra syrr aeth].*

John viii 14 > η μαρτυρια μου αληθης εστιν **B** 157 235 *Eust* 60 *b vg¹¹ sah arm Orig Did.*

I would add, to indicate the Coptic strain, besides the many places including Coptic adherence (whether *boh* and *sah* both of them, or some of the codices of each version¹) the following places:

Luke ix 61 — δε *sec.* Alone apparently with *μ* and *sah, boh*^{allq}: 'Permit me first' instead of 'But first permit me' [Not noted by Birch].

xii 51 *επι την γην* 157 *cf. boh sah* 1/2.

xii 58 + την (*ante φυλακην*) 157 299 *sah boh* (and *e* only of Latins *custodiam* instead of *carcerem* by the rest).

xiv 9 + τον (*ante τοπον*) 157 *sah boh* (I can find no others).

xviii 9 — και *sec.* 71.157 *sah* 3/6.

¹ Such as Luke vii 5 + ημων (*post συναγωγην*) **R^{sr}** 157 and *boh* Δ¹⁰.

viii 43 + και (*ante ουκ*). **N^s** 157 *boh* 14/20 *syr sin goth aeth diatess.*

Luke xviii 36 + του (*ante* οχλου) 157 *sah* [*non boh*].

xxi 11 κατα τοπον 157 alone. Cf. *sah boh*: κατα αα.

xxii 53 > εν τω ιερω μεθ υμων D 157 248 *al^a d sah boh* [*Non syr lat*]. Such things must be compared with Matt. ix 18 above.

xxiii 29 > ημεραι ερχονται NCX 71 157 *sah* [*Non boh lat*].

John vi 44 + μου G 157 and *sah*.

xiv 2 πορευσομαι 157 *sah boh aeth* (and 27 33 37 46 54 *Eust* 6.16 reported by Mill and Wetstein, yet 33 is not repeated by Treg or Tisch in their apparatus. The future does not appear in Matthaei's codices nor in those collated by Scrivener).

xvii 1 + αυω (*post* αυτου) 157 *sah boh*.

xxi 19 — αυτω 157 *sah* 1/4 (and cf. xxi 17, xxi 19 where we omit αυτω both times; *obs. copt πεζαζ παρ*).

Proceeding further, note the Coptic turn at Luke xxii 66 μετα των αρχιερων και γραμματεων (for αρχιερεις τε και γραμματεις) by 157 alone. This with Luke xx 18 + ουν (*post* πας) by 157 alone is perhaps to be referred to an *error oculi* from *sah*: οτον πια and *boh*: οτον πιαεν 'every one'. (+ γαρ *syr cu sin*).

Finally, add three cases where the possessive precedes the noun, in one of which Luke xvi 4 εις τους εαυτων οικους 157 stands alone with *sah boh*.

¹ In Luke xiv 23 μου ο οικος by 157 *sah boh*, we are supported by N A B D⁸ (*contra d*) K L R X Π Ψ, it would seem the whole 'Egyptian' group of Greeks and only *e* Latin, against all others.

² In Luke xix 23 μου το αργυριον by 157 *sah boh*, we have also support by N A B L (N μου το αργυριον μου) and four cursives.

The occasions on which this occurs being rare seem to be the more emphatic. The climax—I might really say the proof—is reached of the employment at some time of a Graeco-Coptic text when in the nineteenth chapter we find the Coptic column responsible, as it would seem, for two Greek readings:

Luke xix 20 — ιδων (*post* κυριε) 157 (alone with 44* 131 254 *r* vg*^b).

xix 25 + ιδε (*post* κυριε) 157 alone.

In both cases the Sahidic would account for it. In the first place πρ^οεις εic is found, the second εic being easily dropped. And conversely in the second, πρ^οεις might be expanded and easily confused with εic for ιδε.

A super-climax, if I may be allowed the 'African' expression, is

¹ In the heart, as it were, of this Egyptian influence, we meet in the same verse the Semitic ποιησον for αναγκασον by 157 alone.

² Cf. Matt. ii 12.

afterwards reached at John xiv 2 (referred to above), where, for the familiar 'I go to prepare a place for you', 157 says πορεύομαι . . . 'I will go' with *sah boh aeth*. [Cf. the note on John vi 30 where the omission of *τι εργαζη* of 157 and *syr sin* is opposed by the other Syriacs, Aeth, and Coptic.]

The composite character of the text of 157 is perhaps as clearly illustrated as anywhere in the opening of Luke xvi, where we can see this picture within a few verses:—

Luke xvi 2 + *μοι* (*post αποδος*) Not Greek. Only *Eust* 49 with *sah, boh* 2/24 *syr ach peah diatess pers*.

Then: 3 + *εκεινος* (*post οικονομος*) Not Greek. But *syrr* collectively including *syr vet* absent above.

4 > *εις τους εαυτων οικους* *Sah boh* against *Gr-syr-lat*.

7 *τω δευτερω* (*pro ετερω*) Alone. (*τω ετερω* D)

10 *πολλοις* (*pro πολλω prim.*) Alone. (Only *Hiercant cant maioribus*.)

¹ 12 *εμον* (*pro υμετερον*) *eil Tertmarc* (Not *Gr-syr*.)

20 — *ος* (*post Λαζαρος*) *ℵ B D L X Ψ* 33 *a de sah boh arm aeth Clem* (Greek error referred to previously.)

21 *περιελειχον* Graphically alone with *Chrysostom*. The Greeks and Latins, notwithstanding the opportunity, do not indulge in this. The nearest is *a* with *lambabant*.

23 > *απο μακροθεν ο αβρααμ* Alone it would appear (with *pers*).

25 + *αυτω* (*ante αβρααμ*) Only *Λ* of Greeks* with three cursives, but *Latin* and *Syriac*, *sah* [not *boh*¹].

157 with *syrr* collectively.

Notice first the apparent influence of unpointed words at Luke ii 37 *νηστεια** (no trace in Coptic).

The correspondence with *Aphraat.*, as at Luke xiv 12 — *μηδε τους αδελφους σου* (omitted by 157 with *L* and a few, but not the versions), should also be noticed. Observe Luke ix 25, where 157 holds *κερδησας*,

¹ Note 157 at John vi 70 *εξ ημων* (*pro εξ υμων*), 'And one of *us* is a devil'; *xv 20 ημετερον* (*pro υμετερον*), 'If they have kept my word they will keep *ours* also.'

* *Λ* is one of the MSS with the same subscriptions as 157 referred to on p. 244 n. 1.

³ This can be compared to Evan. 28 in Matt. xxiii 32, which MS there substitutes alone *εργον* for *μετρον*, drawing from Luke xi 48 *αρα μαρτυρες εστε και συνευδοκειτε τοις εργοις των πατερων υμων*. Upon consulting *syr cu* at Luke xi 48 we find the plural point absent from the Syriac word, and Burkitt opposite says 'Hence ye bear witness to and make confession of the *deed* of your Fathers'.

but in Matt. xvi 26 substitutes *σαν κερδηση* for *εαν κερδηση*. Consult *syr* as to *quum* and *si*, and my note on Matt. xvi 26.

It is not necessary to recapitulate here the many passages shewing Syriac influence (as Luke xxii 68 *etc. etc.*). The notes in the Collation will suffice. The interesting part is to note the *alternations* of Syriac and Latin in close proximity, which I need also not list. *Cela saute aux yeux*. Take one example at Luke xviii 18 *των αρχοντων* for *αρχων* says 157 with c^{scr} and the *syr*,¹ while at ver. 22 we substitute *αυτου* for *ταυτα* with *e*. There is no *ταυτα* in *syr*, for the *syr* omit *ταυτα* with *N B D L* and *copt*.

Aethiopic. We have to note rather remarkable agreement in places with Walton's *aeth*.² There is hardly any question of accommodation to *aeth* late, for they are opposed in close propinquity, *e.g.* at Matt. xviii 8, 11/12, 28. The same applies to most of the *syr* and *it* readings. It seems to be a question of a community of origin based on a very old text.

Persian. Walton's Persian MS also seems to have a base (poetical and free as it is often in a general way) which corresponds to some of our otherwise singular readings. It has been remarked previously of this Persian version that it may have been made from the *Syriac*. If so, it preserves, with 157, readings not forthcoming in the Syriac MSS which we possess.

Retranslation. This may be said to be rife throughout the codex, and needs no emphasis on my part.³ It can be studied *ad fastidium lectoris*.

Evan. 28 and 157. The agreement between 28 and 157 is confined to certain places, often widely separated but very definite, such as :

¹ The Greek of Mark and Matthew is simply *εἰς*. The *των αρχοντων* is pure diatessaron, but *all* the Syriacs have it. Hogg says : Mark x 17, 'There came near to him a young man² of the rulers'; and in his notes : '²from Matthew³ from Luke'. While the early Latin texts in Luke omit *princeps* altogether (so *Marcion*; and *Justin* "*λέγοντος αὐτῷ τινος*").

² John i 48. A curious touch, omitted by Birch, as to Nathaniel. *αὐτῷ* for *πρὸς αὐτοῦ* is written by 157 alone with 45 and *aeth*. That is to say that the welcome : 'Behold an Israelite indeed in whom there is no guile' is addressed to Nathaniel and not merely spoken to the entourage only *concerning* him. I mention it because shortly before in Luke we see a strong *aeth* base :

Luke xxiii 44 — *ωσει* 157 y^{scr} *sah boh aeth* }
xxiv 10 *καὶ* (*pro al sec.*) 157 *aeth* }

³ Attention may be directed to Luke xix 21 *αιρων* . . . *θεριζων pro αιρεις* . . . *θεριζεις*. This does not appear to be borrowed from the Greek of the verse following, but rather to be an error from the Latin. Most have *tollis* . . . *metis* in ver. 21, *tollens* . . . *metens* in ver. 22. But in ver. 21 ff and *vg*^B have *tollens* . . . *metes*, *cq vg*^F *tolles* . . . *metes* (*d i s vg*^{COTZ} *tollis* . . . *metes*) as if the bar had been left out. Note also Luke xx 9 + *αυτος* (*ante ανεδημυσε*) with D and *latt Et ipse* . .

Luke iii 1 *ιτουρεας*, iii 18 *τω λαω*, v 32 *ηλθον*, viii 29 *αυτω*, ix 12 *τους οχλους*, ix 28 — *και ante παραλαβων*, ix 48 *επι πασιν* (28 and 157 quite alone), xiii 1 *fin. αυτου*, xx 16 *εκεινους*, xxiii 33 + δυο, *εξ ευωνυμων* (harmony), xxiv 18 + *εξ αυτων*. John xiii 24 *τουτον (pro toutw)*, and, for a bold joint harmony: Matt. xxiv 45 *εν καιρω την τροφην* (*cf.* Luke xii 42). Only 253 and 433 join 28–157 against all *Gr-syr-lat.* It can only come from Luke xii 42 *εν καιρω το σιτομενον*, yet why vary the order in Matthew, retaining the Matthaean word, unless from a diatessaron? In the *diat-arab* these two verses from Matthew and Mark are combined. Otherwise 28 and 157 often go apart, as at

Matt. xxv 16 where 28 has *εποιησεν* but 157 *εκερδησεν*

xxv 22 where 28 holds *λαβων* but 157 (and 243) *εληφως*.

We must not forget (in view of the subscriptions to 157) that 28, besides omitting, with *syr* and *diatess*: *ο λεγεται ερμηνεομενον διδασκαλε* in John i 39 [ver. 38 *ed. St.* 1551]—*cf.* *k* for a similar omission in Mark xv 34—also omits *της ιουδαιας* in Luke i 5 (with Evan. 255 and *diatess*). This may perhaps be compared to the omission of *της Συριας* in Luke ii 2 by *syr hier.* Tischendorf does not even mention the omission of Evan. 28 on John i 39, nor that of *k* on Mark xv 34, nor that of *syr hier* on Luke ii 2, so that I am justified in calling these matters to your attention.

At Mark i 4 Evan. 157 adds (alone) *της ιουδαιας* after *ερημω* (*Mut syr cu sin*). I have not found in 157 however any omissions of the ‘which being interpreted’ clauses.

Greek harmony.

Consult Luke viii 25 *επειμα* (for *επιτασσει*) by 157 alone. This seems to be against the Syriac and the Latin (*omn.*) ‘imperat’, and conveys ‘reprove’ as much as ‘command’. For the origin we must go to the parallels Matt. viii 26, Mark iv 39, in both of which *επειμισησεν* is used. That 157 changes the word and here maintains the tense of St Luke is very noteworthy. Consider also Luke xi 15 *ελεγον* (*pro ειπον*) alone (Matt. ix 34, Mark iii 22 both *ελεγον*); same verse + *οτι* alone, except for Coptic (*cf.* Mark iii 22); Luke ix 25 *ωφεληθησεται* (*cf.* Matt. xvi 26); Luke xii 24 + *ουδε συναγουσιν εις αποθηκας* (*ex* Matt. vi 26) and conflate at that, *Sc.*, *Sc.*

The following is interesting. John xii 20 *εν τῷ ιερῷ* (*pro εν τη ἑορτῇ*). Apparently 157 is the only one to make this change here. The Syriacs do not support, nor are their words for *templo* and *festo* at all similar. If it is a harmony it is a violent one, for the parallels (Matt. xxi 12, Mark xi 11, Luke xix 45) are not exact. Yet, when we consult the diatessaron, we find that in this § xl John xii 20 is following Matthew

xxi 11, 14, 15. On the other hand Matt. xxi 12^a is to be found referred to at § xxxii 1, but Mark xi 11 and Luke xix 45 do not find a place in the diatessaron.

Another place demands a passing notice. At Luke xx 24 after *δηναριον* is found the addition: *οἱ δὲ ἔδειξαν καὶ εἶπε*. This is not alone by 157 but with *NC L al.* and *c* with *boh sah* and *arm*, against *syr* and against *diatess*, which quotes from Matthew xxii 19/20 'So they brought unto him a penny, Jesus said unto them' as the Greek there *προσῆνεγκαν*. In Mark (xii 16) it is also *ἤνεγκαν*, but the form is more in the form of 157 and reads: "*οἱ δὲ ἤνεγκαν καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς*". Yet here we see 157 and its companions (observe *not D d* nor *syr*), incorporating a phrase of harmony with *ἔδειξαν* as the leading word (to correspond with *δείξατε* above), which is absolutely not Tatian, for he does not use the Marcan but the Matthaean form. While, be it observed, the new cursive Paris⁹⁷ (Scr 743, Greg 579, von Soden ε 376), edited by Alfred Schmidtke in 1903, alone gives us + *οἱ δὲ ἤνεγκαν πρὸς αὐτὸν δηνάριον καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς*, agreeing more with Matthew and *diatess* by incorporating *δηνάριον*.

Yet another place. Matt. iii 10 *fin. post βαλλεται + καὶ καίετε* apparently 157 alone. I was puzzled as to this addition until I came to John xv 6. The addition must be inspired from this place I think.¹ It certainly has nothing to do with *diatess arab* which reports Matt. iii 10 at § iv 18 and John xv 6 at § xlvi 23.

Latin harmony.

Luke xxi 30 *προβαλῶσι τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῶν ἤδη (pro προβαλῶσιν ἤδη)* So 157 with *D d* only, *s^{cor}* most *vett latt* and (*Tert*) and also *syr cu sin* in a way, but not the *diatess arab*, which is *ex Matt.* (xxiv 32): 'When it letteth down its branches and putteth forth its leaves'. There is nothing about *fruit* here; "*τὰ φύλλα ἐκφύη*" is the expression, nor in Mark (xiii 28) where the expression is the same. Yet in Luke:

<i>b c ff g₁ l q (i)</i>	all say 'cum producunt iam ex se <i>fructum</i> '
<i>d</i>	'cum produxerint <i>fructum</i> suum'
<i>e</i>	'cum coeperint mittere <i>fructus</i> eius'
<i>f</i>	'cum incipient ostendere <i>fructum</i> '
<i>Tert</i>	'cum <i>fructum</i> protulerint'
<i>syr cu sin</i>	'cum incipiunt pullulantes et dantes <i>fructus</i> suos'

but *a* is noteworthy and independent: 'cum floriet a se'

r does not agree: 'cum producunt ex se folia'.

¹ I have since seen that Wetstein is of this opinion and cites *Eust* 22 for it.

Tertullian throws some light on this, for while *Tisch* is quoting him from *Marcion*^{iv 39}, *Tert* has something more to say. In the *Resurr*²³ he writes 'Cuius etiam parabola subtexitur tenerescentium arborum in caulem floris et dehinc florem frugis antecursorem'. *Cypr* is silent, but we have *e* as above.

I have been repeatedly informed that the *diatess arab* is not the original text of Tatian's harmony, and that much has been changed in it to conform to the Syriac vulgate. Enough of the undoubted original however remains to be of great use in many places.

The Diatess arab. and old base.

As regards 157 and its support, note the following (against *syr pesh*):

Luke vii 44 + και (ante υδωρ) 157 confirmed by D d and *syr hier diatess* only; not *syr-r-latt* as we have them to-day, not even *syr vet* [This is an important place.] See collation as to *Ephr*.

xii 53 + και (ante πενθερα) 157 confirmed by 237 *ce dim μ Tert syr cu sin diatess* against *syr pesh*.

Observe also the following:

Luke viii 30 — λεγων *diatess syrpesh* but this time supported by NB *min pauc. a b c e f l q* and by 157 against *rell gr* and *syr cu sin*.

xvii 23 μη εξελθητε (pro μη απελθητε μηδε διωξητε). This, the 'shorter text', is given by 157 alone thus with *syr pesh* (*diatess* 'go not therefore after them' = perhaps B and *sah* most closely: "μη διωξητε" *absque* μη απελθητε). Synoptically speaking this is a most confusing place, the *diatess* merging accounts but not being faithful to any of the Synoptics, and the other documents being confused here owing to recollections of ιδου εν τη ερημω εστιν μη εξελθητε ιδου εν τοις ταμειοις μη πιστευσητε in Matt. xxiv 26, and μη πιστευετε οτ πιστευσητε in Mark xiii 21. The Latins hold both clauses in Luke and the old Syriacs also (although varying between themselves in expressions). The place is, perhaps, too complicated to make it worth while exhibiting the evidence *in extenso*.

xxi 8 + ο χσ (post εγω εμυ) By 157 alone of Greeks with practically the whole *itala syrpesh pers Tert*^{uaro} as the *diatess* and Matt. xxiv 5, against *syr cu sin*.

xxiii 35 — συν αυτοις 157 supported by NB C D L Q X Ψ 33 47 69 Paris⁹⁷ *Eust* 47 most *it copt aeth syrsch pesh hier* against *syr cu sin*. The *diatess* does not here actually take a side being a merger of the Synoptics (§ li 37/40).

We might add from the evidence of 157 a rather peculiar place at

Matt. viii 15 + παραχρημα (*ante αφηκεν*) the equivalent of *syr en sin* 'and in the same hour the fever left her'.

In St Mark (i 31) παραχρημα is absent, but the Syriac adds again as above (we do not, but see what the others do in Tischendorf's note).

In St Luke (iv 39) it is different: και αφηκεν αυτην παραχρημα δε αναστασα διηκονει αυτοις where the Syriac agrees.

The *diatess* is also from Luke: '*And He stood over her and rebuked the fever and it left her and immediately she rose and ministered to them.*'

Thus 157 takes, with the Syriac, a peculiar line in Matthew. In St Luke there is a trace of the difficulty in D 254 *e*, for instead of παραχρημα δε or και παραχρημα, the copula is wanting, and they attach παραχρημα to the previous clause, as is seen by their continuation, D: ωστε αναστασαν αυτην διακονειν αυτοις, 254: η δε αναστασα . . . , and *e*: 'et surgens . . .'

D is wanting in the Matthaean parallel, but should be consulted in Mark i 31. It may be thought that neither 157, D 254, nor *e* are harmonizing in Luke, yet a reference to Mark will shew that D intends to harmonize; and if we consult 157 in the previous chapter at Matt. vii 12 where retaining οὕτως it yet adds ὁμοίως before ποιεῖτε, reading "οὕτως και υμεις ὁμοίως ποιειτε αυτοις", we shall see a definite and superfluous harmony. Neither Birch nor Scholz reports this last, so that I may just as well call attention to it, although it is an insignificant point *per se*.

This ὁμοίως then comes from Luke vi 31:—

και καθως θελετε ινα ποιωσιν υμιν οι αἱροι και υμεις ποιειτε αυτοις ὁμοίως.

The *diatess* repeats this, giving us both forms:—

§ ix 11 'And as ye desire that men should do to you, so do ye also to them' (Luke vi 31)

§ x 31 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you do ye even so to them' (Matt. vii 12)

so that 157 can hardly be said to have borrowed from the Tatianic *diatessaron*.

It is important to keep this clearly in mind for the larger questions which arise, because any real study of the Synoptic problem must be preceded even in this our day by a knowledge of what the MSS testify. That is all I have meant to say about this most important field, viz. that we can get more compass-bearings from unexamined MSS than we have yet done. Here is a case where we have been quite ignorant of the testimony of 157. And many more such readings will be found in the following pages.

H. C. HOSKIER.

Luke

- i 10 > ἦν τοῦ λαοῦ
 15 τοῦ θῦ (*pro* του κυρίου)
 19 Γαυριήλ *vid de industria* (*non* Γαυριήλ *pro* Γαβ . . . *ut in ver* 26) ††
 ἀπεστάλη (*pro* ἀπεσταλὴν) *medio lin.* †† (*Cf. ver* 26)
 25 τὸν ὀνειδισμόν μου (*pro* το ονειδος μου) ††
 30 πρὸς αὐτῇ· (*pro* αὐτῇ) †† *Male Bir Scho* πρὸς αὐτὴν *codex.*
 πρὸς αὐτὴν C 28 46 62 258 2^{scr} e *Cypr Chron Alex goth om. r.*
 36 συνεληφεν (*pro* συνεληφῆναι) †† *NBLW 2^o syr copt lat et d contra D 8^r*
 γήρει (*pro* γήρα)
 39 αὐταῖς (*pro* ταύταις) †† *Sol?* (ἐκεῖναις 28 *al. fauc, illis lat?*)
 44 > ἐσκήρτηδ τὸ βρέφος ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει
 50 εἰς γενεάν καὶ γενεάν (*pro* eis γενεας γενεων)
 52/53 *imigit ex industria*
 59 ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος (*pro* ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνοματι) †† *Al.?* (*Non lat*)
 i 5 ἀββῖα †† [ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ] ἀδρῶν 6 [δίκαιοι
 ἀμφότεροι] 8/9 *uno tenore* 17 [προελεύσεται]
 ἀπειθείς ἐτοιμᾶσαι 18 κατατί σῖς προβεβηκῖα
 21 [αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ναῶ] 22 [ἡδύνατο] 25 οὕτως ††
 [ὁ κς.] 26 [ὑπὸ] ἡ *pro* ἡ [ναζαρέτ] 28
 [·εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν·] (*stichos cogitate*) 35
 [γεννώμενον] *absque* εκ σου 36 αὐτὴ *pro* αὐτῇ *prim.*
 39 ἀναστάσα 42 γυναιξίν †† 43 [πρὸς με·]
 48 πάσαι 49 [μεγαλεία] 58 περὶ οἰκοίς *sic* ††
 59 [ἐν τῇ ὀγδὸν ἡμέρᾳ] 61 [ἐν τῇ συγγενείᾳ] 63
 [τὸ ὄνομα] 66 ἀρα 67 [προεφίτησε] 69
 [τοῦ παιδὸς] 76 [πρὸ προσώπου] ἐτοιμᾶσαι 79
 ἐπιφάναι κατευθύναι ὁδὸν εἰρήνης *sine sp.*
 ii 5 [ἀπογράψασθαι] συμμариὰν *sic* ††
 14 *Ita:* ·δόξα ἐν ὑψί
 στοῖς θῶ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν
 ἀνοῖς εὐδοκία·
 15 > οἱ ἄγγελοι εἰς τὸν οὐνόν· [καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι] *fam* 13 259 *latt (cf. al.)*
 19 > συνετήρει τὰ ῥήματα πάντα ταῦτα †† *Sol?* (*cf. al.*) *Vide* ii 51
 20 ἵπποστρεψαν (*sic acc.*) *pro* ἐπέστρεψαν
 — καὶ εἶδον †† *Sol cum lμ* (> εἶδον καὶ ἤκουσαν *syr*)
 21 καὶ ὅτε αἱ ἡμέραι ἐπλήσθησαν (— οκτώ) †† *Sol^{vid} et Eus.*
 25 > ἦν ἄγιον *gr unc omn (exceptis D N) e sah (contra latt syr etc)*
 26 — ἡ (*post priu*) ††
 28 αὐτὸν (*pro* αὐτὸν) †† *MUGA etc goth latt*
 33 + ὁ παῖρ αὐτοῦ (*post iωσηφ*) *Sol^{vid} cum aeth (N*BDLW sah*
 boh arm (vg))
 37 νηστεία (*pro* νηστείαις) [καὶ Δεήσεις] †† *syr aeth pers. [Non*
 *gr (N*νηστιας) latt copt vid]*
 38 [καὶ αὐτῇ] — αὐτῇ *seq.* †† *cf. al et Amphilocho.*
 40 σοφία (*pro* σοφίας) *N^oBLW 33 Eust 44 P^orsem latt (boh*
 εμαεζ ehol 3εκ οσσοφια, sah εμαεζ ἡσοφια)

Luke

- ii 43 καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ (*pro* και ουκ εγνω Ιωσηφ και η μητηρ αυτου) *MBDLW fam 1 Parisⁿ a de aur vg copt arm syr sin hier*
- 51 τὰ ρήματα ἅπαντα ταῦτα †† (A (D) K Π *etc*)
 ii 2 ἡγεμονεύουσιν 3 [ιδίαν] 4 ἦτις πατριὰς 5 *fin.* ἐγγύω †† 8, 15, 20 ποιμαίνουσιν †† 12 [τὸ σημεῖον] [κείμενον ἐν τῇ φάτνῃ] 13 στρατιάς *sic* [οὐρανοῦ] 15 ἐγνώρισεν 16 ἀνδρὸν *sic* 17 [Διεγνώρισαν] 18 ποιμαίνων †† 21 [τὸ παιδίον] 22 μωσέως †† 22/23 *uno tenore* 24 [νεοσσούς] 25 ἱεροσολήμ *plene et* 38 [ἐν ἱεροσολήμ] *plene, sed* 41, 43, 45 ἰλῆμ 28 ἀγγάλας *sic* [αὐτοῦ.] †† 32 λαοῦσου ἰλῆ. *sic* 36 προφῆτης †† 38 ἐπιστάσα ἀνθομολογεῖτο 39 [ὑπέστρεψαν] ἐαυτῶν (*pro* αὐτῶν) †† 40 *fin.* ἐπ αὐτῶ †† 44 νομίσαντες *sic* (*fin. lin et init prox*) †† 48 [καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ μήρ αὐτοῦ εἶπε·] [ἐξῆτοῦμεν] 52 [σοφία καὶ] ἡλικία
- iii 1 ἰτουρέας †† *cum* 13.28 (*me teste*) *Cf. lat*
 ἀβιδνήσ (*pro* αβιληνης) †† *Sol cum Ψ* αβιδινης
 2 ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέωσ (*pro* ἐπ' ἀρχιερεων) † (*Recte Bir, male Scho lapsu*)
 — του (*ante* ζαχαριου)
 3 [τὴν περίχωρον] ἰορδάνου· (— του) † (*Recte Bir, negl. Scho*) του
supra lin min script rubro a man rubric
 8 + οτι (*ante* πατερα) †† L 33 Parisⁿ *syr arm copt Orig 2/3*
(spatium in D)
 17 διακαθαρίσει † (*Recte Bir, male Scho* διακαρίσει)
 18 *fin.* τῷ λαῷ (*pro* τον λαον) 28 131 244 253 254 *al. Eust 49 f.¹⁰ δ*
(contra Δστ) Thpl (Cf. syr copt)
 19 — φιλιππου
 25 ἀμμῶσ †† 26 σεμεί †† 27 ἰωῶν (*pro* ιωαννα) ††
 27 σαλαβειλ †† *Sol^{vid} (cf. lat)*
 νῆρη ††
 28 ἡρί (*pro* Ἡρ) †† *Sol^{vid} (Heris goth)*
 29 — του ιωση †† *Sol?*
 31 μεῦνᾱ (*pro* μαῖνάν) †† *NBLX 33 latt aliq boh (Male Bir*
μενᾱ, male Scho μενᾱ, male Tisch)
 32 βόωζ *sic* †† *Sol?* (*et ed Eras 3.4.5. Col*)
 — του ναασσων †† *Sol^{vid} cum 2^{cor} et vg B^{mg}.*
 33 ἀμιαδάμ † (*Recte Bir, negl. Scho*)
 τοῦ ἀδμῆν· τοῦ ἀρνὶ *sic* (*pro* του αραμ) †† (*Male Bir et Scho*
 τοῦ ἀδμεῖν, τοῦ ἀρνει)
 35 σεῖροιχ
 φυλέρ *sic* (*pro* φαλεκ) †† *Sol^{vid}*
 37 — του ενωχ του ιαρεδ †† *Sol^{vid}*
 iii 4 [λέγουτος] φωνη 5 πάσα *vid.* φάραξ †† [εὐθειαν]
 τραχείαι 7 ὑπαυτοῦ *sic* 10, 12 [ποιήσομεν] 11
 [λέγει] 14 [καὶ ἡμεῖς τι ποιήσομεν] 14 μῆδε
 17 [συνάξει] σίτον 19 ὦν 20 [ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ]

Luke

- 22 [λέγουσαν· σὺ εἰ δὲ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἐν σοὶ ἠνδόκησα·]
 23 [ὁ ἰϛ] ὦν 23 ἡλεῖ 24 μελῇ [sed μελῇ ver 28]
 launā sic acc. 25 ἐσλεῖ ναγγαῖ sic acc. 28 ἀδδεῖ
 ἐλμῶδαμ 29 ἰῶρεῖμ 30 συμῶν ἰωνᾶν 32
 σαλμῶν 38 ὁῖθ sic acc.
- iv 3 καὶ εἶπεν (sic) δὲ αὐτῷ Sol^{id} conflat
 4 + ὁ (ante ἰϛ) ††
 — ὁ (ante ἀνῶσ)
 [ἀλλ' ἐπὶ (sic) παντὶ ῥήματι] + ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος [θεοῦ]
 alig et Evst^a et boh mult
- 7 + πεσῶν (post ean) †† Min alig it arm boh^m Iren^{int} Cyr
 (Cf. Matt. iv 9)
 σοι πᾶσα (pro σου πάντα)
 8 > καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ ἰϛ εἶπεν αὐτῷ
 — γαρ
 > κῦ τὸν θῦ σου προσκυνήσεις
 — ὁ (ante υἱος)
- 9
 16 ἀνατεθραμμένους NFLWΞ I [non 118-209] fam 13 33 40 Paris⁹⁷
 Eus Cyr
 — καὶ εἰσῆλθε Sol^{id} cum D⁸⁷ (contra d). Confuse Tisch me
 iudice in notulis. Ita D⁸⁷ ελθων δε εἰς ναζαρεδ όπου ην κατα
 το εωθος εν τη ημερα των σαββατων Sed amplius d: veniens
 autem in Nazared ubi erat nutricatus introibit secundum
 consuetudinem in sabbato
- 17 — τον (ante τοπον) †† NLWΞ 33 latt
 18 εὐαγγελισασθαι
 20 + τῶν (post πάντων) Sol^{id} cum 237 (Cf. sah)
 22 οὐχὶ (pro ουχ) †† NB D L N W Ψ 69 (Ferrar non Scr) 604
 Paris⁹⁷
- 25 + ὅτι (ante πολλὰι) †† NLW X Δ Ψ min⁸⁰ efl goth syr arm
 copt Orig^{int}
 26 [εἰς σαρεφθὰ τῆς] σιδωνίας
 29 — της sec.
- 30/31 iungit †† [Ergo contra ord Marcion]
 33 > καὶ ἡν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ (D) a b d e f arm aeth
 38 — ἡ
 40 ἅπαντες (pro παντες) †† BC I-118-131-209 604 Paris⁹⁷
 41 κραυγάζοντα ††
 42 ἐπεζήτουν Gr plur et D⁸⁷ et it: requirebant vel inquir., sed d
 quaerebant
- 44 ἰουδαίαις (pro γαλιλαίας) NBCLQRW (των Ιουδαιων) boh sah
 syr sin
 iv 2 [ὑστερον] 4 [πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγων] 6 ὁ (pro ᾧ) 13 ὁ
 διάβολος· ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, †† sic interpuncta 14 ἐξῆλθεν
 καθόλησ sic 18 εἶνεκεν [ἰάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους
 τὴν καρδίαν] 22 [οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς ἰωσήφ·] 25
 ἐπιληθείας sic χήραι [ἐπὶ ἐτῇ τρίῃ] 27 [νεεμάν]

Luke

- 28 ἐπλήσθησαν πάντες sic 29 [αὐτῶν ὠκοδόμητο] 31 ἦν
 fin. σάββασιν
- v 1 αὐτὸν (pro αὐτῷ) ††
- 3 — του pr. (ante σιμωνος) †† NBDLW Paris⁹⁷ verss
- 6 > πληθὺς ἰχθύων
- 13 > ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα^a 12.129 237 245 Paris⁹⁷ al. ? cf. arm
 aeth boh (fam 13 ἀπῆλθεν ἡ λέπρα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ)
- 15 — δε* primum (ita διήρχετο μάλλον*) †† 13-69-346-556 258
 Paris⁹⁷ al. ? boh^{CS*} r₁ v^{CS}IT
- 16 ὑποχωρῶν transf. in loc post προσευχομενος et adiunctum: ἐν αὐταῖς
 ἀπὸ τῶν ὀχλῶν † (Recte Bir, haud accurate Scho) Sol^{vid}
- 18 + αὐτὸν (post θειναι) †† BL^z syrr diatess goth arab boh sah
 [non NACD lat aeth arm]
- 19 πῶς (pro δια ποιας) Min aliq (ποθεν fam 13 etc)
 εἰς (pro ἐπὶ) †† Sol^{vid} cum e syrr (aeth); per (pro super) c
- 20 — ἀνθρώπε 130^{gr} lat. Similiter aeth pers 'dixit isti homini
 infirmo, — homo seq.; cf. fam 1 et it. 'He said unto the
 paralytic, my son' diatess. (τεκνον pro ἀνθρώπε 124)
- 21 — οἱ (ante φαρισαῖοι) † Sol^{vid} (Recte Bir, sed male Scho negl.
 — οἱ sec. et testim dedit ut om. λεγοντες 157 [Habet 157])
- 24 παραλυτικῷ (pro παραλελυμένῳ)
 ἄρον τὸ κλειδίον σου καὶ sic (pro καὶ ἀρας τὸ κλ. σου) (††) Male
 Bir Scho ἄρον τὸ κλειδίον, (— σου); ἀρον (— καὶ) ff c f l q boh
 syr arm aeth; + καὶ post σου ND sah boh it syr arm aeth
- 25 πάντων (pro αὐτων) †† fam 13 Eust 47 a arm (αὐτων
 παντων 111^{gr} 124^{gr} 111^{sah})
- 26 — καὶ ἐκστασις ἐλάβεν ἀπαντας καὶ ἐδοξαζον τον θεον (ex hom. Saltus
 ab theon . . . ad theon) DMSWX fam 13 [non 346] 243 247 d
 e boh^B
- 27 [ὀνόματι λευῖν] + καλούμενον C*
- 29 — ὁ (ante λευῖν)
 > πολὺς τελωνῶν
- 30 > οἱ φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς αὐτῶν
 + τῶν (ante τελωνων) † Recte Bir Om. Scho 157 etsi habet in textu
- 32 ἦλθον (pro ἐληλυθα) C³ D fam 1 28 68 106 Paris⁹⁷ Eust 47
 Cf Matt. ix 13 Marc. ii 17 et Barnabas²⁰ Clem^{rom}
- 33 — διατι N² BLW^z 33 sah, boh (non om) [mut syr cu sin,
 hiat syr hier, sed habent syr^{ach} pesh diatess arm aeth latt]
- 34 + ἵε (ante εἶπε) †† NBCDLRWX^z al. pc. df [non goth, sed
 goth = IS = lat is] copt aeth
- 35 — καὶ (ante οταν) NCFLM min²⁵ it syr copt
- 36 + καὶ (ante τοτε) †† NFM Δ min²⁰ it goth (aeth)
- + σχίσας (ante ἐπιβαλλει) NBDLW^z fam 1 22 33 251 Paris⁹⁷
 d syr copt
- σχίσει (pro σχίζει) ††
 συμφωνήσει

† Mutilus syr sin v 28—vi 12

Luke

- v 36 + το (*ante επιβλημα*)
 καινόν (*pro* απο του καινου) *Sol^{vid} Cf. r μ; cf. Tert Marc Cf.*
sah et pers
- 37 ὁ οἶνος ὁ νέος ††
- 38 — και αμφοτεροι συντηρουνται *NBLW 1-131-209 33 301 604*
Paris⁷⁷ sah boh
- 39 πίνων (*pro* πίων)
 — ευθεως *NBC* LW fam 1 11¹⁰ Paris⁷⁷ sah boh (arm) aeth*
 + ὅτι (*post* γαρ) *K copt aeth goth*
 χρηστός (*pro* χρηστοτερος) *NBLW 225 sah (boh syr arm)*
Aeth^{int} 'purum praestantius est'
 v 1 γενισαρέ† (*Recte Bir, negl. Scho*) 3 ἐπάναγαγιν
sic 5 [ὁ σίμων] [τῆς νυκτὸς] fin. [τὸ δίκτυον] 11
καταγαγώντες †† [ἅπαντα] 12 πεσῶν 13 χεῖρα
[εἰπὼν] 14 καθαρισμού σου sic μωϋσῆς †† [εἰς
μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς.] 17 fin. [αὐτοῦς'] 18 εἰς ἐνεγκύν
sic 25 ἄρασθ. [ἐφ' ὧ] 26/27 Ἰθα: σήμερον' ἂβ' καὶ
μετὰ ταῦτα' ἐξῆλθ'· Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξῆλθε καὶ ἐθεάσατο... ††
*31 [ὁ ἰᾶ] 34 μῆ** (μῆ*) [νυστεύειν] 35 ἀπαντῶν*
sic (non saepe) 36 [ἱματίου καινοῦ] sed inter ἐπιβλημα
et ἱματίου spatium et ου in ἱματίου et in καινου rescript.
Teste Bir απο stabat in loc vac sed nihil vis. est. 37
*[ῥήξει] 38 ἀλλ' (*pro* ἀλλα) ††*
- vi 1 — δευτεροπρωτω *NBLW fam 1.22.33.69* Paris⁷⁷ copt syr it*
[non a d f f μ δ aur]
- 2 — αυτοις *NBC* L W X fam 1 Paris⁷⁷ a c e r copt. αυτω D d*
- 3 > [Καὶ ἀποκριθεῖς] ὁ ἰᾶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἶπεν· (††) (*Male Bir Scho*
ο ἰησοὺς εἶπεν προς αὐτους.) NLW Ψ al.
 ὅτε (*pro* οποτε) οτ *ex em** *NBCDLWXΔΨ al. pauc*
 — οντες *NBD8^r L W X fam 1 22 33 69 242 435 604 Paris⁷⁷*
Eust 32 copt syr (cf. Matt Mc)
- 4 πῶς (*pro* ὡς *init.*)
 — ελαβε και
fin. μόνους τοῖς ἱερέυσιν D 47 54 (69) 78 242 251 Eust 47 it Iren^{int}
- 5 — οτι †† *NB W 1-131-209 604 Paris⁷⁷ arm aeth Marcion*
- 6 — και φρ. †† *NBLWX fam 1.13 min¹⁵ it [non q] verss*
ἄνωσ' ἐκεῖ NBLRW min⁸ μ copt Cyr (— εκει b aeth)
- 7 παρετηροῦντο
*fin. κατ' αὐτοῦ (*pro* αὐτου) †† F^w KLRWΠ al. boh (non sah) arm.*
Cf. r
- 8 εἶπε δὲ (*pro* και εἶπε)
 καὶ (*pro* 'ο δε) †† *NBDLWXΨ 1 33 c^{10r} 604 Paris⁷⁷ it vg*
boh syr hier (goth) aeth
- 9 εἶπε δε (*pro* εἶπεν ουν) †† *NBDLW fam 13.33 604 Paris⁷⁷*
it vg goth
 εἰ (*pro* τι) *NBDLW Paris⁷⁷ it copt*
- 10 + μετ' ὀργῆς, (*post* αὐτους) *fam 13 syr hier (+ εν οργη DXΛ*
min aliq it pl) aeth (arm iratus ut c)

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S

- Luke
vi 10 ἐξέτεινε (προ εποίησεν οὐτω) NDWX fam 1 fam 13 al. et verss
— υγιης [ὡς ἡ ἀλλη]
11 ἐλάλουν (προ διελ.) †† KUPΨ al. [non lat]
τὸ (προ τι ἄν) Sol^{vid} (aliter D d)
ποιήσκειν (προ ποιήσειαν) NAW 91 254 262 al. pc. (ποιήσαιεν
BLA al.)
12 ἐξελεῖν αὐτὸν (προ ἐξηλθεν) NABDLW (X) 12 33 119 i^{ser}
Paris⁷ d e
13 ἐφώνησε (προ προσεφ.) D fam 1 22 Eus latt (εκαλεσεν Paris⁷)
14 + καὶ ἀντε ιακωβον
+ καὶ ἀντε φιλιππον
16 init. + καὶ ††
17 μετὰ τῶν (προ καὶ οχλος) Sol^{vid}
18 ἐνοχλοῦμενοι (προ οχλ.) NABL I. Paris⁷ (Cf. goth anahabaidans)
— καὶ sec. †† NABDLQWΨ 33 85 al⁵ lat copt arm aeth
(non goth syr = et sanabantur, sed syr sin ut san.)
20 ἡν. τῶν οὐρανῶν (plene) προ του θεου X* 69 118-209 [non 1] 122
251 435 w^{ser} z^{ser} al. Eust⁸ c e f goth sah boh (alig) syr hier
Tert (caeli D⁷⁸) Cf. Matt. v 3
23 κατὰ ταυτα* sic †† Cf. κατα τα αυτα BDQW X Ξ Ψ 33, a c d e (qui
variant inter se) sah arm aeth syr Marcion
οὖν (προ γαρ sec.) † Recte Bir, om. Scho. Sol^{vid}. Cf. boh
13/21 ςαρ + οπ
25 — νῦν (post εμπεπλησμενοι)
— υμιν sec. (ante οι γελωντες)
26 — υμιν
[ὕμᾱς εἰπωσι]ν [οἱ ἄνῳι] — παντες
κατὰ αὐτὰ (προ κατα ταυτα) κατα τα αυτα alig (ut supra)
28 ὕμᾱς (προ υμιν)
— καὶ
30 — δε NBKLRWΠ fam 1 64 116 243 253 300 b ffl r μ arm
aeth (syr) sah Clem Tert
— απο Sol? Cf. ord. verss et diatess
31 init. — καὶ † (Recte Bir, negl. Scho) Sol^{vid} cum a^{Matthaei} et pers
32 + καὶ (post καὶ γαρ) †† (cf. lat nam et)
33 — γαρ (ante οι ἁμαρτωλοι) †† NBWA 604 (aeth syr sin hier
sah boh)
34 Δανείσητε (om. Bir N.T., habet Lect Var) NBΞ Paris⁷ (cf. lat
et al.)
λαμβάνειν (προ απολαβειν) †† Sol? (λαβειν NBLWΞ 237
Paris⁷ Iust) accipere δ wg^{cy}
— γαρ NBLWΞΨ 604 Paris⁷ (b q copt aeth) δε Iust. Cj.
Clem^{rom}
— οι (om. Bir N.T., habet Lect Var)
ἁμαρτωλοῦς (προ ἁμαρτωλοῖς) †† H 28 (me teste) 435 Eust
150 al.?
35 — του (ante υψιστου)

Luke

- vi 36 — ουν NBDLW Σ fam 1 33 604 *it goth copt syr sin (arm aeth)*
Clem Orig Ath Cyr Tert Cypr Mac
- 37 *init.* — και D fam 1 al¹⁰ *it copt arm syr Tert* (Cf. Clem^{rom} Polyc)
- 38 σεσαλευμένον και πεπνεσμένον (*sic*)· ὑπὲρ ἐκχυνόμενον, (— και *tert*)
Cf. al. (non accur. Scho)
- 39 + και (*ante παραβολην*)
 μη (*pro μητι*) †† XW 60 251 *al.?* sah, et boh^{ri}*
 ἐμπεσούνται; (*pro πεσούνται*) †† BDLPRW fam 1 fam 13 71
 122 237 c^{scr} 604 Parisⁿ y^{scr} a d
- 40 ἔστω (*pro ἔσται*) †† NF^w 64 91 239 *Orig Const*
- 42 εἰπεῖν (*pro λεγειν*) †† Sol?
 — ἀδελφε D a b c d e f f l g r aur boh^{EF,M} pers (*cf. Matt. vii 4*
ubi & add. ἀδελφε). *Diatess ex Luc habet ἀδελφε*
- 43 + πάλιν (*post ουδε*) NBLW Σ 1 fam 13 Parisⁿ b g₁ q arm boh
 [*non sah*] (*Clem*)
- 45 + δε (*ante αγαθος*) Sol^{rid} *inter gr-copt-syr, cum a b c f l r*
aur vg^{DG} (cf. al. latt ' Bonus homo de bono . . .')
- καὶ γὰρ ἐκ (*pro εκ γαρ*) †† Sol^{rid}
- 47 τοῦσ λόγουσ (*pro των λογων*) †† CF^w MX al. *pauc.* Cf. *verss*
et Matt. vii 24
- 48 τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ (*pro οικιαν*) Sol^{rid} *cum aeth boh¹ syr pesh⁸ μ gat*
vg
 + ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν [*ante δε ἔσκαψε καὶ ἐβάθυνε· καὶ ἔθηκε θεμέλιον ἐπὶ*
τὴν πέτραν] Sol^{rid}
 διὰ τὸ καλῶσ οικοδομῆσθαι αὐτὴν (*pro τεθεμελιωτο γαρ επι την*
πετραν) NBLW Σ 33 Parisⁿ sah boh 1/2 (*aeth*) Om. 604
syr sin
- vi 1 ψόχοντες †† χερσίν †† 9 [ὁ ἰδ̄] [*ἐπερωτήσω*
sic] † Male Scho *ἐπερωτῶ. Silet Bir recte* 10
 ἀπεκατεστάθη 15 [τὸν τοῦ ἀλφαίου] 16 [δσ και]
 17 ἰλῆμ καὶ δ̄ παραλίου *sic* 18 [ὑπὸ] 19 [ἐξήτει]
 23 χάριτε 28 [ὑπὲρ] 29 ἔλυσισ *sic* 31 [καὶ
ὑμῖσ] ποιείτε αὐτοῖσ, ὁμοίωσ· sic interpuncta 33
αγαθοποιεῖτε †† 34 παρὼν *sine apostropho* 34 *fin.*
ἴσα· 35 [δανείσετε· μηδὲν ἀπελπίζοντες. *sic*] 36
 [καθὼσ και] 37 καὶ ἃ καὶ ἀπολυθήσεσθε *sic errore* ††
 38 διδετε (*pro δίδοτε*) †† δοθήσετε *sic* †† 40 [τὸν
διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ] 42 [ἡ πῶσ] 44 σύκα 46
 [δ] *cum Iren Clem Orig Tert contra* ὁ B e goth syr
 48 [πλημμύρασ] [*προσέρρηξεν*] sed 49 *προσέρρηξεν* ††
εὐθέωσ, συνέπεσε· sic (††)
- vii 5 + ἡμῶν (*post συναγωγην*) †† R boh^{Δ10}
- 6 ἐπορεύθη (*pro επορευετο*) †† Sol?
 — οὐ (*ante μακραν*) †† Sol^{rid} *cum syr^{hler} eodd ABC, (Syr sin*
invertens ' Now when he was near, a little from the house'
Forsan μακραν pro ου μακραν factum μακραν) [δ *sine interp^r*]
 > [πρὸσ αὐτὸν] φίλουσ ὁ ἐκατόνταρχοσ NBCLWX Σ 33 131 Parisⁿ

Luke

- c e boh (non sah) aeth.* (Om. *ὁ ἑκατοντ. Δ* [non^r D, male Tisch])
- vii 6 > ἴνα μου ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην (††) *Male Bir Scho* ὑπο τὴν στέγην (— μου)
- 9 > ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ ἰῆ ταῦτα C *syrr^{boh} pesh* (non *boh sah qui variant inter se*) om. ταῦτα 604 *syrr sin hier aeth boh^{k*}* Cf. *c e r μ* (*b d g₁ q d*)
- τῷ ὄχλῳ τῷ ἀκολουθοῦντι αὐτῷ, Sol^r ? *cum syrr aeth* (cf. *sah boh*) (— ἀκολουθ. αὐτῷ W)
- 10 — ἀσθενοντα NBLW *fam* 1 604 Paris⁹⁷ *it* [non *f d μ gat*] *syrr sin hier aeth sah boh*
- 11 — αὐτῷ
- ἱκανοὶ NBDFLW^Ξ 1308^r 1st Paris⁹⁷ *it* (except *b c q* + multi) *vg syrr arm aeth copt* (ἱκανοὶ *habet Δ sine interpr δ*)
- 12 + ἦν (*post* ἱκανος) †† NBL^Ξ *fam* 13.33 604 Paris⁹⁷ *d e μ arm* *syrr hier sah, boh* 1/2. (Non notant *Bir Scho* sed *habent in text.*)
- 16 ἡγέρθη (*pro* ἐγερταί) †† NABC(D) L^Ξ *fam* 1.13.33 604 Paris⁹⁷
- 17 — ἐν sec. †† N^{*a} BFLW^Ξ Ψ 1.33 604 Paris⁹⁷ *y^{scr} b c l* (*vg codd*) *copt*
- 18 + τῷ (*ante* ἰωαννῇ) (+) *i^{scr} al.?* (Om. *Bir N.T. habet Lect Var*)
- 19 κ^v (*pro* ἰησοῦν) *cum* BLR^Ξ (*fam* 13) 33 *a ff₂ g₁* (*vg codd*) *arm aeth sah, boh* (*codd tribus contra tell* 17)
- 19, 20 ἕτερον (*pro* ἄλλον) NBLRWX^Ξ Ψ 33 *al. pauc.* (D ἄλλον *ver* 19, ἕτερον *ver* 20)
- 20 ἀπέστειλεν (*pro* ἀπέσταλκεν) †† NBW 124 129 258 *al. pauc* Cyr
- 21 ἐκείνη (*pro* αὐτῇ) NBLW *fam* 1 *fam* 13 604 Paris⁹⁷ *y^{scr} al. pauc* *c e q copt*
- δε NBLWX 1.13-69-556 33.604 Paris⁹⁷ *Eust* 48 150 *y^{scr} a b* [non *q*] *c ff l r sah* 1/5 *boh omn* Cyr
- 22 — ο ἰησοῦς NBDW^Ξ 604 *it pl arm copt syrr sin* Cyr
- + & (*ante* ἡμῶν) †† D (*confuse sed vide d ' quae ' contra latt et contra morem latt*) *syrr sin aeth copt*
- οἱ NBLWX^Ξ Ψ 1 *al. pauc a b c ff l q μ aur Orig* Cyr *etc.*
- + καὶ (*ante* χωλοὶ) [non *ante* κωφοὶ *etc.*] Ψ *fam* 69 229^{**} 235 258 435 *Eust* 49 *z^{scr} e aur vg^{QW} syrr diatess arm sah* 1/7 [non *boh*]
- 24 — ἀγγέλων Sol^{vid} *cum* 145^{*} (*Habent verss vel ἀγγέλων vel μαθητῶν*)
- τοῖς ὄχλοις (*pro* πρὸς τοὺς ὄχλους)
- 28 ἀμὴν λέγω (*pro* λέγω γάρ) NLX Paris⁹⁷ *syrr hier arm aeth* (om. *copul* B^Ξ Ψ 33 *y^{scr} al. syrr sin pesh boh sah*)
- προφητῆς ἐτ — του βαπτιστου. Ita : “ ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν ἰωάννου οὐδεὶς ἐστίν ” (Cf. *Tisch ad loc.*)
- 31 *init.* — εἶπε δὲ ο κύριος
- 32 λέγοντα *sic* (*pro* καὶ λεγουσιν) N^c W^Ξ (N^{*} B 1 [non 118-131-209] 604 *a* λέγει, DL *al. λεγοντες*)
- 33 μὴ ἐσθίων (*sic*) ἄρτον. μὴ δὲ πίνων οἶνον Cf. *Tisch ad loc.*
- 34 > φίλος τελωνῶν

Luke

- vii 35 > ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ. (N) BW *fam* 69 Paris⁹⁷ *it vg*
syr sin pesh [non ord boh sah] — πάντων N^c DFLM X^ψ
 1.13.28 *al. arm syr cu et d*
- 36 τὸν οἶκον (pro την οικίαν) †† NBDLW^Ξ *fam* 1 *fam* 13 33 604
 Paris⁹⁷ *Amphil Epiφh* Marc
- 37 + ὁ ἴς (post ανακεῖται) 282 *aeth pers Ambr* (130⁸⁷ lat r *vg*^E ante
 ανακ.) (Non *syr* copt nec citat 157 Tisch)
- 38 > ὁπίσω παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ
 — κλαιουσα ἤρξατο βρεχεῖν τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ τοῖς δακρυσί Sol^{vid}
 (in X⁹⁸ *litt min*) Om. κλαιουσα F 235 b *g₁ff lq*. Cf. a
et vell.
 ἐξέμαξε (pro ἐξέμασσε) N* ADLWX^ψ 33 106 Paris⁹⁷ *al.?*
- 41 *init.* + λέγει αὐτῷ (ante δυο χρω.) (DX Paris⁹⁷ *aeth syr hier boh*
sah¹¹⁴ arm b c d e f f r μ gat syrr diatess)
- 42 — αὐτῶν, εἰπέ, Recte Scho et Bir Var Lect (nihil de — εἶπε
 Bir N.T.) Cf. Tisch ad loc.
 ἀγαπήσει αὐτόν
- 43 + ἴς (ante εἶπεν sec.) MW 71 129 243 245 *is^{er} ff μ syrr diatess*
 [non hier vid. (homocoarcton)] *pers* [non *aeth copt*, goth sed
 goth + IS = ille]
- 44 + καὶ (ante ὕδωρ) D de diatess *syr hier arab Ephr* (vide
 Woods *Studia Biblica vol iii p 107*) [non *copt non goth non*
syr al. non al. lat vid.]
- θριξίν (— της κεφαλῆς)
- 45 εἰσῆλθεν (pro εισηλθον) L* 7 12 *fam* 13 [non 124] 16 70 142
 184 218 262 *is^{er} z^{ser} y^{ser} 8^{re} al. a eff h aur δ* (contra Δ⁸⁷)
*gat** dim sah⁴/6 boh¹⁰/20 syrr^{pesh} hier vid Ephr Aug*
- 49 > τίς ἐστιν οὗτος DP 1 *fam* 13 [non 124] c^{ser} 604 *it sah boh*
 (— εστιν *syr*)
 vii 4 δ (pro δ) παρέξιν 6 σκύλου †† 7 ἀλλ
 εἰπέ †† [ιαθίσεταιί] 10 [οἱ πεμφέντες εἰς τὸν οἶκον]
 11 ἐν τῷ ἐξῆς [ἐπορεύετο] [ναῖν.] 12 [υἱός] μονο-
 γενῆς sic †† (non viii 42) [αὕτη ἦν χίρα.] 13 [ἐπ
 αὐτῇ] 15 [ἀνεκάθισεν] 16 πάντας (pro ἀπ.)
 21 [τὸ βλέπειν] 24 ἐξῆλθετε * sic (pro ἐξεληλυθατε)
 25 ἐξῆλθατε sic ἱματισμῷ 26 ἐξῆλθατε 27
 ἀποστελλῶ sic †† 28 *fin.* ἐστίν †† 32 ἠυλῆσαμεν
 οὐκ ὠρχήσασθε sic 34 [ἐσθίων] 36 [ἀνεκλίθη]
 43 [ἔκρινας, sed ἔκρ^N] *fin. lin.* Forsan ex sim verbo
compendiis habent ἀπεκρίθη 28 *Amphil* 46 ἠλειψας
sine sp. 47 οὐ (pro οὐ) 49 σὺν ἀνακαίμενοι sic
 50 [ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκε σε πορεύου εἰς εἰρήν.] *sine inter-*
puncto post σε, ut 28.
- viii 2 μαριάμ †† ALP^ψ *fam* 1 33 604 Paris⁹⁷ *syr vg^o*
- 3 σωσάνα †† M Γ *min.*
 αὐτοῖς (pro αὐτῶ)
 εκ (pro απο)

Luke

- viii 4 συνόντος (*pro συνόντος*) **N*** 67 71 248 251 Paris⁹⁷ *al.*? (συνελ-
θόντος D *fam* 13 *a c etc.*)
- 9 — λεγοντες **NBDLRW** **Ξ** 1 33 346 130^{1st} 604 Paris⁹⁷ *it* [*non*
f] *arm syr* [*non hier*] *boh sah*. *N.B.* discentes *pro* discipuli *e*
- 10 + αὐτοῖς (*post* εἰπεν) †† *fam* 1 *fam* 13 282 1^{cor} *Eust* 48 *c e syr*
aeth copt (*al. lat* quibus ipse dixit)
+ μὴ ἀκούωσι καὶ (*post* ακουοντες) †† (*cf.* **NFR** *fam* 13 Paris⁹⁷
gat aeth boh)
- fin.* μὴ συνῶσιν *sic* **W****primam* **Ι** [*non* 118–131–209] 127 *Eust* 47 *al.*?
(*d non audiant pro non intelligant*)
- 14 + τον λογον (*POST* ακουσαντες) † *Recte Bir, male Scho* **ANTE**
ακουσ. *Cf.* **X**? 254 *gr min* *fauc a c fr arm syr* *sah* (*Cf.*
Matt. xiii 22 *Marc.* iv 18. *Diatess ex Matt-Marc*)
- 15 εἰς τὴν καλὴν γῆν (*pro* ἐν τῇ καλῇ γῇ) **D** *it vg Orig* (*cf. boh*
alig et goth ana)
- 16 καλίψει (*pro* καλίπτει) †† *Sol*^{vid} (*Cf. Arnob*: accendet...
ponet)
- ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν λυχρίαν τίθεις (*pro* ἀλλ ἐπὶ λυχρίας ἐπιτίθεις) *Cf.*
Tisch. *Cf. Matt.* v 15 *Marc.* iv 21
- 17 φανερωθήσεται (*pro* φανερον γενήσεται) **I** 40
72 *Eust* 47 *al.*? *Orig Cyr*
εἰ μὴ ἵνα γνωσθῇ (*pro* δ οὐ γνωσθήσεται) *Cf. D* } *Cf. Marc.* iv 22
et NBL **Ξ** 33 Paris⁹⁷ *Cyr* *a b d ff l*
- 18 ὃς ἂν γὰρ **NBL** **Ξ** Paris⁹⁷
ἐὰν (*pro* *an sec.*)
- 20 ἀπηγγέλη δὲ (*pro* καὶ ἀπ.)
ὅτι (*pro* λεγοντων) **NDL** *fam* 1 Paris⁹⁷ *it goth* (*syr copt*) *Bas*
- 22 ἐγένετο δὲ (*pro* καὶ ἐγ.)
ἀνέβη (*pro* ἐνέβη)
- 24 ἐπιστάτα *semel* **N**^{cor} **XΓ** *al. it pl* [*non a d q*] *goth boh aeth* (*syr*
diatess) *Cyr*
διεγερθεῖς (*pro* ἐγερθεῖς) †† *ex* “δε ἐγερθεῖς” **NBL** *fam* 13
[*non* 69] 33 106 *r** *Cyr*
- fin.* + μεγάλην **KΔΠ** **Ψ** *fam* 1 28 124 *al. b f** *g₂ δ μ aur aeth boh*,
sah 1/4 (*cf. Marc.* iv 39 *et diatess*)
- 25 οἱ δὲ φοβηθέντες (*pro* φοβ. δε) **NL** 33 (*cf. verss*)
> πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγοντες **L** **Ξ** 33 1^{cor} Paris⁹⁷ *al. it pl* [*non*
d μ gat aur]
> τίς ἄρα (*sic*) ἐστὶν οὗτος, *fam* 69 *Cf. it*
ἐπιτιμᾷ (*pro* ἐπιτασσει) †† *Sol*^{vid} *Cf. Matt.* vii 26 *et Marc.*
iv 39 *επειτιμῃσεν*
- 26 γεργεσινῶν (*pro* γαδαρηνῶν) **NLX** **Ξ** *etc*
- 27 — αὐτῶ *sec.* (*post* ὑπηγτησεν) **NBEW** **Ξ** 1–118–209 33 74 89
90 225 **q^u** 1^{cor} 604 Paris⁹⁷ *arm Ps-Ath* [*non syr copt*]
ἔχων (*pro* *os ειχε*) *Sol*^{vid} *cum NB* Paris⁹⁷ (*cf. copt*) [*non latt*]
καὶ χρόνῳ ἱκανῶ οὐκ ἐνεδύσατο ἱμάτιον (*pro* ἐκ χρόνων ἱκανῶν καὶ ἱμ.
οὐκ ἐνεδιδυσκετο) *Cf. Tisch*

Luke

viii 28

- και *pr.*
- 29 πολλὸν γὰρ χρόνον (*pro* πολλοῖς γὰρ χρόνοις) *Sol^{vid} cum Parisⁿ:*
 πολλὰ γὰρ χρόνω *Cf. pers, et aeth^{lat}, cf. goth [non lat]*
 αὐτῷ (*pro* αὐτον) Γ 28 235 *Eust* 47 *al.* ?
 ἐδιδασκεῖτο (*pro* ἐδιδασκείτο) †† *NBLX Ξ Ψ 33 Parisⁿ*
 ἐφυλάττετο (*pro* φυλάσσομενος) *Sol^{vid} inter gr. Cf. syr*
lat b d (contra D8^r) ffl q r aur μ custodiebatur, e detinebatur,
a c ut custodiretur (= syr cu sin)
- 30 — λεγων †† *NB fam 1.56.58 Parisⁿ a b c e ffl q [non r μ] sah*
boh 10/20 pers syr^{sch} pesh diatess [non syr cu sin hier] Cf.
Marc. v 9
 [τί σοι] ὄνομα ἐστίν· *NBDL Ξ fam 1 33 it*
 πολλὰ δαιμόνια (D) *fam 13 [non 124] 242 245 c d ffl r aeth*
sah — δαιμονία *b syr cu sin*
- 31 παρεκάλουν (*pro* παρεκαλεῖ)
- 32 παρεκάλεσαν (*pro* παρεκαλουν) †† *N^o BC* L Ξ I 33 124 243 604 it sah*
είσῃλθον
- 34 γεγονός (*pro* γεγεννημενον)
- ἀπελθοῦτες † *Recte Bir, negl. Scho in notulis*
- 35 > τὸν ἄνῳ καθήμενον *PW fam 1 124 it [non a δ] boh sah*
 (— καθ. 243 *hoc loco cum syrr et diatess, — τον ἄνῳ D d*)
- 37 ἠρώτησεν †† *NABCKMPRSXII 28 al. a r, [non r] Contra*
ἠρώτησαν DEGLUVWΓΔΔ I al. pl. it verss. Male
Tisch de 157 e silentio Bir Scho
γεργεσινῶν (pro γαδ.) N^{ab} C² LPX fam 1 13-556 22 33 (69)
251 604 arm aeth syr hier boh
- το (*ante* πλοιον) †† *NBCLRX [non W] al. sah 1/4 ((boh))*
- 38 — ο ιησους *NBDL fam 1 604 Parisⁿ b c d ffl μ sah boh arm*
aeth Cyr syr hier (contra rell syrr et diatess)
- 40 ὑποστρέφειν (*pro* υποστρεψαι) *NBR 28 59 Parisⁿ [non al. vid.]*
- 41 οὗτος (*pro* αὐτός) *BDR fam 1 fam 13 71 Parisⁿ a d fr μ aeth*
boh goth
- 42 — αὐτον *prim. Sol? Cf. latt. Cf. Tisch ad loc N.T. p. 521*
fin. de Epi^{ph} Marc 'postquam bis tanquam textum Marcionis
dedit εν τω υπαγειν αυτον, haec habet: εν τω υπαγειν αυτους, και
ουκ ειπεν εν τω υπαγειν αυτον, ινα μη ετερως αυτον σχηματιση
παρα την των οδοιπορουτων ακολουθιαν', sed negl. Tisch testi-
monium 157
συνέβηβον (pro συνεπνιγον) CLU fam 13 28 33 a^{no} (sah boh
aeth syr arm pers angl A. V. et R. V. 'thronged' ut goth
thraihun (cf. Marc. v 24, 31) Cf. affl.
- 43 ιατροῖς (*pro* εἰς ιατροῦς)
- + αὐτῆς (*post* βιον) *N* CX Ψ 54 verss (sed om claus. sah D d)*
 + και (*ante* ουκ) † (*Recte Bir, negl. Scho*) *cum N* solo et boh*
14/20 syr sin aeth goth diatess (et non vel nec latt)
ἴσχυσε θεραπευθῆναι ὑπόδενός sic † Recte Scho fortuna. Bir υπο
ουδενος. Ord Sol vid cum boh.

Luke

viii 45

καὶ οἱ συν αὐτῷ (*pro* καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτου)διδάσκαλε (*pro* ἐπιστάτα)*Sol?* hoc loco cum a d r (cf. denouo ix 33 cum X a b d r, x 49 cum C* L x a d e r F⁸). *Syr sin*Rabban in tribus locis, variat *syr cu*; goth Talzjand ter,

sed x 25 laisari

ἀποθλίβουσιν (— καὶ λεγεις τις ο ἀψαμενος μου)

NBL fam 1.22

sah boh arm *syr hier*^{BC} [non al. *syrr*]47 — αὐτῷ *sec.*48 — θαρσει NBDLx fam 1 59 Paris^m it et δ contra Δ⁸ [non g]
sah boh *syr cu sin hier* [non diatess]49 — αὐτῷ †† NBLXx fam 1 33 604 i^{80r} e μ sah boh pers *syr hier*
[non rell *syrr*, non lat non aeth non goth]51 *init.* ἐλθὼν (*pro* εἰσελθὼν)οὐδένα εἰσελθεῖν † (Recte Bir, negl. Scho) (fam 13) al. ? goth sah
boh Iren52 Οὐ γὰρ (*pro* οὐκ) NBCDFLWXΔ al. verss (sed diatess ex
Marco το παιδιον οὐκ ἀπεθανεν)54 > [ἐκβαλὼν] πάντας ἔξω [καὶ] AKRSUWΠ etc. f g (om. claus
NBDLX fam 1 604 Paris^m i^{80l} aeth *syr cu sin*)55 ἐπέταξεν (*pro* διατάξεν) ††

D (iussit latt, sed praecepit c d)

56 εἶπεν (*pro* παρηγγεῖλεν) *Sol* [non verss nostrae vid.] Dia-
tess^{int} H^{80K} 'warned' Cf. 157 in Marc. vi 8

viii 4/8 [cum t. r.]

9 [τίς εἶν ἡ παραβολὴ αὐτῇ]

12

[οἱ ἀκούοντες] 13 [ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας,] πρόσκαιρον sic

18 ἔχη; *sec. loco.* Sic vult** man. rubric. 19 [cum

t. r.] om. Marcion 21 fin. [Habet αὐτῷ.] 26

ἀντίπερα 27 ἔμεινεν †† (cum A L 1) 29 παρήγγειλε

διαρρίσω~ (*pro* . . . σωσῶν) †† [ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος] 33

κριμοῦ †† 35, 38 ἀφοῦ sic (ut ἀφῆσ ver 2) 35

[ἐξελιγύθει] δεφοβήθησαν sic 36 [καὶ οἱ] ιδότες

sic †† i^{80r} al. ? 37/38 absque interfuncto 38

[ἐδέετο] 39 [ἐποίησέ σοι] 41 ὑπῆρχεν †† 42

αὐτῷ ἀπέθῃσκεν sic υπάγειν sine sp. 43 γυνῇ 46

[ἐξελθοῦσαν] 49 σκύλε †† 28 604 al. 50

[πίστευε] 54 ἔγειραι (*pro* εγειρου) †† L 209 (εγειρε

NBCDX 1.33)

ix 2 τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς (*pro* τοὺς ασθενουντας) †† NADLx Ψ fam 1.33.38
Paris^m latt, sed omnes infirmitates f (Om. B *syr cu sin Dial*)3 ῥάβδον (*pro* ραβδους)fin. ἔχετε sic (*pro* εχειν) (†† Bir Scho ἔχετε) N⁸F⁸L 33 verss (sed
om. N⁸ aeth)5 εἰν (*pro* αν) ††δέχονται (*pro* δεξονται)ἀποτινάσσεται sic (†† Bir Scho ἀποτινάσσετε) NB fam 1 Paris^m7 τὰ γινόμενα πάντα (*pro* τα γιν. υπ αυτου παντα) — υπ αυτου
NBC*DLx 13 69 556 6⁸⁰ a b d e f l copt arm *syr cu sin* [non
diatess]ηγέρθη (*pro* εγηγερται)

NBCLx al. φαuc. (D ανεστη)

Luke

- ix 8 ὑπό τινων δὲ (*pro* αλλων δε) L^Ξ (*De* υπο τινων δε . . . αλλων δε
cf. d ab alios . . . alii *et syrr copt verba similia ambobus locis*;
cf. 69 αλλοι . . . αλλων)
προφήτις (*sic*) τίς (*pro* προφήτης εἰς) NBCLXΔΞ *al. pauc*
goth arm (*Tert unum aliquem*) Om. εἰς D d a e 69 *syr pesh*
ἐφάνη* *txt* (*pro* ανεστη) Marg ἀνέστη* (*Recte Bir, Scho ἐφάνη*
157*) Sol^{vid} (*Cf. copt verba similia app. εφανη . . . ανεστη*)
9 *init.* εἶπε δε (*pro* και ειπεν)
οὖν (*pro* δε) Sol^{vid} *cum aeth* [*Hiat syrr hier*]
— εγω *sec. ††* NBC* L^Ξ 50 142* 235 Paris⁹⁷ *Eust 2 e fl μ* sah*
boh aeth arm
10 [τόποιον ἔρμου] — πολέως καλουμένης βηθσαιδα N^b 69 [*non rel*
fam] *syr cu* [*non sin*] (— πολέως *latt praeter d r d*)
11 ἀποδείξιμενος (*pro* δεξ.) NBDLXΞΨ *al. pauc. Cf. lat.*
12 τοὺς ὄχλους (*pro* τον οχλον) N^c 28 min²⁰ sah 2/4 boh 16/20
goth vid. arm c d ff μ gat aur vg
πορευθέντες (*pro* ἀπελθοντες) NABCDLRΞ *fam 13 Paris⁹⁷ al. it*
— τοὺς (*ante* αγρους) †† *id est* “εἰς τοὺς κυκλω κωμας και αγρους”
NBEX *fam 1 fam 13 435 Paris⁹⁷ [non sah boh]*
13 ἰχθύδια δύο (*pro* δυο ιχθυες) Sol^{vid} *sed ord cum* NABCF^W WX
ΓΔΛΠ unc^a a δ sah boh aeth goth
> ἡμῖς πορευθέντες (*pro* πορ. ημεῖς) D d it vg goth sah 1/4 boh
— εἰς πάντα †† Sol^{vid} *cum pers et boh Δ₁F₁* O [non lat]*
— πάντα Paris⁹⁷
14 + ὥσει (*ante* ανα) NBCDLRΞ 33 Paris⁹⁷ a d e sah Orig (*goth*)
15 κατέκλιναν (*pro* ανεκλ.) †† NBL [*non W*] Ξ *fam 1 fam 13 604*
Paris⁹⁷
17 ἠρθισαν (*pro* ηρθη) f sah boh syrr aeth (ηραν S⁸⁷ Ψ) Cf. Io. vi 13
et diatess
δώδεκα κοφίνους (*pro* κοφίνοι δωδεκα) Sol? (κοφίνους δωδ. W
b f ff q) Cf. *verss*
18 συνήντησαν (*pro* συνῆσαν) †† B* 245, f *occurrerunt, goth*
gamotidedun (*aderant a*) *συνηχθησαν Eust 17*
20 — ὁ (*ante* πετρώς *sic*)
21 λέγειν (*pro* εἰπειν)
22 ἀναστῆναι (*pro* ἐγερθῆναι)
23 ἔρχεσθαι (*pro* ελθεῖν)
25 ὠφελιθῆσεται (*pro* ὠφελείται; ὠφελει NCD *latt*) Sol^{vid} = *Matt.*
xvi 26 ὠφελήσει Ψ
> ὅλον τὸν κόσμον (*pro* τον κοσ. ολον) Sol^{vid} *cum latt omni*
[except a d r₃ δ]
καὶ (ἰ) *pro* ἡ (*ante* ζημιωθείς) vg b f m q r aur gat syrr sin vid. pers
[*non copt*] *Male Tisch de d: ‘et iactum pati’ (om. η ζημιωθείς*
syr cu aeth)
+ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτοῦ (*post* ζημ. *fin.*) Sol^{vid} *cum l r₂ pers et boh¹⁷*
(*ord in commune τεψψτχη γε πτεψτσοι πμοψ γε*
πτεψτακο πμαατατψ)

Luke

ix 28

- και *pr.* (*ante παραλαβων*) †† N* BH 28 *a b ffl r r₂ μ v g^{EGJR}*
sah boh syr arm aeth goth (Cf. *Matt.* xvii 1) *παραλαβων de*
Paris⁹⁷
- τον (*ante πετρον*)
- > και ιακωβον και ιωαννην C* DLMX² *al. d ffr vgg aliq syr*
arm aeth goth boh, sah 3/7
- 31 + δε (*post ελεγον*) †† C* DN *fam 13 al. c de syr pesh* (και
ελεγ. C* M *al. it syr cu sin Arnob*)
- 33 διδάσκαλε (*pro επιστατα*) X (*a b d r μ*) *vide viii 45 ix 49*
μian μωσῃ (pro μωσει μian)
- [και μian] ἡλιαν *sic* †† 118 251 C^{80r} N^{80r} *Eust* (48) 53 P^{80r} *al. ?*
- 34 ἐπεσκίαζεν (*pro επεσκιασεν*) †† NBL *Paris⁹⁷ Eust 47 x^{80r} a*
(obumbrabat) cf. syr pesh MS 14. (Matt. xvii 5 επεσκιασεν
omn except D επεσκιαζεν et d obumbrabat. Marc. ix 7 επισκια-*
ζουσα et non fluctuant MSS)
- 38 αὐτοῦς [*εισελθῖν*] *pro* *εκεινους εισελθ.* C 435 (*εισελθ. αυτους* NBL) *L*
εβόησε (pro ανεβοησε) NBCD^{8r} L^Ψ *fam 13 [non 124] 68 245*
252 604 Paris⁹⁷*
- fin.* > μοι ἐστὶ †† NABCDLX *fam 1.28.33 al. a de sah boh goth*
aeth
- 39 + καὶ ῥάσσει (*ante και σπαρασσει*) †† N(D *fam 1 166 Paris⁹⁷*) *it*
sah boh arm syr hier. (Cf. X) Cf. *Marc.* ix 18
- μάλισ (*pro μογισ*) †† BRW *fam 1 254 274^{ms} b^{80r} e^{80r} 604 al. ?*
[μοστις boh sah]
- ὑποχωρεῖ (*pro αποχωρει*) Sol^{vid} (*a d recedit, al. discedit, sed gat*
discendit)
- 40 ἐδεήθη (*pro εδεθην*) †† Sol^{vid}
- 41 ὥς ποτε (*pro και sec. ante ανεξομαι*) KXΠΨ *al. e μ (vide δ) v g^T*
sah Tert
- > τὸν υἱόν σου ὧδε Gr *plur et W Ψ [contra NBLX² etc]* Cf.
lat adduc . . . adhuc
- 43 ἐποίει (*pro εποιησεν*)
- ο ιησους NBDL² *fam 1 67 604 Paris⁹⁷ it boh sah syr cu sin*
- 45 ἐπάντων (*pro απ αυτων*) Sol^{vid} (*cf. boh sah 'for them'*) *υπο*
M 127 παρα 61^{ms} 69-346 eis f, illis μ, ante eos gat aur v g^c,
ante illos r, ante ipsos q et prob. b (Buchanan b inter ipsos),
inter ipsis ff [rell ab eis vel ab illis]
- 48 — αυτοις D *a b c e ffl q r μ syr cu sin*
αν (pro ean sec.) ††
- ἐπὶ πᾶσιν (*pro εν πασιν*) Sol *cum 28. (Cf. syr)*
- 49 διδάσκαλε (*pro επιστατα*) C* L² 255 (*a d e r μ F⁹⁸*) Cf. ix 33
viii 45
- τα (*ante δαιμονια*)
- ἐκωλύομεν †† NBL² *Paris⁹⁷ a b e l*
- 50 εἶπε δὲ (*pro και ειπε*)
- 54 — αυτου NB *fam 1 604 Paris⁹⁷ e arm sah boh^k*
εκ (pro απο) CD fam 1 604 goth (copl)

Luke

ix 54

ἀναλώσει (*pro* ἀναλῶσαι) †† *Male Tisch de 157 (e sil. Bir Scho).**Cf. verss et latt consumat (praeter c d consumere)*— ως και ηλιας εποιησε **NBLΞ** 71 Paris⁹⁷ *el g₂ gat aur vg (et codd) sax arm syr cu sin sah boh 16/25*

55/56

— και ειπεν, ουκ οιδατε *usque ad* αλλα σωσαι. *Codex:* στραφεῖς δὲ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτοῖς δ' ἐπορεύθησαν (*absque interpuncto*) εἰς ἑτέραν κώμην. **NABCEGHLVWXXΔΞΨ?** 28 33 *al. hl gat r₂ δ al. aeth boh 18/26 sah syr sin (Hier^{Algas})*

57

ὅπου ὑπάγεις· (*pro* οπου αν απερχη κυριε) *Sol^{vid} cum D (οπου αν υπαγεις) it (Sed it omni ieris nec differt Tert)*

58

κλίνει *sic* (*pro* κλίνη) (†† *Bir Scho* κλίνει) **NΛ*** 12 69 70 71 80 118–209 126 237 243 *Eust* 21 *y^{scr} Iren^{tal} (etiam Γ al. Matt. viii 20) κλινειν Paris⁹⁷ Eust 5 (al. φc. κλινει) κλιων 254 258 [Non in fin latt, et Tert collocet]*

61

— δε *sec.* †† *Sol^{vid} inter gr cum μ lat, sah, boh 4/25, syr pesh⁵⁸ Antioch*

ix 3 μὴδὲν πῆραν [ἀνὰ] 13 [ὑμεῖς φαγεῖν] ἀγοράσομεν
 (ο *ex em**) 15 οὕτως †† [ἀπαντας] 16 [παραιτίθηναι]
 18 κατὰ μίνας, 21 μὴδενὶ 23 [ἀπαρνησάσθω]
 καθημέρα *sic* ἀκολουθήτω †† 24 ἀπολέσει (*pro*
 ἀπολεση *in sec. loco*) †† 27 ἐστῶτων (*pro* εστηκ.)
 [γεύονται] 30 μωϋσῆς 31 [ἔμελλε] 36
 [ὁ ἱεῖ] *fin.* [ἰωράκασιν] 37 [ἐν τῇ ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ] 40
 ἐκβάλλωσιν 42 πνεύματι *plene.* 45 αἰσθῶνται *sic pr.*
man. †† 47 [ιδῶν] [παιδι⁹⁷] *fin. lin.* παριέντω *sic*
 48 *fin.* [ἔσται μέγας] 49 εἶπε ἰδομεν † (*Bir non Scho*)
 [ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι] 50 [ὁ ἱεῖ] 52 ἐτοιμάσαι [*Rell*
cum t. r.] 54 εἵπομεν †† • 58 [ὁ ἱεῖ] 59 [*Habet*
κε'] [ἀπελθόντι πρῶτον,] 59, 60 θάψαι 60 [ὁ ἱεῖ]
 δι' ἀγγελλε *sic* 62 [*cum t. r.*]

x 1

εἰσπορεύεσθαι (*pro* ερχεσθαι) *Sol^{vid} Cf. εισερχ. A fam 1 a e syr hier (διερχ. fam 13 61 71 al.) Cf. copt (gaggan goth)*

2

ἔλεγε δὲ (*pro* ελεγεν ουν)

5

— Εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν οἰκίαν εἰσέρχησθε *txt* †† *cum vg^R (r₂) (Suppl. marg. 157**)*

6

— μιν

7

+ ἰδίου (*ante* μισθου) *Sol^{vid} inter omni*— εστι †† **NBD⁸⁷ L [non W] XΞ** 248 604 Paris⁹⁷ *Eust* 150 *sah (boh) [non latt, non d]*

10

init. καὶ εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν *sic* † (*Recte Bir, male Scho*) **M 71 (Male Tisch de 157) Cf. boh⁵ syr pesh¹⁴**εἰσέλθῃτε (*pro* εισερχεσθε)δέχονται **UΓΔ* Λ al.**— ἐξελθόντες †† *Sol^{vid} (εισελθοντες sol Paris⁹⁷)*

11

+ εἰς τοὺς πόδας, (*post* υμων)— εφ υμας **NBDLΞ I [non 118–209] 13 33 Paris⁹⁷ y^{scr} it vg syr cu sin boh [non sah] arm Tert [non goth]**

Luke

x 12

— δε

ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται σοδόμοις ἐν ἡμέρα κρίσεως (*pro* οτι σοδομοις εν τη
 ημερα εκεινη ανεκτοτ. εσται) † *Recte Bir, confuse Scho. Cf.*
syr copl, et r₂ l gat syr sah εν ημερα κρισεως

13 ἐγενήθησαν (*pro* εγενοντο) †† *NBDL^x fam 13 33 604 Paris⁹⁷*

15 — του (*ante* ουρανου) †† *NB*CD 254 259 a⁹⁰⁷ latt (boh),
 non sah*

+ του (*ante* ἄδου *sic*) *BLW* Eust 36 88 a¹ [non copl]*

19 + τῶν (*ante* ὄφρων) † *Recte Bir. Non accur. Scho. Codex*
"σκορπίων sine τῶν". Scho "των οφρων και των D 157". των
οφρων D 157 Orig sah [non boh pl]
[σκορπίων]

20 δαιμόνια (*pro* πνευματα) *D fam 1 [non 118] 2⁹⁰ de f syrr dialess
 boh 5/25 [non sah] Patres [non Hipp] (sps maligni b)*

— μαλλον

ἐνεγράφη (*pro* εγραφη) *Sol⁹⁷id* { *Cf. Hom^{Clem} τα ονομ. υμων
 εν οι⁹⁰ωσ αει ζωντων αναγμα-
 φναι, et ord pers: nomina
 vestra in caelo scripta sunt
 (pro γεγ. εν τοις ου⁹⁰τοις)*

21 + ἐν (*post* ηγαλλιασατο) †† *NDF⁹⁷ LW^a X^x i⁹⁷l sah boh Clem*
 — ο ιησους *NBD^x a b [non q] dil r aur 130^{lat} vg syr cu sin
 sah boh*

22 > μοι παρεδόθη

ἀν (*pro* εαν) † *Recte Scho (forte). Om. Bir. BDW^a 33 433
 βουληθῆ *sic* (*pro* βουληται) (††) 33 (*Cf. lat*)*

25 ποιῶν (*pro* ποιησας) *Sol⁹⁷id* *Cf. a c d e Tert aeth^{int} goth*

26 > τί γέγραπται ἐν τῷ νόμῳ πῶς ἀναγινώσκεις (*pro* εν τω νομῳ τι
 γεγραπται; πως αναγινωσκεις;) *Sol⁹⁷id inter gr cum ord coopt
 (boh et sah) [non aeth, non syrr, non latt vid.]*

27 ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ (*sic, male Bir Scho Tisch Horner*) καρδία σου· καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ
 τῇ ἰσχύϊ σου· καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου (*pro* ἐξ ὅλ) (††)
De εν cf. NBDΔ^x 1 Paris⁹⁷ latt aliq

28 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ (*pro* ειπε δε αυτω) †† *Sol⁹⁷id cum 259 Cf. boh¹
 (Cf. + Jesus F⁹⁷ MX it aliq syr aeth)*

29 δικαιῶσαι (*pro* δικαιουν) *NBC* DLX^x 346 Paris⁹⁷ Cyr Isid*

32 + αὐτόν (*post* ἰδων) *ADΓΔ min aliq vg it syrr omn dialess
 aeth (omn?) boh sah (hiat goth) [Contra NBCLXΔ^x Π unc^a
 arm c r₂]*

35 — ἐξελθων *NBDLX^x fam 1.33 Paris⁹⁷ Eust 15 it (non q)
 syrr dialess aeth boh [Habet sah Horner sed exstat codex
 unicus 91]*

— αὐτω *BDL^x fam 1.33.80.346 604 Paris⁹⁷ Eust 16 it [non
 afqr] boh [non sah 91] syr cu sin arm*

προσδαπανήσῃσιν, *sic* (*pro* προσδαπανήσης) †† *Sol cum syr cu sin.*

36 πλησίον, δοκεῖσαι (*pro* δοκει σοι πλησιον)

37 εἶπε δὲ (*pro* ειπεν ουν)

Luke

- x 38 αὐτὸν (*pro* αυτοὺς) (D)fam 1 d μ (*gat vg⁶*) syr hier sah ((*boh*))
 39 τῶν λόγων (*pro* τον λογον) U Γ min⁷⁰ e syrr [*non hier sin*]
diatess Bas
 41 ὁ κ^ς (*pro* ο ιησους) N B* L Paris⁹⁷ a ff G₂? i l gat aur vg sah (*contra boh, except trib codd*) Bas (*om. syr cu. Habel Jeshua syr sin*)
(N.B. sah ο κυριος = πποεις, boh ο ιησους = ππειης)
 42 γὰρ (*pro* de sec.) NBLΛX^{oom} Ψ 1.69 e^{80r} Eust 37 (μ) sah
(contra boh plur)
 x i [ἀνὰ δύο] *semel* δυο ημελλεν †† 2 ἐκβαλεῖ [ἐργά-
 τας] †† 3 ὑπάγετε ἰδοὺ *absque interpuncto* †† (*cf.* 127)
 4 [βαλάντιον] πῆραν μὴδὲ μὴδένα 8 [δ' ἄν] εἰσέρ-
 χεσθε †† [*non ver* 5] δέχονται 8/9 *uno tenore* 10
 δέχονται [ὑμᾶς,] 13 [χωραζὺν] βησθαῖδδ *sic* †† *Sol*
vid. Cf. βησαιδαν 28 127 *al.* [καθήμεναι] 15 καπερ-
 ναοῦμ [καταβιβασθῆση] 18 σατανὰν [ὥς ἀστραπὴν ἐκ
 τοῦ οὐνοῦ πεσούτα] 19 [δίδωμι] 22 ἀποκαλύψαι
sic 25 [καὶ λέγων] 27 ἀγαπήσῃ †† 27 *fin.* ὥς
 ἐαυτόν † *om. Scho* 29 ὁ δέ, *sic* 30 ἰλῆμ *sp. lenis*
contra morem, sed [εἰς ἱερὶχὼ] 30 *fin.* [τυγχάνοντα·]
 37 [ὁ ἰεῖ] 38 [εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς] 39 [μαρία·]
 40 μέλλει †† 41/42 [μάρθα μάρθα· μεριμνᾷς καὶ τυρβάζῃ
 περὶ πολλὰ· ἐνός δέ ἐστι χρεία·] 42 ἀφαιρεθήσεται ††
 xi 7 — μου (*post* παιδί) C* M 1 45 71 e^{80r} 604 Paris⁹⁷ *it et d contra*
D8^r [non f aur gat] syr cu sin arm aeth
 8 φίλον αὐτοῦ NBC(D)LXΨ 33 124 604 Paris⁹⁷ y^{scr} *it Orig etc.*
ὅσον (*pro* ὅσων) N^cDEFGHLSUVXΓΔ *al. sah (boh 2/25)*
(syr) (*quot vg^A etc, quotquot c m d gat, quantum d r μ cf. syr*)
 11 τίς δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν (*pro* τινα δε υμων) NDLX (*fam* 13) 27 33 49
 64 Eust 48 *c d m gat aur sah Orig (boh diatess πιαλ ρε*
πρωτ . . .)
 — ο υιος N L *c m aur vg^{1p} [non al.]*
 ἡ (*pro* ει και) N L 33 108 235 251 v^{scr} z^{scr} 604 *al. pauc*
d m q vg
 + ἡ σκορπίον (*post* οφιν) *Sol^{vid}*
 12 — η και εαν αιτηση ων μη επιδωσει αυτω σκορπιον Eust 31 *bis*
(Cf. Matt. vii 9, 10 et Clem^{hom3})
 13 ὅντες (*pro* υπαρχοντες) NDKMXΠ *min aliq Dial Epi^{ph}*
Cyr (Cf. Matt. vii 11. Cf. verss)
δόματα ἀγαθὰ (primo loco)
πῆρ ὑμῶν (*pro* πατηρ ὁ) (†† *Bir Scho + υμων sed tacent de — ὁ*)
+ υμων CU etc — ὁ NLX 33 etc latt
[πῶ ἀγιον]
 14 — και αυτο ην N A* BL *fam* 1.22.33 *boh arm aeth (Cf. syr cu*
sin; cf. D cf. c)
 15 ἔλεγον (*pro* ειπον) *Sol^{vid} cum c (Cf. Matt. ix 34 Marc. iii 22)*
+ ὅτι (ante εν) Sol^{vid} (sed cf. Marc. iii 22) cum cop^t
+ τῷ (ante αρχοντι)

Luke

- xi 15/16 + ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπε· πῶς δύναται σατανὰς σατανὰν ἐκβαλλεῖν (††)
Non accur. Bir. Dubium Scho (Cf. Marc)
- 16 ἐκπειράζοντες *Sol?*
 > ἐξ οὐοῦ ἐζήτουν παρ' αὐτοῦ
- 17 > τὰ διανοήματα αὐτῶν *AKΠ 253 w^{80r} it vg*
 [ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν] μερισθείσα, ††
- 19 > αὐτοὶ κριταὶ ὑμῶν ἔσονται
- 20 + ἐγὼ (ante εκβαλλω) †† *N⁸ BCLR 33 fam 13 Paris⁹⁷ ffl q r*
syr (sah boh) (+ εγω ante εν δακτυλω DN 251 Eust 49 al. cd
(μ) aeth Tert)
- 21 fin. αὐτῶ (pro αυτου) †† *Sol?*
- 24 + δὲ (post οταν init.) *D UWX al. b d r₂ (i l aeth) sah (boh aliq)*
 ἀπέρχεται (pro διερχεται) *Sol^{vid} abhorrens ab διερχ. δι' ut ff*
perambulat de. (Cf. syr) ambulat b f dim Ambr., vadit d,
circuit a₂
 + τότε (ante λεγει) *N⁸ BLX⁸ 33 Paris⁹⁷ Eust 48 y^{80r} b l sah*
boh Orig (cf. Matt)
- 26 ἕτερα πονηρότερα αὐτοῦ πᾶτα ἐπτά· *Sol^{vid} (Cf. 28 157 Matt.*
xii 45)
- 29 + γενεὰ (ante πονηρά) †† *Multi*
- 32 νινευῖται (pro νινευῖ)
 — μετα †† *Sol^{vid} Id est ανδρες νιν. αναστησονται εν τη κρισει*
της γενεας ταυτης (pro εν τη κρισει μετα της γενεας ταυτης)
- 33 φῶς (pro φεγγος) *NBCDX al. (και λαμπει πασιν τοις εν τη*
οικια pro ινα . . . βλεπωσιν Paris⁹⁷)
- 34 ἔσται (pro εστιν sec.) *KLMXΠ fam 1.13.28.33 al. b e f g vg arm*
 — επαν δε πονηρος η και το σωμα σου σκοτεινον *Sol^{vid} (Cf. Paris⁹⁷)*
- 36 > φωτεινὸν ὅλον (pro ολον φωτ. in pr. loco) *Sol? Cf. sah*
- 37 — τις *NBL fam 1 [non 118] fam 13 [non 124] 604 Paris⁹⁷ sah*
boh diatess vid.
- 42 ἀνθρον (pro πηγανον) *Sol^{vid} cum E⁹⁸ (+ το ανθρον fam 13)*
Cf. sah ἀφασινῆστοι, boh ἀπησινῆστοι Cf. Matt. xxiii
23 "το ηδυοσμον και το ανθρον και το κυμνον"
- 45 εἶπεν sic (pro λεγει) *259 a cum boh syr*
- 46 τοῖς ἀνδῖς (pro τοις ανθρωποις) *56 58 71 95 Eust 150 sem y^{80r}*
al. ? (Cf. syr copt)
- 48 fin. τοὺς τάφους αὐτῶν (pro αυτων τα μνημεια) *1 (fam 13) Lucif (Om. al.)*
- 49 πρὸς αὐτοὺς (pro eis αυτους) *Non gr vid. = (c) r gat aur J*
(hiat goth) vg (boh) syr pesh
 — και tert (ante εξ αυτων) †† *AKUWΠ al. d (contra D^{8r})*
syr
- 51 + τοῦ δικαίου (post ἀβελ) *KMΠ al. ceirr₂ μ aur dim boh odd-tres*
Cf. Matt. xxiii 35
- 52 ἐκρύψατε (pro ηρατε) *D a c d syr cu sin diatess (aeth ηρατε και*
εκρυψατε). Abscondistis a c d b (absconditis e q r₂ [me teste])
arm, (ηρατε Orig et Orig^{int} fil r (non r₂) aur dim gat μ
syr pesh boh sah] εκρατησατε Clem^{hom}. Habuistis Marcion,

Luke

- εχετε Iust habetis Ambrst Aug sem Auct quæst. habebant Tert*
- xi 52 + καὶ (*ante αὐτοὶ*) D (M) 22 *fam* 13 *it^{pl} aeth Orig^{int}* [*non syr cop^t*]
ἐρχομένουσ (pro εισερχ.) Sol^{vid} (Cf. sah)
- 53 [*λέγοντοσ δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα πρὸσ αὐτοῦσ*] + *ἐνωπιον παντὸσ τοῦ λαοῦ*
D (X) 254 *a b c d e f i l q r r₂ syr cu sin* [*non diatess*] *aeth*
(*arm*) *Vide Paris⁷⁷*
- 53/54 *περὶ πλείονων ἐνεδρεύοντεσ αὐτὸν sic* 90 142 *f* (*b syr phesh*)
Cf. D d
- 54 — καὶ
- xi 2 *προσευχεσθε ††* 3 *καθημέραν sic* 4 [*ἀφίεμεν*]
[*ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶσ ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*] 9 *init.* καὶ ἐγὼ ††
εὐρήσεται †† 10 *εὐρήσκει †† fam* 13 (*εὐρήσει 69* 433*)
18 *σατανᾶσ λέγεται ††* 15, 18, 19 *βεελζεβούλ* 21
καθοπισμένοσ 21 *φυλάσσει †† D al.* 25 *εὐρήσκει*
27 [*γυνὴ φωνῶν*] 28 *εἶπεν* 29 *ἐπάθροισμένων*
33 *κρυπτήν (pro κρυπτον)* 40 οὐχ 42 *init.* ἀλλὰ ††
42 *fin.* [*ἀφίεναι*] 48 ἄρα 49 [*ἐκδιώξουσιν*] 51
γενεᾶσ [ver 50 γενεᾶσ] 52 *εἰσῆλθατε sic*
- xii 1 — *των pr.* *Sol?* (*Cf. D it etc*)
- 4 *τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυναμένων ἀποκτείνει sic acc. (pro και μετα ταυτα μη*
εχοντων περισσοτερον τι ποιησαι) (D d) [non verss vid.] Cf.
Matt. x 28 et diatess § xiii 13 contra Clem^{rom} (cf. Tert)
- 5 *φοβηθῆτε, semel. Id est τίνα φοβηθῆτε, N D 69 254 258 a d*
syr^{sch} peah diatess (Clem^{rom}) [Habet Tert et rel^l] (Testibus
Bir Scho — 157 sed add. marg a man RECENTISS)*
- ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν*
— *την ††* D R 604
- 7 — *ουν* BL R Paris⁷⁷ *a b ff i l sah boh (excepto boh^F)*
- 8 *ἐὰν (pro αν)*
ὁμολογήσει (pr. loco) ††, ὁμολογήσει (sic sp. sec. loco) αὐτῷ (— εν)
H (vide infra xii 15)
- 10 *fin.* + *αὐτῷ* G A 73 251 *a b (ff) i l q r sah boh syrr Tert Epirh*
Hier (D c d e aeth Lucif cf. Matt. xii 32)
- 11 *εἰσφέρωσιν (pro προσφερ.) N BLX al¹⁰ (d) e f i l ff m r gat aur*
sah boh (φερωσιν D b q Clem Orig Cyr^{hier}) perducent e, per-
ductos Tert
— *η τι prim.* D *it syrr aeth boh^{tres} (cf. sah)*
- 14 *ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστὴν (pro δικαστην η μεριστην) Sol^{vid} ut*
Act. vii 27 [Haud dubie lectio primitiva κριτην (vel δικαστην)
absque μεριστην. Vide D c d 28 33 syr cu sin Tert]
- 15 *φυλάξισθε (pro φυλασσεσθε) H (cf. xii 8 supra)*
πάσσοσ (pro τῆσ)
— *εστιν* K? R? Π³ 71 *al. pauc (cf. boh)*
- 16 + καὶ (*post δε*) *fam* 1 116 209 239 245 *al? m* (*syrr*)
- 18 *καθελῶ τὰσ ἀποθικά⁷. sic (pro καθελω μου τας αποθ.) Sol^{vid} cum*
syr lat (contra gr-cop^t) — μου c ff i

Luke

xii 18

- καὶ ἐκεῖ συνάξω D d et it [non gr-syr-copt]
 τὸν σίτον (pro τα γενήματα μου) N⁸⁰ BLTX fam 1 fam 13.239
 Paris⁹⁷ al. pauc sah boh arm aeth syr^{80h} pesh diatess. (Conflat
 346) Cf. a c d e
- 22 — υμων NABDLQW 1 [non fam] 42 77 108 125* 219 229*
 507 604 Eust 48 it [non a e g₂ μ dim] syr sin [non cu] arm
- 23 + γαρ (post ἡ init.) NBDLMSX al. b c d e gat syr arm aeth
 boh Clem (ξε τεψυχη sah 2/4 cum T⁸⁷ ὅτι η ψυχη) om sah
 1/4 boh^L afffi g₂ q
- 24 + οὐδὲ συνάγουσιν εἰς ἀποθήκας* (post θεριζουσιν) Tamen pergit
 [οἷς οὐκ ἔστι ταμείον οὐδὲ ἀποθήκη . . .] Sol^{9d} cf. Tert
 allud. et Matt. vi 26 (diatess ex Matt)
 > διαφέρετε ὑμεῖς Sol^{9d} cum aeth? (Om. vos vg^e)
- 28 εἰ δὲ ἐν ἁγρῷ σήμερον τὸν χόρτον ὄνρα † (Recte Bir, confuse Scho)
 Ord sol vid cum 604
- 29 καὶ (pro ἡ) †† NBLQT al. e syrr [non diatess ex Matt]
 aeth sah boh 17/24
- 30 fin. + πάντων NX fam 13 28 37 51 131 226* c⁸⁷ Paris⁹⁷ z⁸⁷
 a b f μ β** boh^F arm aeth Clem Ath (Cf. Matt. vi 32)
- 35 > αἱ ἡσφύες ὑμῶν AKNQP al. it vg Orig Const Bas Cyr Ant
 Iren^{int} bis
- 36 τὸ πότε (pro ποτε) †† Sol^{9d}
 fin. ἀντὶν sic. Id est αὐτῶ vel αὐτον vult man. pr. †† αὐτον Γ 28 (346)
- 38 — εἰθῆ prim. †† Cf. Tisch ad loc.
 + εἰν (post και sec.) W also reads thus. Cf. D P² 254 c f j i
 aur qr boh al. cf. Wetst Matth ad loc.
- 39 ἐγρηγόρησε καὶ (— αν pr.) 254
 οὐκαφῆκε sine sp. (— αν sec.) †† N⁸ BKLPSΠ al.
 Διορυχθῆναι NBL 33 Paris⁹⁷
- 40 τὴν οἰκίαν (pro τον οικον) Ψ 28 Scr³ Matth³ Wetst⁴
 — ουν NBLQTΨ 28 131 242 Paris⁹⁷ Eust 63 it sah boh arm
 (δε D⁸⁷ contra d ergo)
- 41 — αὐτῶ †† BDLRX 33 86 122* 124* 243 254 604 Paris⁹⁷ arm
 boh 15/24 [non sah syrr] b c d e ffi l r μ vgg codd¹⁰ [non f q]
- 42 + αὐτῶ (post εἰπε δε) †† Soli 48 54 60 cum i (Obs. xii 54) syrr
 diatess aeth pers et sah⁹¹ (1/5)
- ὁ (pro και ante φρονιμος) } Id est τίς ἄρα ἐστὶν ὁ πιστὸς οἰκονόμος, ὁ
 φρόνιμος· ὁ ἀγαθός· ὁν D Eust 60 63
 + ὁ ἀγαθός (post φρονιμος) } c d e (aeth) syr cu [non sin] (Iren^{int}
 fidelis actor bonus et sapiens)
- 43 > οὕτως ποιοῦντα NLTX 33 fam 13 [non 124] Paris⁹⁷ Eust 49
 y⁸⁷ z⁸⁷ H⁸⁷ it vg aeth (contra verss al.)
- 44 αὐτῶ sic (††) pro αὐτοῦ MPTWΓΛ 49 a⁸⁷ f⁸⁷ Eust 63 (ce) syr sin
- 49 ἐπὶ (pro eis)
- 50 ἕως οὗ (pro ἕως οὗ)
- 51 ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν sic (pro ἐν τη γῇ) Eust 13 17 49 boh sah 1/2 (ad
 terram aeth sah rell; in terram latt) [Non Gr vid]

Luke

xii 53

διαμερισθήσονται **NB**DLTU 59 Paris⁹⁷ *Eust*^a 18 48 63 150
^{z^{scr}} *boh* 23/25 [*non sah syr*] *latt Eus Ambr Eucher*

> υἱὸς ἐπὶ πρῖ· 8 καὶ (*sic*) πῆρ ἐπὶ υἱῷ (*pro* πατηρ εφ' υἱῷ καὶ υἱὸς ἐπὶ πατρὶ) *Cf. sah*

μῆρ ἐπὶ τὴν θυγατέρα· καὶ θυγάτηρ ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα (*pro* μητηρ ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ καὶ θυγατηρ ἐπὶ μητρὶ) **L** *fam* 1 604 Paris⁹⁷ (*Cf. NB* *D latt*)

+ καὶ (*ante* πενθερα) †† *Sol*^{vid} *cum* 237 [*contra rell gr et copt sed forsā ex errore oculi in gr-copt* *οπορ pro οπ in οπτωλλαι vel οππελετ*] *et syr cu sin diatess* [*contra syr sch pesh*] *aeth c e dim μ Tert* Marc. 'Et socrus et sponsa contrariae erunt' *pers* (*Tucet Tisch*)

fin. — αὐτῆς **N*** **B** **D** **L** Paris⁹⁷ *d Tert* (*Cf. sah boh etc*)

54 — καὶ *prim.* 95 *i dim μ vg^v* *Cf. verss* [*non Gr vid*]

— τὴν **N** **A** **B** **L** **N** **X** **Δ** **Ψ** *al. pauc.* *Verss*

55 — οἱ **N*** **D** **L** Paris⁹⁷ *Eust* 48 63 *d r? vg^m aeth*
ἔρχεται (pro εἶσται) *Sol*^{vid} *cum* **N*** **W** **l** (*venit*) (*D = εἰσεται*)
 + οὕτως *fin.* (*post* γινεται) *fam* 13 209 254 *i^{scr} arm* [*non sah boh syr*] (*Praefon b c e f f g₂ i l q r r₂ gat aeth*)

56 > τοῦ οὐνοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς

πλὴν τὸν καιρὸν (*pro* τον δε καιρον) *D d c e* (*Cf. sah*)

58 > παραδώσει σε (*pro* σε παραδῶ) *D* (**N** **A** **B** **T** *fam* 13 167? *Ephr^h it*)
 βάλλει (*pro* βάλλῃ) 69 225 *e* (*βαλεῖ NB* **D** **X** **Γ** Paris⁹⁷ *y^{scr}*

βάλει 28 244 251 *Eust* 49, *βαλεῖ* 33 *vid* 300 *vid*)

+ τὴν (*ante* φυλακῆν) 245 299 *sah boh* [*non Matt*] *Cf. e custodiam*

59 τὸν ἔσχατον (*pro* το εσχ.) [*λεπτον*] **N*** *unc^a* [*non N** **B** **M** **T** **Γ**]
 (*Cf. τον εσχατον κοδραντην D d it Tert* Marc)

xii 1 [*πρῶτον· προσέχετε*] 3 ταμίους †† 4 ἀποκτενόντων

5 ἀποκτείναι γέεναν *sic* †† 7 πάσαι 11 [*μερι-*

μνᾶτε] ἀπολογήσεσθε †† 13 αὐτὰ ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου]

14 κατέστησεν †† 20 ἄφρον· 25, 26 [*cum t. r.*]

27 περιεβύλετο *sic pr. man.* †† **X** *al. (it).* 30 [*ἐπι-*

ηγεῖ] 32 ἠυδόκησεν †† 33 [βαλάντια] 36

[ἀναλύσει] 38 οὕτως †† 46 ἡ (*pro* ἡ) *dis* 47

αὐτοῦ (*pro* εαυτου) *μηδὲ* 52 τρίς (*pro* τρεῖς) ††

52/53 τρισὶ διαμερ. *iungit** *sed vult man rubric* τρισὶ διαμερ.

54 ἀνατέλουσιν [*ἀπὸ δυσμῶν*] οὕτως ††

54/55 *uno tenore.* 58 ἐπάρχοντα *sic* δῶς *sic* (*pro*

δὺς) (††) 59 οὐ (*pro* οὐ)

xiii 1 *fin.* αὐτοῦ (*pro* αὐτων) 28 (*a*)

2 — ο ἱσους **N** **B** **L** **T** 130^{la} *a beil gat aur vg sah* 5/6 *boh* 18/24 *arm*

> οὗτοι οἱ γαλλίλοι †† *D fam* 13 *syr latt copt*

ταῦτα (*pro* τοιαυτα) **N** **B** **D** **L** 12 Paris⁹⁷ *i^{scr} de* [*contra rell talia*]

τοῦτο *vid diatess* (*sah boh* 'these toils' *vel* 'these pains')

3 ὁμοίως (*pro* ὡσαντως) **N** **B** **D** **L** *al. pauc.*

4 { — οὗτοι *ante* οφείλεται } + *Recte Bir, non lucide Scho.* *Sol?*
 { + αὐτοὶ *post* ἐγενοντο } (αυτοὶ *ante* οφ. **N** **A** **B** **K** **L** **T** **W** **X** **Π**
 33 *al.*) *om.* *D* 240 241 *de syr*

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T

Luke

- xiii 4 — εν (ante ἰλῆμ sic) BDLX al. *dei vgc^m aeth Marc^{mon}*
 6 + καὶ (post δε) Sol^{vid} cum vg S & et ff teste Sab [non Buch
 (και ελεγεν 258 syrr)
 > πεφυτευμένην ἐν τῷ ἀμπελῶνι αὐτοῦ sic (††) Male Bir Scho
 om. αυτου. NBDLWX al. *it vg sah boh (syr) arm*
 > ζητῶν καρπὸν
 6/7 καὶ μὴ εὐρῶν, εἶπε πρὸς (— δε) D 127 *del* (ver 7 — δε
sah syr cu sin). [Non diatess. Ita 6/7 '... and found none.
 So he said . . .']
 7 + ἀφ' ἧς (post ετη) Sol? + αφ ου NBDLT fam 13 Paris⁹⁷
verss et d
 ἵνα μὴ (pro ἰνατί) Sol^{vid} cum 5 et 433 (ἵνα μηκέτι)
 8 εἶπε (pro λεγει) 60 254 Eust 2.4.18.19.49 2^{80r} Latt et d (contra
 D^{8r}) boh (cf. syr sin sah³⁷) r₂ respondit (— dixit illi)
 — αὐτῷ Sol^{vid} cum Paris⁹⁷ a? r r₂ sah 2/8 boh 1/25 arm
 8/9 καὶ βάλλω κόπρια (sic) καὶ ἐὰν μὲν (††)
 11 — ἦν prim. NBLNTX 33 239 259 7⁹⁰ Paris⁹⁷ it [non de] arm
syr hier
 14 ἐργάζεσθαι ἐν αὐταῖς (pro ἐργάζεσθαι ἐν ταύταις) sic absque inter-
 puncto NABLTWXP al.
 16 θυγατέραν †† KXP*Λ al. min.
 18 ἔλεγεν οὖν (pro ελεγε δε) NBLΨ I fam 13 [non 124] Paris⁹⁷
irr¹ et d (contra D^{8r}) sah 3/7 boh^{pl} (om. δε sah 4/7 boh 2/25
syr sin) Praepon kai syr cu arm aeth
 21 ἔκρυσεν (pro ενεκρ.) BKLNUΠ min⁷⁰ (verss) (et sah 1/7
 αςρονη, sed sah al. αςρονη:—she cast it. Kneaded diatess)
 ἕως οὗ (pro ἕως οὗ) vitiose, ut saepe οὗ pro οὗ scribebat libr noster
 [sed ὅλον hoc loco contra morem ὅλον]
 22 τὰς (pro κατὰ)† Recte Bir (Male Scho κατὰ τας) Sol^{vid} cum aeth
 cf. diatess (κατὰ τας XLT 1. 6⁹⁰ sah 1/7 boh¹) + πασας syr hier
 23 + εἰσὶν (post ολιγοι) D d (et it excepto q) 124 300 Eust 20
aeth arm syr Orig^{int} [non sah boh]
 25 ἡ.ε. semel NBL a₂ c e g₂ lt gat aur boh 13/20 sah Pistis diatess
 οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς πόθεν ἐστὲ (sine interpuncto post υμας) †† Vide
infra ver 27
 27 οὐκ οἶδα πόθεν ἐστὲ (— υμας) BLRT 346 b ff il tol Lucif (Tert)
 29 — απο sec.
 31 init. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ GS befr r₂ al. (boh) (Cf. syr cu sin aeth)
 32 ἰάσεις ἐπιτελῶ σήμερον sic punctum ††
 33 ἐρχομένη (pro εχομενη) ND [non W] Λ 69 71 131 433 i^{80r} al¹⁰ d
 (cf. latt interp. qui variant inter se)
 35 > ἰδοὺ ἀφίεται (— υμιν) ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν ἔρημος + ὑμῖν (††) Male Bir.
 Silet Scho de omn. Silet Tisch de 157. Sol^{via} Om. υμιν
 pr. loco X^{8r} min⁷ et D⁹⁸. Cf. sah boh υμιν trs fin. claus (sine
 ερημος). (Cf. syr)
 λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν (— αμην)
 [ὅτι οὐ μὴ με ἴδητε, ἕως ἂν] — ἦξη οτε [εἴπητε] † (Recte Bir.

Luke

Male Scho — αν ηξη στε) BLR (cf. NKMXΠ) ει μ υγ^B
 (13-69-556) (79) *Eust* 48 *copt syr^{sch} pesh* (*silet Tisch de 157*)
 xiii i Παρῆσαν 3, 5 μετανοήσαντε 4 πῦργος ἐν ἐν
 τῷ σιλῳάμ *pr. man.* †† 5 [ὁμοίως] 6 συκῆν 7
 οὐχ' εὐρίσκω 8 ἑωκότου *sic* 9 [*cum t. r.*] 10
 σάββασιν. †† (*Punctum rubr man rubric*) 11 ὁκτῶ
 ἀνακύψε 13 [ἀνωρθώθη] 16 ἦν σατανὰς 22
 [ἱερουσαλήμ *plene*] 24 [πύλινος] 26 ἄρξῃσθε ††
 27 [τῆς ἀδικίας] 32 ἐβάλλω *sic pr. man.* †† 33/34
 ἰλῆμ· ἱερουσαλήμ ἱερουσαλήμ *sic* 34 ἀποκτείνουσα
 νόστιαν *sic* †† (νοσίαν HLS 604 *al.*)

- xiv i εἰσελθεῖν (*pro elthein*) DM *fam* 13 [non 124] 28 Paris⁹ *al. latt*
 (*copt arm syr*) εἰσηλθεν *Eust*^a
 + ἐν (*ante* σαββατω) 73 Non *al. gr. vid.* Cf. *verss*
 3 θεραπεύσαι, (*pro* θεραπεύειν) †† NBDL *fam* 1.124 254^{schol} Paris⁹
 + ἡ οὐ (*post* θεραπεύσαι) NBDL *fam* 1 *fam* 13 254^{schol} Paris⁹
b def q r r₂ μ dim β υγ^{sch} m^{sch} q^{sch} boh, sah (amplius η ουκ εξεστω)
aeth syr cu [non *sin*] *hier* [non *sch* *pesh* *diatess*]
 5 πεσείται (*pro* εμπεσ.) NAB (L) WP *fam* 1 *fam* 13 *al. Latt. Verss*
 ἐν ἡμέρα σαββάτου (*pro* ἐν τῇ ἡμ. του σαββ.) †† Sol *cum* 131 (cf. *latt*)
 6 — αὐτῷ NBDL *fam* 1.124 Paris⁹ *del* [non *sah boh syr*]
 8 μὴ εἰς τὴν πρωτοκλισίαν κατακλίνου· (*pro* μὴ κατακλινῆς εἰς τὴν
 πρωτοκλ.) † (*Recte Bir. Male Scho*) Sol^{vid} [non *lat sed* cf. *b fq*]
 9 + τὸν (*ante* τοπον *prim.*) †† Sol *cum boh sah (syr diatess)*
 (*Ex graeco in sah boh forsan primum leg. τὸν τοπον pro*
τοπον). Cf. *aeth^{int}* 'cede huic personae' (— *τοπον sed intel-*
ligitur τον τοπον) [*Silet Horner in notulis testibus aliis*
absent.] *Syr emph. ambobus locis* 120? *pro* τοπον *pr* *et* τον
 (*εσχ.*) *τοπον sec. ut Hogg diatess* 'give the place'.
 10 ἀνάπεσαι *sic* (*pro* ἀνάπεσον)
 [εἴπη·] — σοι *prim.* Sol^{vid} *cum* 245 *ai l*
 + πάντων (*post* ἐνωπιον) †† NABLN X *al. r sah^{omn} boh^{omn}*
syr^r (omn excepto sin) diatess aeth [Non *latt vid excepto r*]
 12 ποιείσ (*pro* ποιῆς) Non *Gr unc vid sed min* 225 235 346-556 604
e^{scr} Eust 19 *y^{scr}*. (Cf. *lat*)
 — μηδε τους αδελφους σου †† L 1-118*-209 2 11 42 53 61 69
 127* 242 *al. Eust* 18 19 *al. Aphraat. Iren* (*libere ??*) *sah* 1/7
 [*Contra rell et syrr diatess emph.* 'not even thy brothers']
 ἀντικαλίσωσί σε †† NBDLR X *fam* 1 (*fam* 13) Paris⁹ *Eust* 48
de fr r₂ μ dim goth (hiat goth x 30-xiv 9) (copt) syrr Iren^{int}
Cypr Dam
 14 δε (*pro* γαρ) N* N 1 *fam* 13 *it* [non *a b*] *arm aeth Cypr Aug*
 15 φάγη (*pro* φαγεται) †† Sol^{vid} *cum Eust* 14
 16 μεγὰρ *sic* †† μεγαν B³? D Δ Π² *al*⁴⁰. Clem *vid.* (*om.* X *arm*
syr hier)
 19 + δ (*ante* ετερος) †† N 243 (cf. *arm^{codd}* 'And the second'; cf.
boh NHunt²⁶ *πικροται* [*al. κροται*] *et ver* 20 *boh^b πικροται*)

Luke

xiv 20

[ἐτερος]

[καί] — δια τουτο *Sol^{vid} inter gr cum a b c e i q Clem* (— και
δια τουτο *syr cu sin*) ΔΙΟ D (*d propter quod, ff al. ideo*)

21

— εκείνος

τοὺς ἀναπείρουσ (*pro αναπηρους*) †† *Boh sah (syr)*

23

> καὶ τυφλοὺς καὶ χωλοὺς

ποίησον (*pro αναγκασον*) *Sol. Non Gr-Lat. Cf. syr. Cf.*
convoa v^g [Non boh sah aeth goth]> μου ὁ οἶκος *¶ABD⁸KLRX^ΠΨ 507 Paris⁷ e (hi omnes*
Aegyptiaci ut vid) boh sah [Contra Gr-syr-lat] Om. μου N

26 fin.

> μου εἶναι μαθητῆς. *KN^ΠΨ al. Eus Bas Orig^{int}*

27

ὅστις γὰρ (*pro και οστις*) *Sol^{vid} cum arm*

28

ψηφίσει †† *Sol? (Cf. copt) (Latt omn vid computat vel*
computavit, non computabit)

31

> ἐτέρω βασιλεῖ συμβαλεῖν *¶ABDLNRX^Ψ 33 al⁸ d*> πρῶτον καθίσας [βουλευεται] *fam 1. 3^{pe} p⁸ Paris⁷ y⁸ al. pauc.*
*befilq aeth arm?*ὑπαντήσαι (*pro απαντησαι*) †† *¶ABDRXΔ [non W] 1 fam 13*
33 53 Paris⁷ al.?

34

+ καὶ (*post de*) †† *¶BDLNX^Ψ al. pauc. abcdg₂gr^{**} vgg codd*
syr pesh diatess (goth)

xiv 5 [ὄνος ἢ βοῦς]

7 ἑκκλημένους *sic* 8, 10 κληθῆσ9 μετὰ ἐσχύνης (*pro μετ' αισχυνης*) †† 10 ἵν' ὅταν*sic* †† (*De nouo xvi 9*) 12 μὴδὲ *tertio loco* 13ἀναπείρουσ (*vide supra ver 21*) 15 [δς] [ἀρτον]

17 ὅτι 27 βαστάζει †† 28 [τὰ πρὸς] 29 [ἐμ-

παίξειν αὐτῷ] 35 βαλλοῦσω †† (*M al. Βαλουσω, cf.**bdg, fff i)*

xv 3

αὐτοῖς (*pro προσ αυτους*) †† 50 131 433 435 *al.?* v^g^R [*non al.*
latt] *Cf. verss*

4

ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐν *¶BD⁸W fam 1 fam 13 [non 124] Paris⁷ e*

5

+ αὐτὸ (*post ευρων*) †† *Non gr vid, sed cum syrr vg et it*
(except a c d e d) sah boh aeth [non goth] Cf. Matt. xviii 13

7

+ χαίρει ἐπ' αὐτῷ μᾶλλον (*post σι*) 106 251> ἐν τῷ ὄνῳ ἔσται *¶BL^Ψ 33 Paris⁷*

8

> ἔχουσα δέκα δραγμᾶς *sic* *Ord sol^{vid} cum copt*καὶ ἀπολέσασα (*pro εαν απολεση*) *D⁸ [non d] Cf. bohⁿ: (et*
*sah) + σσσζ. et si aliq latt*μίαν (— δραχμην) *D bcd e f f i l q r (unam ex illis a syrr diatess copt)*οὐχ' ἄππει (*pro ουχι αππει*) †† 69-556

9

συγκαλεῖ (*¶BKLNUX(Δ)Π^Ψ min²⁵*— τας (*ante γειτονας*) *¶BL 247 al. pauc. boh^B**

10

χαρὰ ἔσται (*pro χαρὰ γίνεται*) *D fam 13 latt arm aeth boh^{duo} Hier*13 ini¹.> καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς *D latt*

17

πῶς οἱ μίσθιοι (*pro πόσοι μίσθιοι*) (*N*) X 14 28 (*me teste*) 38 42
69 131 (*πους οι*) 183 184 191 225 258 433 *Eust 48 y⁸ al. (Cf.*
boh etc; goth 'hvan filu')

Luke

- xv 20 αὐτοῦ (*pro* εἰαυτοῦ)
 21 > ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῷ BL *fam* 1 (*b d*) *sah boh*
 22 + ταχέως (*ante* ἐξενέγκασε) D 13-346 *cf. boh* (+ ταχυ *MBLX*
 Paris⁹⁷) *it ug goth arm aeth syr cu sin sah 4/6*
 24 [ἀνέγνωσε· καὶ ἀπολωλὼς]—ἦν DQR *al. pauc.* (*Om. Bir* N.T.
habet Var lect)
 26 —αυτου † (*Om. Bir. E sil Scho*)
 28 δὲ (*pro* ουν) † (*Om. Bir*)
 30 πορνῶν· ἤλθε καὶ ἔθυσας (*pro* πορνῶν ἤλθεν, ἔθυσας) †† 13-346 44
a b c f f i l q r r₂* (*Cf. D de syr^{ach} pesh diatess*) [*Non sah boh*]
 —ἦλθε *syr cu sin*
 32 —ην *sec.* ABDLRWXΨ *fam* 1 *fam* 13 33^{vid} *al. goth diatess*
Const (*Cf. latt*)
 xv 4 ἐνενηκὸς τὰ ἐννέα, 7 ἐνενηκοντα ἐννέα 9 [δραχμὴν]
 10 οὕτως †† 14 [ἰσχυρὸς *sic sed plane o non a*] 16
 [γεμίσαι τὴν κοιλίαν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ] ἡσθίων †† (*Cf. 28*
 ἔλεγων) χοίροι *sic* 20 ἰδεν *sic* †† 23 ἐνεγκόντες ††
 GQVΔ *al.* 29 [ἔριφον] 30 καταφαγῶν
 xvi 2 + μοι (*post* αποδος) Sol^{vid} *cum Evst* 49 *sah (boh 2/24) syr^{ach} pesh*
diatess pers [non al. vid.] Silet Tisch. Cf. aeth (inest)
'accede igitur et COMPUTEMUS rat. disp. tuae'
 3 + ἐκεῖνος (*post* οικονόμος) Sol *cum a e syrr (incl syr vet) goth*
 4 > εἰς τοὺς εἰαυτῶν οἴκου Sol^{vid} *cum copt (possessivus ante nom.)*
Cf. Luc. xiv 23, xix 23
 5 αὐτοῦ (*pro* εαυτου)
 7 τῷ δευτέρῳ (*pro* ετερω) † (*Recte Bir. Male Scho confuse*) Sol^{vid}
[non sah boh] Cf. D 80 433 τῷ ετερω, Diatess^{Hox} 'to the
next', pers^{int} cuidam alteri
 λέγει δὲ (*pro* καὶ λέγει) *N* 13-346 *a (q)* (ο δε λέγει D *d aur boh alig*)
Neglz. Tisch 157
 10 πολλοῖς (*pro* πολλῶ *pr.*) [*non sec.*] Sol^{vid} *cum Hiercant (cf. gig)*
Contra Clem^{rom} et rell
 ἔστιν (—καὶ *sec. seq*) †† Sol^{vid} *cum Hiercant (cf. gig)*
 12 ἐμὸν (*pro* υμετερον) *e i l Tert^{Marc} bis* (ημετερον BL *Evst* 21
Orig cor val) *Cf. Matthaei ad loc.*
 14 —καὶ *prim.*
 ὄντες (*pro* υπαρχοντες) †† *fam* 13 64 239 *Orig sem. Cf. latt*
aliter syrr
 18 —πας ὁ *sec. loco man. pr. (suppl* ὁ *man. sec.)* (††) Sol? (*-pas alig.*)
 20 —ην *NBDLP* XΨ* 33 *vid.* 237 251 Paris⁹⁷ *Evst* 47 6^{po} *a d e f*
sah boh arm aeth Clem Dial
 —ος † (*Recte Bir, negl. Scho*) *NBDLXΨ* 33 Paris⁹⁷ *a d e sah boh*
arm aeth Clem Dial [ΑΖΑΡΟCΟCΕΒΕΒΑΗΤΟ] (*cf. syr*)
 21 περιέλειχον (*pro* ἀπελειχον) Sol *cum Chr. Cf. lambebant a*
(al. linguebant et d elingebant, e ablingebant; ἐπελειχον
NABLX, ἐλειχον D fam 1 Dial Ephr; it pl linguebant)
 22 ἀβραάμ (—τοῦ)

Luke

- xvi 23 > ἀπο μακρόθεν τὸν ἀβραάμ *Ord sol vid cum pers. Cf. Aphraat. syr^{sch} pesh diatess [non syr cu sin lat copt]*
- 24 ἐκφωνήσας (pro φωνήσας) *Sol^{vid} (Exclam. a b d f e m, ἐκφωνήσας D) Pers^{int} 'voce elata vociferatus est', cf. etiam syr^{sch} pesh Ufhropjands goth*
- 25 + αὐτῷ (ante ἀβραάμ) *Λ 124 229** 262 syr diatess a b c fff i l m q r gat aur sah [non boh^{pl}] arm aeth Ephr*
— συ *prim.*
- 26 > ὑμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν *NW colb Wetst [Non al. gr-syr-copt vid.] b e h m d [contra Δ87] dim 130^{lat} vg codd¹⁴ (Aliter sah boh) ἐνθεν διαβῆναι (pro διαβ. ἐντευθεν) 69 (ord it^{pl} syr^{sch} pesh aeth) *Om. ἐντευθεν DW c d e m*
*fin. διαπεράσαι (pro διαπερῶσιν) †† D d et it vg arm (cf. copt syr^{sch} pesh)**
- 30 ἐκ (pro απο) *D F fam 1.28 al. Dial it^{pl} Iren^{int}*
μετανοήσωσιν †† *M X Γ Ψ 28 48 51 235 244 245 346 Eust 20 21 50*
- 31 πιστεύσωσιν *sic (pro πεισθησονται) † (Recte Bir, confuse Scho.) Cf. πιστευουσιν D Ephr it (πιστευουσιν W fug²) Iren^{int} Aug arm aeth syr (Dial (Ephr) r sah [non boh = πεισθησονται] ακουωσιν*
xvi 2 [δυνήσῃ] 7 εἶπεν (pro εἶπε pr.) †† 9 ἰν' ὅταν ††
(vide supra xiv 10) II ἀληθειῶν sic vult. ei ex em de indust. †† 12 [ὑμῖν δώσει] 16 προφίται vid. 19 καθ- ημέραν sic 20 [ἠλκωμένοι] 24 [ὑδατος] 25 νῦν δι ὃ δε] ὀδυνάσαι 26 δύνονται †† μηδὲ 29 μωῦσία †† 31 [μωσέως]*
- xvii 1 + αὐτοῦ (post μαθήτας)
τὰ σκάνδαλα πληνθύναι (pro τα σκ. οὐαι δε sed iungit) *℣ BDL Ψ etc.*
- 2 λίθοσ ὀνίκος (pro μυλος ονικος) *W (λιθ. μυλ. ℣ BDL it arm Tert)*
μυλον tantum Clem^{rom}
- 4 ἁμαρτίαν (pro ἁμάρτη)
πρὸς σὲ (pro ἐπὶ σε)
ἄφεσ (pro ἀφήσεις) †† *D H Λ 254 Clem it^{pl} boh^{pl} [non sah] syr aeth*
- 7 + αὐτῷ (post ερεῖ) *℣ BDL N X al. it (cf. r) vg copt syr arm aeth diatess*
- 9 *fin. (ver 10 init. Sab.) — αὐτῷ ου δοκῶ* *℣ B L (X) fam 1.28 a e copt syr arm aeth (Cypr)*
- 10 + οὖν (ante και υμεις) *Sol^{vid} ex lat? itaque pro ita cum e et aeth (Etiam it syr)*
και (pro σι sec.) Sol^{vid} cum aeth. Om. mult. a γαρ Bas Chr goth ὠφέλαμεν †† ℣(F*)*
- 12 τῶν (pro τινα) *(L) Λ soli. Latt quoddam (a d quendam)*
Om. τινα pers, habet aeth. 'A village' sah boh
*ἰπνίτησαν [αὐτῷ] ℣ (L) N fam 1 fam 13 [non 124] 29 54 64 71 74** 239 Paris⁹⁷*
> ἄνδρες λεπτοὶ D it vg syr copt diatess [non aeth vid.] (— ἀνδρες Paris⁹⁷ vg^T syr hier)
ἀνέστησαν BF

Luke

- xvii 14 ὑπάγετε (*pro* πορευθεντες) } *Sol*^{vid} *cum latt et d* ite ostendite [*non*
δείξατε (*pro* επιδείξατε) } *a f d* = euntes ost.]
15 ἐκαθερίσθη (*pro* ιαθη) D 64 124 220 254 *syrr aeth goth vg*
b d f l r gat aur diatess sah [*non boh non e s*] *Vigil*
16 τοῦ ἰῷ (*pro* αὐτοῦ) *Syrr diatess* (Dñe Iesu *aeth*, του κυριου
28) *Non latt*
17 + οὗτοι (*post* δεκα) †† A W Π 27 42 254 *scr^d p^w syrr sin sch*
pesh diatess (οὗτοι δεκα D *a b c d e f f i l q s syrr cu pers.* Cf.
sah) *aeth*^{int} *nonne decem fuistis qui purgati estis*
18 ὑποστρέψαι πάντες (*pro* υποστρεψαντες) †† *Sol*^{vid}. Cf. D *d e*
‘*nemo*’ *et syrr diatess*
19 + ὅτι (*ante* η πιστις) †† D Paris^m *a b c d e f f i l q r s gat aur*
vgg boh 1/24 diatess (N.B. *Hoc loco om. η πιστις σου σεσωκε*
σε B *et sah* 6/9)
21 — ἰδου *sec.* [*Habet in vers* 23]
22 εἶπεν οὖν (*pro* εἶπε δε) D d (*non syrr-lat*) *Om. copulam diatess*
(*altero capite*)
+ δὲ (*post* ελεουσονται)
τοῦ ἐπιθυμῆσαι ὑμᾶς (*pro* οτε επιθυμησετε) D *fam* 13 [*non* 124] *it*
‘*ut desid.*’ *vel* ‘*ut concup.*’ (*Contra s* ‘*cum desid.*’ *ut syrr*)
23 μὴ ἐξέλθῃτε (*pro* μὴ ἀπελθῃτε μὴδε διωξῇτε) †† *Recte Bir Scho*
sed confuse ut Tisch. *Sol*^{vid} *cum syrr^{sch} pesh* (*diatess*) *pers*
(*Reil confuse variant*)
24 — ἡ *sec.*
ἐκ τοῦ οὐνοῦ (*pro* εκ της υπ’ ουρανον) 248 (cf. *fam* 13) *b e q*
Vigil
οὗτος (*pro* οὕτως) *Sol?* (Cf. *copt*)
26 — τοῦ (*ante* νωε)
27 ἐγαμίζοντο
ἀπώλεσε πάντας ††
28 καθὼς (*pro* και ως) † (*Recte Bir et Tisch. Male Scho vult και*
καθως) NBLRX^ψ *fam* 13 [*non* 124] 243 Paris^m *d i l r (r₂)*
vg gat aur
29 ἀπώλεσε πάντας
31 — τῷ (*ante* αγω) †† NBL *fam* 13 [*non* 124] Paris^m (*goth latt boh*)
ἐπιστραφῆτω (*pro* επιστρεψατω) D 243 (*a d e*)
34 + ὅτι (*ante* ταυτη) †† *Sol inter gr cum* 243 Paris^m *e = syrr copt*
(*goth*) [*non al. lat*]
xvii 1 ἐστὶν 7 [ἀνίπτεσαι] 10 οὕτως †† [ἀχρεῖοι]
13 ἦραν 15 ὑπέστρεψεν †† 18 οὐχ’ εὐρέθησαν
24 [εἰς τὴν ὑπουδὴν λάμπει,] [καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρ ἐν τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῦ] 25 γενεὰς 27 εἰσῆλθεν (*pro* εἰσηλθε) ††
31 ἄραι 33 ἀπολίσει (*pro* ἀπολεση *in sec. loco*) 35 ἐπὶ
τοαυτὸ *sic*
xviii 1 [ἐκκαεῖν] + αὐτοῦς 225 *syrr*
3 + τῷ (*post* δε) †† *E sil Bir Scho* N Λ *min mult it* [*non e*]
vg syrr arm aeth (*copt*) *Hipp*

Luke

- xviii 3 ἡ (sic) *pro* και †† ἡ *Sol vid inter omn cum b c f f q pers arm*
(*sah*) *Hifp*
- 4 ἤθελεν (*pro* ἠθελῆσεν) ††
οὐδὲ ἄν^{ον} (*pro* και ανθρωπον ουκ) NBLX Paris⁹⁷ *it* [*non q r r₂*]
boh 7/24 *Hifp*
- 5 δε (*pro* γε) †† X 2^{pe} 604 Paris⁹⁷ P**scr (αλλα εἰθε *sah* 2/6,
+ *xe sah* 4/6)
- 6 [τῇν] χῆρα [ταύτην] †† *et ita vult, ut vid, cum scri^pxy^s*
ἠκούσατε (*pro* ακουσατε) †† Γ scr^t*y *e Vigil*
- 7 μακροθυμεῖ ἐν αὐτοῖς D8^r *it* (μακροθυμει επ αυτ. NABDLQXΠΨ
etc; — εν αυτοις 64 *Antioch*; — μακρ. επ αυτ. *Iren^{int} Mac*)
- 9 — και sec. [*Hab. prim.*] 71 *sah* 3/6 [*Non boh aeth rel*] *r??*
+ και λέγει (*post* λοιπους) *Sol^{vid} cum* (73) *cor vat* 5 + *dicens*
(*syr hier*) *et aeth* 'et parabolice loquutus est' *et boh* 'hanc
parabolam DICENS' (*Cf. pos. verborum* την παραβ. ταυτην
antepon. sah syrr)
- 11 + δε (*post* ὁ *init.*) QX (*Eust* 14) *sah boh r gat* (και ὁ *aeth syrr*
Orig) + ουν N *a b c f f i l q cum stetisset e Cypr*
- 13 *init.* ὁ δὲ (*pro* και ὁ) NBGL 69 *aliq e* (*sah*) *boh syrr aeth Antioch*
Cypr Aug
+ ἀπὸ (*ante* μακροθεν) *Min¹⁰ Cf. syr lat*
ἐτυπτε (— *eis*) NBDKLQXΠΨ *al. it vg arm Orig Cyr Cypr*
Antioch [*Non syr copt goth*]
- 14 ἑαυτοῦ (*pro* αὐτου) †† BL² (*dom. suam latt*)
ἡ περ ἐκείνοσ (*ἡ fin. lin. πρ ἐκείν^{oc} sic*) *Cf. Bas^{ed}.*
- 15 ἐπετίμουν (*pro* ἐπετιμῆσαν) †† 69 *latt et d contra* Δ8^r [*non e*] *boh*
arm (ἐπετίμων NBDGL *fam* 1 *rel fam* 13 [*non* 124] *etc*)
- 16 λέγει (*pro* ειπεν) 69* (*syr*) • ἐλεγεν 13-346-556 69** • λεγων
NBDL *fam* 1 Paris⁹⁷ *a dr*
fin. τῶν οὐνῶν (*pro* του θεου) Λ* colbWetst 253 258 Paris⁹⁷ *a b c*
syrr boh 2/24 [*non sah*] *vg^d* (*Cf. Matt. xix* 14) [*Non Marc.*
x 14]
- 17 ἀμὴν ἀμὴν N 248 252* 346 (*αμην γαρ D cum* 237 11^{pe} *d*)
- 18 τῶν ἀρχόντων (*pro* ἀρχων) *Sol cum c^{scr} et syrr diatess pers*
(*cf. goth*) *Matt. xix* 16 *Marc. x* 17 *eis, sed cf. diatessHogg*
'There came near to him a young man (from Matthew) of
the rulers (from Luke)' *Omi. αρχων it^{pl}*
- 20 *fin.* — σου (*post* μητερα)
- 21 εἶπεν + αὐτῷ †† G *c f f i l syrr aeth sah* 4/6 *boh* 1/24 *Cf.*
'ait ILLE haec' *bfr*
- 22 αὐτῷ (*pro* ταῦτα) *Sol^{vid} cum e* (*cum audisset autem illum*)
— ταυτα NBDL *fam* 1.69 [*non rel*] *al. pauc. copt syrr* [*non pesh*]
quo audito latt (*quod audito b*; *quod cum audisset a*)
πωλῆσας δὸς (*pro* πωλησον και διαδος) *Sol om. και cum sah*
3/6 (*Silent de* 157 *Tisch Horner*) *vende ea paup. a*; *dos*
mult et Matt Marc. *πωλησας Sol^{vid}* 157
- 24 — περιλupon γενομενον NBL *fam* 1 Paris⁹⁷ *sah boh* [*non aeth*]

Luke

syrr hier [non rell syrr nec diatess] [non latt]. Cf. pers :
'Cum Iesus mentem eius pertentasset'

xviii 24 > εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θῆ εἰσέλουσονται K(B)D(L)R Ψ 124
 Paris⁸⁷ *ip^l vr*

25 τρυπήματος βελόνης (προ τρυμαλ. ραφ.) (D) L al. Clem

27 παρὰ θεῷ ἐστιν (*pro* ἐστὶ παρα τῷ θεῷ) ℣BDLWΨ (*fam* 1) 28
al. pc. a e Hier (syrr)

28 [ἀφῆκαμεν] τὰ ἴδια (*pro* ἀφ. πάντα) + (*Recte Bir, male Scho uno loco*)
Solvid sah 6/7 boh (et it). ἀφεντες τα ἴδια ^{N^oB(D)L} ἀφηκαμεν
 πάντα τα ἴδια *syr cu sin (fam 1 fam 13) sah 1/7 e (a c l g)*

33 *fin.* ἐγερθίσεται (pro αναστ.) †† *L al. pauc.* *Ephph* 1/2

34 — **ΤΟΥΤΟ** †† D fam 1 25 arm it pl syr cu sin boh pl sah 1/7
[Non syr pesh sch diatess. non aeth pers]

35 ἑπαίων (*pro προσαιτων*) † † B D L Paris⁹⁷ [*non W non al. min*]
Orig Dial

36 + τοῦ (*ante* οὐλου) †† *Sol*^{vid} *cum* *sah* [*non boh*]

39 *Vers. om. (ex hom?)* 33 57 130 235 258 433 s^{scr} *b i s?* *Dial*

41 — λεγων †† NBDLX 57 *d e sah boh Dial* [non syr aeth goth]

42 + ἀποκριθεὶς (*post kai init.*) †† (Dabcdeffilrs Orig Dial)

xviii 7 [πρὸς αὐτὸν] 8 ἄρα II [πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ταῦτα]

12 [ἀποδεκατῶ] [πάντα ὅσα κτῶμαι] 13 [εἰς τὸν οὐνόν]

ἐπάραι· (sic acc.) Διάσθητι 17 [βασ. τοῦ θεοῦ]

21 [ἐφ' ὧν] 22 *fin.* [ἐν οὐνῶ] 25 [εἰσελθεῖν]

pr. 29, 30 [cum t. r.] 31 [ἱεροσόλυμα] 32 ἔμπε-

χθῆσεται †† καιὺβρισθήσεται sic 35 ἱερικῶ (sed ἱερικῶ

xix I)

tert (ante οὗτος ἦν πλούσιος) DW 108 *de* (cf. al. qui

xix 2 — και *tert* (ante οὗτος ἦν πλούσιος) DW 108 *de* (cf. *al. qui variant inter se plurimum*) cf. *diatess*

4 + εἰς τὰ (ante εμπροσθεν) Sol^{vid} (+ εἰς το NBL eff)

5 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ διέρχεσθαι τὸν τῷ εἶδεν αὐτόν· ἀναβλέψας δὲ ὁ ιε

εἶπε πρὸς αὐτόν· (προ και ως ηλθεν επι τον τοπον αναβλεψας ο
ιησους ειδεν αυτον και ειπε προς αυτον) Sol. Cf. D et lat.

11 εἶναι εἰς ἰλῆμ αὐτόν (*pro* αὐτον εἶναι ιερουσαλημ) *Sol*^{vid} (*NBL*)

12 ἐπορεύετο (*pro eporευθη*) DH Paris⁹⁷

13 εἶπεν αὐτοῖς (*pro eipe pros autous*) 235 ^{scr} e gat v^{er}g^{ing} (sah)

Om. autols boh

ἐνῶ ἔρχομαι sic (pro εως ερχ.) NABD^grKLRWΠΨ fam 1

colb^{Wet} *al. Orig (syr cu sin)* Cf. boh **ܕܥܢ ܢܐܝ ܫܕܬܝ** (*om.*

ସେନ ନାମ ସାହ)

14 βασιλεύειν (ήτοι βασιλεύσαι) †† Sol?

15 δεδώκει (ἔδωκε) NBDL. I.25.131 Paris⁹⁷ colbWet (Fzist 18)

ader vgr arm Orig (syr cu sin)

— $\tau\iota\varsigma$ } NB(D)L(Ψ) *de (syr) copt aeth*

16 μῆας (*pro mēa*) [προσειργάσατο δέκα] μῆας. [*ver 18 hē. mēas.*]

17 > [εὖ] δοῦλε ἀγαθὲ NM fam I 69-124 al. c (f) ffilr gat vgeK

arm aeth pers

Luke

- xix 18 δ ἕτερος (*pro* δευτερος) D *it vg syr sin aeth* (Orig ἄλλος
ut *literatim vg it* alius vel alter)
μῶς (*pro* μῶ) ††
πεποίηκε (*pro* ἐποίησε) Sol? (*Cf. lat*)
- 19 > ἐπάνω γίνου, (, *a man rubric.*) Ordo NBL *fam* 1 Paris⁷⁷
[*non lat*]
- 20 — ἰδου †† 44* 131 254 r* vg^B [*non verss vid.*] *Cf. sah* πκοεic
eic Forsan *ex errore oculi perd.* ἰδου. *Cf. etiam* xix 25 *infra*
+ ἰδε sol 157 leg. πκοεic eic *pro* πκοεic
μῶς (*pro* μῶ) ††
- 21 αἵρων (*pro* αἰρεis) } Sol^{vid} cum 435 ff (tollens ... metes). (*Cf.*
θερίζων (*pro* θερίζεις) } *etiam c vg^w tolles metes pro tollēs metēs?*)
- 22 — δε
[αἵρων ... θερίζων]
- 23 > μου τὸ ἀργύριον NABL (N μου το ἀργυριον μου) W* Ψ 33 f^{scr}
Paris⁷⁷ Evst 48 boh sah [*non lat*]
— την
καγὼ †† NBD Paris⁷⁷
fin. αὐτῷ (*pro* αὐτό) †† 28* 69 Scr^b Matthaei*
- 24 μὴν *ex em. pr. man.* †† μὴς *sec. loco* ††
- 25 + Ὡς (*ante* εχει) Sol *inter gr-syr-lat.* *Cf. sah* πκοεic.
Vide *supra* xix 20. *Cf. Luc. x 17 Serapion* (Hoskier,
'Bohairic' p. 161) Hoc loco *non ex Matt.* *Cf. etiam latt*
ut in l HABET|D|ECE (Nonne habet *aeth*^{int})
μὴς ††
- 27 κατασφάξετε *sic pr. man.* †† (κατασφαξετε NMS 69 433
Paris⁷⁷)
+ αὐτοὺς (*ante* ἐμπροσθεν) NBFLR 33 53 Evst 18 19 49
150 222 259 syrr sah boh *aeth dialess* [*non lat*]
- 29 βιθσφαγή [καὶ βιθανίαν] B³UT *alig goth*
ἐλαιὼν *sic* †† [*ver* 37 τῶν ἐλαιῶν] *Cf. KΠ c ff q r s; ελεωνα W* (*cf.*
xci 37)
- 30 λέγων (*pro* εἰπων) NBDL 13-69-346-556 [*non* 124] Orig Eulog
ποτέ (*pro* πώποτε) 123 (c^{scr} πωτε) om. DH 245 *it syr cu sin*
aeth Eulog
κεκάθικε (*pro* ἐκάθισε) Recte Bir sed Scho 257 *errore.* *fam* 1
243 latt (*cf. Marc. xi 2*)
+ καὶ (*ante* λυσαιτες) BDL 3 74** d *aeth boh* 6/20 [*non sah*]
- 32 *fin.* Post αὐτοῖς (*sic*) + ἐστῶτα πῶλον (U 7 60 67 245 Evst* mult
it vg aeth arm syr hier) [*Non rell syr copt*]
- 34 + ἐπὶ (*ante* ο κυριος) †† NABDKLMNWΠΨ *fam* 1
fam 13 al. *vg a d f q gat* (*contra c ff i r s d*) sah boh *syr*
- 35 αὐτῶν (*pro* εαυτων)
- 36 + αὐτῶ (*post* υπεστρωννυνον) [*Non gr vid. Ex lat.* 'eunte autem
illo' substernebant] + ei a s + illi e (*cf. I*)
- 37 πᾶν (*pro* ἅπαν) D 57 254
- 38 [εὐλογημένοις ὁ ἐρχόμενος βασιλεὺς ἐν ὀνόματι κυ̅] + εὐλογημένοις

Luke

- βασιλεὺς ἰηλ' [εἰρήνην ἐν οὐνῶ καὶ δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις] *Sol^{rid}*
cum aeth (D *a c d f f i r s*)
- xix 40 σιωπῶσιν (*pro* σιωπήσωσιν) *Sol?*
 41 ἐπ' αὐτὴν †† *Unc¹⁰ al. aliq Orig 3/4 Iren Bas latt*
 42 [καὶ σὺ] — καὶ γε *D Paris⁹ d e f q s boh goth aeth Orig Iren*
 — σου *prim.* *AD etc.*
 + ἠρώτησας ἄν (*ante* τα προς) *Sol.* (*Cf. pers*: Hierosolyma
 quamdiu nescies illos, QVORVM MISERICORDIA ET SALVS
 TVA SVNT. Ecce hodie misericordiae ab aspectu tuo occul-
 tatae sunt)
 σοι (*pro* σου *sec.*) *D 13-69-556 61^{ms} 106 it vg Eus 3/4 Orig^{lat}*
 43 + αὶ (*ante* ημεραι) †† *254 433 (cf. syr)*
 44 οὐκ ἀφήσουσι λίθον ἐπὶ λίθου (*sic*) ἐν σοὶ' (†† *Male Bir Scho* λιθον
 ἐπὶ λιθῶ) *Sol? cum Paris⁹ (ἐπὶ λιθῶν Γ)*
 45 + ὁ ἱε̅ (*post* εισελθῶν) †† *E⁸ 106 et aur vg^{bx}*
 46 καὶ ἔσται ὁ οἶκος μου, οἶκος προσευχῆς (*pro* ο οἶκος μου οἶκος
 προσευχῆς *est*) (*N*) *BLR fam 1 fam 13 cl arm copt Orig.*
 47 { + καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ (*post* (D) (130) *boh [non sah] latt*
 γραμματεῖς) *syr arm aeth diatess*
 — καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι του λαου (*post* *Orig diserte*
 απολεσαι)
- xix 3 ἡλικί'α 4 [συκομωραίαν] [δι' ἐκείνης] ἔμελλεν ††
 7 καταλύσαι 8 [τὰ ἡμέσ^h (*fin. lin.*) τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
 μου κέ, δίδω (*fin. lin.*) μὲ τοῖς πτωχοῖς] 9 ἐστὶ ††
 11 παρὰ χρήμα *sic ex indust** 12 [εὐγενής] 14
 πολίται 15 [γνῶ] 20 [ἕτερος *absque* ὁ] ἦν (*pro*
 ἦν) 22 [κρινῶ] 23 διὰ τί [*non ita ver* 31] 26
 ἰπὶ. [λέγω γάρ] *fin.* [ἀπαυτοῦ] 31 [ἐρεῖτε αὐτῶ]
 31, 34 χρεῖαν 35 [ἐπιρρίψαντες] 37 [πασῶν] ὦν
 40 [κεκράζονται] 43 περιβαλοῦσιν *sic* 47 καθημέραν
 48 οὐχ' εὕρισκον [ἐξεκρέματο]
- xx I — *εκείνων*
 3 — *ενα* *NBLR W fam 1.33 69 c h q β μ vg codd⁷ ((copt)) pers*
syr sin (om. ενα λογον syr cu a e f f i)
 5 *συνελογίζοντο* *MCD W (56 61) 254 d it et δ [non e] syrr*
 9 + αὐτὸς (*ante* ἀπεδήμισε) *Latt et D⁸*
 13 — *ιδοντες* *NBCDLQ fam 1.33 e⁸er Paris⁹ a c d f f i l q r (boh)*
sah arm syr cu sin Ambr bis [non diatess]
 14 ἀλλήλους (*pro* εαυτους) *NBDLR fam 1.33.124 f⁸er Paris⁹*
 16 ἐκείνου (*pro* τουτους) *fam 1.28. 69.91.299 (om. D 76 247 435*
d e sah boh)
 17 ἐγενήθη~ *sic fin. lin.* ††
 18 + οὖν (*post* πας) *Sol? (+ γαρ syr cu sin Ambr) ((Cf. sah*
boh οτοκ πιαι, οτοκ πιηεν))
 19 *fin.* > εἶπε τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην *NB(D)GL fam 13 f⁸er it vg copt*
aeth syr^{ech} pesh (Cf. syr cu, et sin xx 16) Diatess ex Matt.
 xxi 45

Luke

- xx 20 + τοὺς (*ante* υποκρινομενους) *Sol?* *ex errore gr* ἐγκαθετου
υποκρ. (*Cf. copt*)
τῇ ἀρχῇ (*sic*) καὶ ἐξουσία (— *τη sec.*) *Sol*^{vid} *cum* Paris⁷⁷
- 22 ἡμᾶς (*pro* ημῶν) *NABL fam* 13 [*non* 124] 33 254 *Contra latt*
'*licet nobis*'
- 23 — τι με πειραζετε *NBL fam* 1.116 Paris⁷⁷ *e boh sah arm* [*non*
syr aeth]
- 24 δείξατε (*pro* ἐπιδείξατε)
Post δηναριον + οἱ δὲ ἔδειξαν· καὶ εἶπε· *NCL fam* 1 *fam* 13 *al.*
c boh sah arm [*non syr*] + οἱ δὲ ἤνεγκαν *pros* αὐτον δηναριον
καὶ εἶπεν *pros* αὐτους Paris⁷⁷ *Cf. Matt.* xxii 19 οἱ δὲ ἤνεγκαν
αὐτῷ δηναριον *et Marc.* xii 16 οἱ δὲ ἤνεγκαν
- 25 εἶπε πρὸς αὐτοὺς (*pro* εἶπεν αὐτοῖς) †† *NBL fam* 1 *fam* 13 [*non*
124] *fscr* Paris⁷⁷ *e goth* (*contra lat*)
- 26 ἔναντι (*pro* ἐναντίον) *Sol*^{vid}
- 27 ἐπὶ πρώτων (*pro* ἐπηρώτησαν) *B* 124 (*rell fam* 13 *ἐπηρώτου*) Paris⁷⁷ *a*
- 28 ἡ (*pro* ἀποθανῆ *sec.*) (*N*) *BLP* *Ψ*^{vid} *fam* 1.16 33 254 8^{pe} *fscr* *fscr*
ajl q r gat vg copt arm aeth (*ην* Paris⁷⁷)
- 30, 31^a δ' ὁ δεύτερος καὶ ὁ τρίτος ἔλαβον αὐτήν· (*pro* καὶ ἔλαβεν ὁ δευτ. την
γυναῖκα καὶ οὗτος ἀπεθάνεν ἀτεκνός· καὶ ὁ τρίτος ἔλαβεν αὐτήν)
(†† *Confuse Bir*)
- 31^b [ὥσαύτως *usque ad* ἀπέθανον *fin. cum t. r.*]
- 32 [ὑστερον δὲ] — παντῶν
> καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἀπέθανεν (*pro* απ. καὶ ἡ γυνή)
- 33 — οὐν *N** *a effi l syr cu sin* (*c autem sah* 2/6 2e, *rell* 4/6 3e,
sed boh 3π; *persiut iam*)
ἔσται (*pro* γίνεται) *NDGLΨ fam* 1.22.33 40 248 271 *al. it et d*
vg copt syr aeth arm
- 34 — ἀποκριθεὶς *NBDL* 124 130^{lat} Paris⁷⁷ *syr it* [*non q*] *vg copt*
[γαμοῦσι καὶ] γαμίσκονται *NBL* 33.36 45 Paris⁷⁷ *yscr et Eust*
Orig Epiph Nyss Clem Eus
- 35 γαμίζονται (*pro* ἐγαμίσκονται) *NDLQRΔ fam* 1.33. Paris⁷⁷
Eust 48 2^{scr} *Clem*
- 36 *init.* οὐδὲ *ABDLP* 106 *yscr* *Cf. boh* (*contra sah*)
ἀλλ' ὡς ἄγγελοι (*pro* ἰσαγγελοι γάρ) 48 1r, *aeth Aphraat* *ws* αγγ.
γάρ Paris⁷⁷ *Cf. Tert* *similes enim erunt angelis* (*Res*), *cum*
similes ang. fiant (*Marc*) *erunt sicut angeli* (*Marc alibi*)
— υἱοὶ εἰσι του (*D d latt*)
+ καὶ (*post* θεου)
Ita codex: οὐδὲ γάρ ἀποθανεῖν ἔτι δύνανται· ἀλλ' ὡς ἄγγελοι εἰσὶ θεῷ
καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως υἱοὶ ὄντες. († *Recte Bir, non lucide Scho*)
- 37 ὁ δὲ (*pro* ὡς) *Sol?* *a?* (καὶ 253), *quando e Cf. syr cu sin*
- 38 *Ita:* οὐκ ἔστι νεκρῶν θεῷ· ἀλλὰ ζῶντων πάντες γὰρ αὐτῷ ζῶσιν (††)
Sol. (*Cf. a Orig Cypr*)
- 41 > εἶναι υἱὸν δαδ' *G*
- 42 αὐτὸς γὰρ δαδ' (*pro* καὶ αὐτος δαβιδ) *NBLR fam* 1.33.124 Paris⁷⁷
l boh sah Cyr

- Luke
 xx 42 + τῶν (*ante ψαλμων*) DPW *fam* 13 [*non* 124] 71 247 *Eust* 49
 150 222 259 *boh sah*
- 44 *Iia*: εἰ οὐν δαδ' κύ' αὐτὸν καλεῖ, πῶς υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐστίν· (†† *Non accurate Bir Scho*) Cf. q (*c e ffr₂*) *arm syrr* — και D 251
c d e f f i l arm syr
- 46 + τοὺς (*ante ασπασμους*) †† *sah boh* [*Non Gr vid.*]
 + τὰς (*ante πρωτοκαθεδριας*) *sah boh* [*Non Gr vid.*]
πρωτοκλησίας † (*om. Scho*)
- xx 2, 6, 7, 8 [*cum t. r.*] 10 δούλον *sic* 14 [δεῦτε] 17 ὄν
 18 ἐπ' ἐκείνον *sic* 20 [παρατηρήσαντες] [λόγου εἰς τὸ]
 22, 25 καίσαρει †† 25 [ἀπόδοτε τοῖνυν] 26 [αὐτοῦ
 ῥήματος] 28 μωϋσῆς †† 37 [μωσῆς] 47 [κρίμα]
- xxi 1 + ὁ ἰϛ (*post δε*) X *affm* 2/3 *syr^{ach} pesh* *ut diatess Marc. xii 41*
et Orig 1/3
 > εἰς τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον τὰ δῶρα αὐτῶν
- 2 — και *prim.*
λεπτά δύο NBLQXΨ 33 Paris⁹⁷ *it^{pl}* [*non a d e*] *vg syrr copt*
Orig
- 3 > αὕτη ἡ πτωχὴ,
πλείω (*pro πλείον*) DQW X Ψ *min fauc.* (*πλειων al.*)
- 4 πάντα (*pro απαντα*)
- 6 λίθον (*pro λίθῳ*) N^c LW X Ψ *al. lat et d* [*non D⁸⁷*]
- 8 + ὁ χϛ' (*post εγω ειμι*) Sol^{vid} *inter gr. cum c e f f g₂ i l q r r₂ s μ*
aur gat Tert^{Marc} bis sy^{ach} pesh ut diatess et Matt. xxiv 5
 ('Ego sum ego sum Chr.' *pers*)
 — ουν
- 11 κατὰ τόπον· (*pro κατα τοπους*) † *Recte Bir. Om. Scho Sol?*
Cf. boh sah ambo κατα αα
 > και λοιμοι και λιμοι εσονται· B 130^{gr} *lat Paris⁹⁷ latt syrr cu sin*
Tert
- 12 πάντων (*pro απαντων*)
 + τὰς (*ante συναγωγας*) NBD d^{scr} *sah et boh^k (syr)*
ἀπαγομένους (*pro αγομενους*) †† NBD⁸⁷ L Ψ *fam* 1 Paris⁹⁷ *e*
 (*abducentes; d ducentur*)
- 14 [θέσθε οὖν] ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις NABDLXW *fam* 1.33 Paris⁹⁷ *it vg*
Cyr Did
- 15 ἀντιστάναι ἢ ἀντειπεῖν *sic* NBL *fam* 13 Paris⁹⁷ *e f gat sah arm vg*
Orig Did bis (*cf. al. om. vel αντειπειν, vel αντιστηναι*)
- 16 — και αδελφων G a i (*r? mut.*)
- και συγγενων 13 63 118–209 245 435 *Eust* 20 *e i*
- 18 ἀπὸ (*pro εκ*) 69 [*non al. vid*]
- 20 — δε 13 243 2^{scr} [*Non al. gr-lat-syr-sah vid.*] Sol *cum boh^{ABN}*
et Horner txt. Hippol. Hier^{Exec}
- 23 — εν tert. (*ante τω λαω*)
- 24 ἄχριστοῦ *sic* (*pro αχρι*)
- 27 ἐν νεφέλαις (*pro ἐν νεφέλῃ*) C 3 106* 239 243 247 254 Paris⁹⁷
*c e f f i (l) (q) r** syrr boh^{KN} Tert* (*επι των νεφελων N*)

- Luke :
 xxi 28 γενέσθαι (γενεσθαι D W)
 30 ὅτι (pro οταν) Sol^{vid}
 προβαλῶσι τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῶν ἤδη (pro προβαλῶσιν ἤδη) (D S^{scr}
d it Tert syr cu sin) Cf. a 'cum floriet a se'. καρπον non
ex Matt Marc. Diatess ex Matt. Conflant syr cu sin ex lat
Cf. Tert^{resurr}: 'Cuius etiam parabola subtexitur tenerescen-
tium arborum in caulem floris et dehinc florem frugis ante-
cursorum,' sed Tert^{marc}: Aspice ficum et arbores omnes.
Cum fructum protulerint . . .
 33 [παρελεύσονται *pr.*] παρελεύσονται pro παρελθῶσι. 'NB D L W
 33 (*Aliq latt et syrr copt verb idem ambobus locis utuntur*)
 34 > καὶ ἐπιστῇ ἐφ' ἡμῶς αἰφνιδίως NB D L R 77 Paris⁹⁷ *it vg syr*
cu sin sah diatess Tert
Pergit: 34/35 ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη ὡς παγίς††
 35 ἐπιστήσεται γὰρ (pro γὰρ ἐπελευσεται) Sol^{vid} (*De επιστη . . .*
επιστη. 34/35 cf. sah boh et lat superven. superven.)
 36 ἀγρυπνεῖτε γρηγορεῖτε (pro ἀγρυπνεῖτε ουν) Sol. Cf. *Iren; cf.*
Marc. xiii 33 βλέπετε ἀγρυπνεῖτε. Vix 157 ex diatess (Luc)
ῥ κατ' ὁχλῶσιν (pro καταξιώθητε) NB L (W) X Ψ fam 1. 33. 36. 57
Paris⁹⁷ sah boh syr hier aeth [non syr-lat-Tert]
— πάντα 382 syrr (excepto hier) [Non diatess non latt non
aeth non copt non pers] Habet Marcus. De rell., aliq om.
ταυτα, aliq scrib. ταυτα πάντα vel πάντα ταυτα. Omissio syrr
forsan propter assimulationem ταυτα et πάντα syriace. (Syr
hier codd. tres habent πάντα uno loco; altero om. cod. B)
στίηναι (pro σταθηναι) 145 al.?
 37 [τὰς δὲ νύκτας] εἰς ὄρος ἐξερχόμενος ἠυλίζετο (pro τ. δε νυκ. εξερχ.
 ἠυλ. εἰς τὸ ὄρος) Sol? (Cf. D d) *Tert* in elaeonem secedebat.
ἐλαιῶν sic†† A al. et a olivetum (Cf. xix 29 sed vide post xxii 39)
xxi 4 ἔβαλλον (pro ἔβαλον)†† fin. ἔβαλεν†† 7 μέλλει
(Γ fam 1.124) 10 ἔθνος ἐπ' ἔθρ' sic†† βασιλεία
ἐπὶ βασιλείαν sic acc. 11 [φόβητρα τὲ καὶ σημεῖα ἀπ'
οὐροῦ μεγάλα ἔσται.] 12 ἐνεκεν 14 προμελετᾶν
15 [πάντες] 18 θρήξ†† 19 [κτίσασθε] 20 [τὴν]
ἰλημ, 22 [πληρωθῆναι] 24 πληρωθῶσιν††
25 [ἡκούσῃς] 29 συκὴν 29/30 iungit. 30 ἀπ'
(pro ἀφ') [ἡδη ἐγγύς] 31 οὕτως†† 38 ὀρθριζε††
 xxii 4 + [τοῦ ἱεροῦ (post στρατηγούς) ut xxii 52 CP 37 106 235 242**
 245 251 syr pesh (aliter cu sin hier) + του λαου Laura^{104A} arm
Cf. diatess.
 6 > [αὐτῶν] ἄτερ ὄχλου αὐτοῖς. NABCLΨ Paris⁹⁷ b i l
 7 init. ἦν (pro ἦλθε) Sol^{vid} (= pers^{int}) *Non syrr hoc loco sed verba*
inter se commutari possunt
 8 ἀπέστειλεν + ὁ ἱεὺς Sol^{vid} cum 71 248 Laura^{104A} syr^{soh} pesh (aeth)
diatess

¹ Primum scribebat librarius noster κατὰ (?) Rescript. est i. Sciebat ergo lect. var.

Luke

xxii 10

ὅπου (*pro* οὗ) *Sol^{vid}* (*cf. Marc. xiv 14*) *d* ubi (DΓΔΛ *etc* ου)
sed in quam *it pl* (εἰς ἣν *NBCLΨ* Paris⁹⁷), in qua *l* (*q*) (εν
 η X), qua *a*

12 καὶ ἐκεῖνος ††

13 εἶπεν (*pro* εἰρηκεν) *X 71 240 244 248 al. syrr latt pl et δ super*
Δ8^r ειρηκεν [*sed a d r, dixerat*] (*Cf. Marc. xiv 16 et diatess*)

14 ἀνέπεσεν + ὁ ἰῆ *Sol^{vid} cum syr^{ech} push diatess (aeth)*
 — δωδεκα *N^{*} BD it pl sah 5/6 syr cu sin* [*non pesh hier*
diatess non aeth]

18 ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν (*pro* οὔ) *Cf. Tisch ad loc.*

+ ταύτησ (*post* ἀμπελου) *Sol^{vid} cum sah⁸⁸ (1/6) boh (omn. vid.)*.
 [Of this produce of the vine *syr cu aeth* ; of this fruit (— of
 the vine) *syr sin*. *Cf. Matt. xxvi 29 εκ τουτου του γενν. της*
αμπ. ut diatess 'of this the juice of the vine' *ex Matt. Abest*
'this' in Marc. xiv 25 'εκ του γεν. της αμπ.']

οὗ (*pro* οὔτου)19 εὐχαριστήσας, ἔκλασε *sic interpunct. ††*

22 ὅτι ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀποῦ κατὰ τὸ ὠρισμένον πορεύεται

23 ἐστὶν (*pro* εἶη) *Sol^{vid} cum fam 1* (ἡν 74 89 90 258 Paris⁹⁷)30 + δωδεκα (*post* θρονων)

34 ἐὼς (*pro* πριν η) *NBLT fam 13 al. et Paris⁹⁷ δ donec super*
Δ8^r πριν η (εως ου KMXΠ, εως ουου D)

ἀπαρνήση με εἰδέναι (*pro* ἀπ. μὴ εἰδέναι με) †† *Male Bir Scho ap.*
*μη με εἰδέναι. — μη codex et NBLMTXΠ*Ψ cf. lat syr boh*

35 *fin.* οὐθ' ἐνός *B et unc¹⁸ [Non NDLUA]*

36 ἀγοράσει (*pro* αγορασάτω) *DEFH(N)SUVΓA fam 13 al.*
(emet d) arm

37 — εἰ *NABDHLQTWX fam 1 12 59 247 258 Paris⁹⁷ b d fr*
sah boh aeth Contra it pl syrr arm

καὶ γὰρ τὸ (*pro* καὶ γὰρ τὰ) †† *NB(D)LQTW fam 1 b (d) sah*
boh syr cu sin hier arm (contra syr pesh rell latt)

38 + αὐτῶ (*post* εἰπον) *b l q aeth syrr diatess boh 9/20 [Non Gr,*
non al. latt sed lat 'At (ad) ille dixit' Cf. d Illi autem dixerunt,
ffad illi dixerunt]

39 ἠκολούθησαν δὲ αὐτῶ^οι μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ *sic pr. man. ††* (— και
*B*V al. aeth [habent syrr latt])*

41 [καὶ αὐτὸς] + δὲ *Sol^{vid} cum boh codit⁸ (cf. D sah)*
ἀπέστη (pro ἀπεσπάσθη) *G (απεσταθη D) recessit d l,*
secessit e, discessit fr

42 παρένεγκε *sic (pro* παρενεγκέν) *BD8^r T ((al. NKL MRΠ παρενεγκαι))*
it pl et δ contra Δ8^r [non d] Cf. copt syr

> τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον (*N*) *BDLQT Eust 48 49 d f ff (N^{*} τουτο*
το ποτ. τουτο) aeth sah (boh) [contra rell et it et syrr Orig
Dion etc.]

γινέσθω ††

43/44 *Habet sine ulla nota susp. σπγ σπδ in marg (Absunt canones*
Eus omnino in propinquo)

Luke

- xxii 44 καὶ ἐγένετο (pro ἐγ. δε) NVX fam 1 239 c^{scr} it vg (copt syrr)
arm aeth
τὸ ἰδρὼς αὐτοῦ, (pro ὁ ἰδρὼς αὐτοῦ) (Recte Scho, et Bir lect var,
male in N.T.) Sol^{vid} (Cf. N Justin)
- 47 — δε
καὶ ἰούδας ὁ καλούμενος Ἰσκαριώτης (pro και ο λεγ. ιουδας) Recte
Bir. Confuse Scho. (D fam 1 239 it vg) (cf. syr)
προήγεν αὐτοὺς (pro προήρχετο αὐτῶν) † Recte Bir, male Scho de
αὐτοὺς D fam 1.22.69-124 al.? (Cf. latt syrr)
- 48 init. ἰδ δε (pro ὁ δε Ἰησους) NBLXT (ff gat etc). Om. copul.
Paris⁹⁷ syrr vg^m sah pl
- 49 εἰπατάξομεν sic pr. man. †† Utrumque ad leg., sed man.
rubr. = αἰ, vult ergo** ἢ cum emend*
- 51 εἰσατε (pro εἴτε) †† W fam 13.57 latt aliq (Satis est syr)
καὶ ἀφάμενος τοῦ πληγέντος καὶ τὸ οὖς ἀφηρημένου (sic, male Bir
Scho αφηρημενον) ἰάσατο (pro και αφαμ. του ωτιου αυτου ιασατο
αυτου) Sol. Cf. D a d ff Cf. l et syr^{sch} pesh diatess: qui
percussus fuerat. Cf. pers: Iesus ei dixit usque ad hunc
terminum. Et venit AD SAUCIUM et auriculum eius sanavit.
[Syr cu sin simpliciter cum gr mult; Matt Marc Io om.]
- 52 πρὸς (pro ἐπ') N G H R Δ al² latt (ad)
ἐξήλθατε
- 53 > ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν D 248 scr² d sah boh [non syrr latt]
— μεθ υμων Paris⁹⁷
- 54 — αυτον sec. mult (om. claus D Γ syrr aeth it pl)
τὴν οἰκίαν
+ αὐτῷ (post ηκολουθει) } D fam 13 al. pc. it syrr aeth (copt)
+ ἀπὸ (ante μακροθεν) }
- 55 — αυτων prim NBDKLTΔ a b c d e f f i l q δ arm [Contra
unc¹³ f vg]
- 56 + τισ (post δε) } L a r vg^B
— τισ (post παιδισκη) }
- 60 τι (pro δ) †† ND 91 239 Eust 15 (ὁν 253) it vg^{pl} quid (quod
ff h vg^B)
— ὁ (ante αλεκτωρ) Plur et boh [non sah]
- 61 — ο πετρος D d [non gat] (In sah ord non τω πετρω και υπεμνησθη ο
πετροσ sed πετροσ πετροσ seq, ita: ἐπετρος ἀπετρος πῆμαεερε)
Diatess 'looked steadfastly at Cephas. And Simon'
ὁ δ (pro ὡς) Eust 18 19 Vide aeth (aeth^{int} qui) Cf. syr
(vide supra xx 37)
Post φωνῆσαι + σημερον N B K L M T X Π fam 13 Wetst¹⁰
248 Paris⁹⁷ al. sah 4/6 boh δ ff l vg^F diatess [om. xxii. 34] syr sin
[Contra rell, it syrr arm diatess arab (cf. xlix 17 et xlv 27)]
- 62 — ο πετρος
- 63 αὐτὸν (pro τον ιησουν) NBDLMTΠ 34 39 42 Paris⁹⁷ [non al.
min?] it^{pl} vg sah boh arm syr sin [Contra unc¹³ q r δ syr sch
pesh aeth] αυτον τον ιησουν 124 syr cu

Luke

xxii 66

συνέδριον (*pro* πρεσβυτεριον) Sol^{vid} (Cf. *trsl.* συνέδριον Mc.
xv 1 *syr*)

μετὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ γραμματέων (*pro* ἀρχιερεὶς τε καὶ γραμματεῖς)
Sol^{vid} *cum sah boh*

ἀπὴγαγον (*pro* ἀπηγαγον) NBD^{8r}KT *fam* 13 Paris^{7r} Laura^{104a}
al. a (*dedux.*) *Orig* (*it pl duxerunt et N ηγαγον, cd addux.*
r perdux., *Tert* *perductus etiam xxiii. 1*)

τὴν συναγωγὴν (*pro* τὸ συνέδριον) Sol^{vid} (Cf. *syr*) (*con-*
sum pro concilium c solus cum Tert consessum)

αὐτῶν (*pro* ταυτων) + *Recte Bir. Om. Scho*

68 ἐπερωτήσω + ὑμῖν †† = *syr et diatess* [*Non Gr-lat*] + *umas*
solī fam 13 (251) Paris^{7r} *ff copt et aeth Ambr* 1/2 (*con-*
fuse D d)

[μοι] — ἡ ἀπολυσητε (NBLT) *fam* 1 22 Paris^{7r} *sah boh* ((*Tert*))
vg¹ [*Non syr it*]

69 ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν· ἀπάρτι (*sic*) ὅψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθήμενον
(*pro* ἀπο τοῦ νυν ἑσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθήμενος) Sol^{vid}
Cf. *Matt.* xxvi 64 *Marc.* xiv 62 *et diatess.* [AMODO *a c d r*
(*pro* Ex hoc)]

xxii 2 ἀνελῶσιν 3, 31 σατανὰς 4 [αὐτὸν παραδῶ αὐτοῖς]

12 ἀνώγειν 16 [ἐξ αὐτοῦ] 17 *fin.* [ταυτοῖς] 18

[γεννήματος] 20 [ὡσαύτως (*sic*) καὶ τὸ ποτήριον]

[ἐκχυνόμενον] 23 [συζητῶν] 26 οὐχ' οὕτως.

[γενέσθω] 29 καὶ ἐγὼ †† 30 καθίσεσθε †† (*Male*

Bir Scho) [κρίνοντες τὰς δώδεκα φυλὰς τοῦ] ἰσλ' 31

σιναῖσαι 32 ἐκλίπη [στήριξον] 35 βαλλάντιον ††

πίρας †† 36 βαλλάντιον †† πείραν †† 39

[τῶν ἐλαιῶν] *vide supra* xix 29 xxi 37 [45, 46 *cum*

t. r.] 49 περιαντὸν *sic* 52 [ὁ ἰεὺς] καθημέραν 55

συνκαθισάντων †† [ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν] 61 [τοῦ λόγου

τοῦ κυ'] 63 δαίροντες [64, 65 *cum t. r.*] 71

χρεῖαν [ἐχομεν μαρτυρίας]

xxiii 1

ἤγαγον (*pro* ἤγαγεν)

πρὸς πιλάτον (*pro* ἐπὶ τὸν πιλ.) *pros* L Laura^{104a} *y^{8r}sem P^{8r} latt*
(*ad*); — τὸν D *d latt*

2 τὸν λαὸν (*pro* τὸ ἔθνος) Sol^{vid} *cum Cyr et l q plebem* (Cf.
syr et aeth^{int} populos)

[καίσαρι] φόρον AKMRΠ 15 106 *syr copt* (*ff*)

3 ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ (*pro* ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτῷ εφη) †† (D) *fam* 1 *a (d) μ gat*
vg^R boh pl

5 ἐνίσχουν (*pro* ἐπισχουν) †† DH 69 *cf. lat*: *invallescebant*
(*sed d fortius dicebant pro* ἐπισχουν *λεγοντες, et syr clamabant*
et dicebant)

8 [θελῶν] ἐξ ἱκανῶν χρόνων NBDLT Paris^{7r} Laura^{104a} *c d arm sah*
— πολλὰ NBDKLMΤΠ *fam* 1 Paris^{7r} *sah boh syr cu sin d*

(— πολλὰ + *famam aeth*; — πολλὰ + *frequenter a arm*)

ἐλπίζειν τί (*pro* ἤλπίζει τι) T 433 [*non copt sed cf. boh*]

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U

Luke

- xxiii 14 > ὃν κατηγορεῖτε κατ' αὐτοῦ αἴτιον (*pro* αἰτιον, ὡν κατηγο. κατ αὐτου)
Sol^{vid} (cf. D d 69)
- 15 ἀνέπεμψε γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς NBKLMΤΠ 13-69 [*contra* 124-346] Laura^{104A} (Paris⁹⁷) al. 130^{lat} f (*hiat goth*) aur vg¹¹⁶⁰ boh, sah (*amplius*). Conflant vg^{c2}
- fin. + ἐν (*ante* αὐτω) DNXΓ fam 13 al. c d (f) (r) (boh) (*aliter* sah)
- 18 ἀνέκραγον (*pro* ἀνεκραξαν) NBLT 124 Paris⁹⁷ a [*non* D d] arm Cyr αὐτὸν' (*pro* τοῦτον,) Sol? (Cf. *diatess*^{int} 'Take him from us take him', sed D d αἰρε τουτον αιραι τουτον, tolle hunc tolle hunc)
- 19 — τινα † (*Recte* Bir, *negl.* Scho) sah 8/9 (σϽϽϽϽϽϽ, 1/9 τεϽϽϽϽϽ) boh (σϽϽϽϽϽϽϽϽ) (Cf. *syr cu sin*; cf. *syr pesh diatess*)
- 20 δὲ (*pro* ου) NABDLT 124 Paris⁹⁷ Laura^{104A} boh sah it vg (syr) προσεφώνησεν + αὐτοῖς NBLT (fam 13) Laura^{104A} a sah boh aeth syrr (D d Paris⁹⁷; 69 it pl vg) *diatess*
- 21 σταύρωσον semel WU a b e f f l arm aeth vg^E boh^N
- 24 iniī. καὶ ὁ (*pro* ὁ δε) Sol? καὶ (— ὁ) NBL Paris⁹⁷ it vg aeth syrr cu sin arm boh (cf. sah)
- 25 — αυτοῖς Unc²⁰ sah boh a d δ (*contra* syrr *diatess* aeth arm *rell latt*)
- δν καὶ ἡτοῦντο (*pro* δν ἡτοῦντο) Sol^{vid} cum arm (Cf. syrr) [*non lat*]
- 26 — του (*ante* ἐρχομενου)
+ καὶ (*ante* ἐπεθηκαν) Sol^{vid} cum aeth et latt et syrr pesh (Cf. *diatess diserte ex Matt. xxvii 32 et Luc. xxiii 26*)
- 28 Trsf. ὁ ἱϽ in loc post στραφεῖς δι. CD c¹⁰² al. pauc. y²⁰² d syrr aeth arm (Cf. sah, non boh latt [*om.* Ͻ μ])
- ἐπεμοὶ sic (*pro* ἐπ' ἐμέ) 29 71 248 (Cyr)
- κλαύσατε (*pro* κλαίετε SEC.) †† Male Bir (N. T. et Var lect) κλαίσατε, male Scho κλαίσατε (*pro* κλαίετε prim.) Sol^{vid}
- 29 > ἡμέραι ἔρχονται (*pro* ἐρχ. ημ.) NCX 71 72? sah [*Non* boh syrr latt nec D d]
- + αἱ οὐ τίκτουσαι (*post* στείραι) } *Explicat l om. et ventres*: 'beatae sterilis quae non PEPERERVNT et ubera quae non nutrierunt' (Al. 'Be. ster. ET VENTRES qui non GENVERVNT...')
- Sol^{vid} }
ἔτεκον (*pro* ἐγεννησαν) Sol^{vid} }
Cf. syrr et (e) l }
- [ἐβήλασαν]
- 30 πέσατε
- 33 ἄλθον (*pro* ἀπηλθον) NBC L Q Ψ (D) 33 69-124 251 597 Laura^{104A} syrr it vg Mcion
- λεγόμενον (*pro* καλούμενον) †† CGXA al. ff gat vg^{EF} dicitur Mcion
- + δύο (*ante* κακουργοῦσ) †† 28 b vg²⁸ sah Tert^{marc} alludens (+ ομου D + simul d) Cf. aeth. Cf. Matt Mc et *diatess*. (illos reos c)
- τὸν μεν... τὸν δὲ (*pro* ον μεν... ον δε) Sol? cum W (ον μεν... τον δε) Eust 48 (Lat unum... unum) Matt eis... eis; Marc ἐνα... ἐνα.

Luke

- xxiii 33 ἐξευονύμων *sic* (*pro* ἐξ ἀριστερῶν) C* L N Q Ψ *fam* 13 28 33 48
Eust 50 (*Cf.* *Matt Mc*)
- 34 [*Habet sine ulla nota susp.*] *Marg* τιν *ad* xxiii 33, τὸ τκ τκα *om.*
(erroribus), τκβ *ad* xxiii 35. *Ergo* τκ *vel* τκα *ad* xxiii 34
- 35 αὐτὸν καὶ (*pro* καὶ *sec. ante* οἱ ἀρχοντες) D *fam* 1 *fam* 13 *al. d it*
vg sah syrr pers arm
 — συν αυτοῖς N B C D L Q X Ψ 33 47 69 346 ? 597 Paris⁹⁷ *Eust*
 47 *it aeth sah boh syr^{sch} pesh hier* (*Contra syr^{cu} sin arm pers*
a f [hiat goth] aur) *Vide diatess*
 ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θῦ (*pro* ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκλεκτός) † *Recte Bir. Om. Scho.*
Sol^{vid} cum (e) diatess. cf. Matt. xxvii 40 (Neglex. 157 Tisch
Horner) Conflant fam 13 c^{scr} Paris⁹⁷ Laura^{104A} (c) dlr copt arm
- 38 > [ἐλληνικοῖς] καὶ ἐβραϊκοῖς καὶ ῥωμαϊκοῖς Ord sol^{vid} (*Cf.*
c diatess soli ord: Hebr-Gr-Lat)
- 44 — ωσει y^{scr} sah boh aeth vg^E [*non al. latt*]
- 48 + καὶ [*ante* θεωροῦντες *sic*] † *Recte Bir. Om. Scho. Sol cum*
(fam. 13) Cf. latt mult et syr cu sin arm et videbant (aliter
syr^{sch} pesh diatess 'when they saw', cf. etiam sah boh
aeth)
- 51 συγκατατίθεμενος ††
 τῇ βουβουλῇ (*pro* τῇ βουλῇ) ††
 ἀριμαθαίας *sic* ††
 + αὐτὸς (*post* ὁὐ καὶ)
 — καὶ αὐτος (*post* προσεδεχετο) } K M P U X Π αL¹⁵ *arm*
- 53 αὐτὸν (*pro* αὐτὸ *prim.*) U *alig et a q* (*corpus D c d aeth*)
 ἐνετύλιξε — αὐτὸ *sec.* H X Γ *al. latt arm*
 + καθαρὰ (*post* σινδόνι) *fam* 13 [*non* 124] 61 mg μ vg^Q syr
 pesh⁴⁰ b (*novam*) *Cf. Matt. xxvii 59*
 αὐτὸν (*pro* αὐτὸ *tert. post* ἐθηκεν) N B C D f^{scr} vg *it* [*non c*]
 > οὐδεὶς οὐδέπω
- 54 — καὶ *sec.* AC² unc¹⁵ (D d) *al. cum sah* (*Cf. c' ante sabbatum',*
aeth 'ut illuseret sab.')
- 55 αἱ (*pro* καὶ *prim.*) B (L) P X *fam* 1.12 *fam* 13 16 22.33 40 597
 Paris⁹⁷ Laura^{104A} *Eust* 7.12 *al. copt (syr)*. (*Cf. D d al. δε δυο*)
 xxiii 7 ὄντα 10, 49 εἰστίκεισαν 12 μετὰ (*pro* μετ') ††
 προῖπῃρχον *sic* 16, 17 [*cum t. r.*] πανληθεῖ ††
 βαράβαν *sic pr. man.* †† 18/19 *Absque interpuncto*
 27 [αἱ καὶ ἐκόπτοντο] 29 στείραι 31 [ἐν τῷ ὑγρῷ]
 32 κακούργοι 34 οἶδασι *sic acc ut in Evan* 28.
 [κλήρον] 35 εἰστίκει 36 [ἐνέπαιζον] 40 [ἐπε-
 τίμα αὐτῷ λέγων] 41 ὡν *fin.* ἐπραξεν †† 43 [σήμερον
 μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔση] 45 [*cum t. r.*] 46 [παραθήσονται]
 47 [ἐδόξασε] 48 τὰ στήθι †† 52 τῷ σώμα 53 οὐ
 (*pro* οὐ) 54 [παρασκευῇ]
- xxiv 1 βαθίωσ ††
 [ἤλθον ἐπὶ τῷ μνημεῖον †† N C* F X Δ 346 *Eust* 44 *al.*
 4 > ἄνδρες δύο

Luke

- xxiv 5 τὰ πρόσωπα NBC* DGLXΠ I [non fam] 33.42 al.? d (gat aur al.? vultū) [non rell latt] arm syr (aeth)
- 10 καὶ (pro aī sec. ante ελεγον) Sol^{vid} cum aeth diatess (et sah 1/4 + 2e) Cf. b e f f q μ
- 18 — ὁ (ante eis)
+ ἐξ αὐτῶν (post eis) IP fam 13 28 33 229** Paris⁹⁷ syr⁹⁷ omn aeth arm sah, boh (codd 14) a b d (contra D⁸⁷) f f l r [non gat teste Heer] Cyr diatess
— ἐν (ante ἰημ)
- 19 ὥς (pro δε) †† KΠ 10 18 51 54 57 66 74 83 90 243 433**
Eust 19 49* bis (quid ff)
- 20 > αὐτὸν παρέδωκαν A(D)KPWΠ I [non fam] fam 13 Laura^{104A} 247 (latt vg) Aug
- 22 — ἐξ ἡμῶν †† D d aeth et pers. [Non al. vid. Non diatess]
- 24 εἰπων (pro εἰπον) †† absque interpuncto inter εἰπων et αὐτον
- 27 διερμήνευεν ††
fin. αὐτοῦ (pro εαυτου) ††
- 28 προσεποιήτω sic (†† Bir Scho προσεποιήτο) Cf. a (syr)
- 28/29 uno tenore sine interpunct. ††
- 30 ἠυλόγησε †† NAD 13-346 131 243 al.?
- 32 ἐλάλη †† KM al.
- 34 > ὅτι ὄντως ἠγέρθη ὁ κς' †† NBDLPΨ I [non 118-209] 25
Paris⁹⁷ Laura^{104A} a c d f f r syr diatess arm aeth boh (sah f ori ontwos o κς ηγερθη) — οντως 258* b e l
- 36 ὁ κς (pro o ιησους) H c r boh ^{D₁EJ} (Dom. Iesus aeth syr hier boh⁹). Om. NBDL al⁹ 130^{lat} a b e d f f l sah boh ^{N_{Δ1}M} syr cu sin [sed ὁ ιησους diatess separans 36^a 36^b ex Io. xx 19]
- 39 ὁσῆ (pro ὁσῆα) †† DN 33 Epiph^{Marc} 1/2
- 40 ἔδειξεν (pro επεδ.) †† NBGHLNX al. Cyr Dam (Om. vers D a b d e f f l syr cu sin)
- 42 [καὶ ἀπὸ μελισσίου κηρίον]
- 42/43 κηρίον καὶ λαβὼν iungit absque interpuncto
- 44 in it. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς (pro ειπε δε αυτοις) †† D Laura^{104A} a(c) d e (f f l q gat aur) syr pesh hier aeth diatess [non copt] (— copul. sah 1/5 b f f boh syr cu sin)
+ μου (post λογοι) ABDKLNXPΨ 33 Paris⁹⁷ Eust 5.53 d r dim gat β μ vg^{EX^mGR} aeth sah boh 12/24 syr hier Hil (Contra om-rell et syr⁹⁷ arm it Iren Cypr Aug diatess) Gr. λογοι(μοι)οις
- 48 ὑμεῖς ὁσῆ sic pr. man. (de om. primum) †† — δε NBC* L
Paris⁹⁷ sah boh 24/25 syr hier vg^m
- 49 [καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ] ἐξαποστέλλω sic acc. (†† Male Bir Scho ἐξαποστέλλω)
Cf. L 243 258 Eust 15 18 19 50 a g₂ aur vg⁸ vg^{sixt} sah boh (fut. habentes) εἰσα. N^cBLXΔ
στον (pro οὐ) D I [non fam]
- 50 — ἐξω (Non lucide Bir) NBC* L I [non fam] 33 Paris⁹⁷ a e (quasi bethaniam) μ arm (syr) Cosm Aug boh^m (Dubium copt. Habent sah codd e h o l et rell codd boh, sed cf. Horner

In the following places I differ from Professor Burkitt in his reading of the British Museum manuscript, here denoted by N:—

Ode 23. 4. **مستطاب** in notes is a printer's error for **مستطاب**

Ode 23. 9. For the sake of clearness read **אלהינו** secundo.

Ode 25. 10. **ولمعد** is a slip for **ولمعد**.

Ode 28. 7. 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠] 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 N. Burkitt reads 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠

Ode 28. 10. **𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠**] **𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠** N (*sic*) evidently a transcriber's slip for **𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠** which Burkitt reads.

Ode 31. 7. ~~595~~ ~~595~~ N.

Burkitt adds (? **مولا**), but against this compare the formation of final **ي** in **مولا** (Ps. Sol. 17³⁰).

Ode 38. 2. **ἔκδοσις**] *pr.* **ἔκδοσις** N.

Burkitt reads **Kaïmō**

Ode 39. 9. **אֶחָדָא אֶחָדָא** N.

Burkitt reads **كاهنتا**

Ode 40. 5. **መስከረም ዓ.ም.**

[illegible]

I owe this reading to Dom Connolly. It is anticipated by Professor Burkitt's English Translation (p. 385). In his text he gives

[illegible]

Psalm 2. 2. അന്തർഗ്ഗാമി] അന്തർഗ്ഗാമി N.

Burkitt reads amir

Psalm 2. 5. **ἄνθρωπος]** **ἄνθρωπος** N.

Burkitt reads **ḏiḏḏḏḏ**

Psalm 2. 38. **لَمَحْنَد ... حَتْمَه**

These words which Professor Burkitt says N omits are in the margin of N.

The following variants Professor Burkitt has omitted to notice.

Ode 18. 16. **అదిగ**] **అదిగా** N.

18. **aaab**] *om.* N.

Ode 19. 7. **ረሰ** **ረሰ** N.

- Ode 21. 1. **חַיִּים**] **חַיִּים** N.
 Ode 23. 5. **חַיִּים**] **חַיִּים** N.
 Ode 24. 1. **חַיִּים**] **חַיִּים** N.
 3. **חַיִּים**] **חַיִּים** N.
 3. **חַיִּים**] **חַיִּים** N.
 Ode 25. 4. **חַיִּים**] **חַיִּים** N.
 Ode 28. 4. **חַיִּים**] + **חַיִּים** N.
 13. **חַיִּים**] **חַיִּים** N.
 Ode 31. 9. **חַיִּים**] **חַיִּים** N.
 Ode 33. 5. **חַיִּים**] **חַיִּים** N.
 Ode 35. 2. **חַיִּים**] **חַיִּים** N.
 3. **חַיִּים**] **חַיִּים** N.
 Ode 42. 18. **חַיִּים**] **חַיִּים** N.

In the Psalms Professor Burkitt only gives a selection of readings. We may add the following :—

- Psalm 2. 10. **חַיִּים**] **חַיִּים** N.
 12. **חַיִּים**] **חַיִּים** N.
 14. **חַיִּים**] **חַיִּים** N.
 30. **חַיִּים**] **חַיִּים** N.
 31. **חַיִּים**] **חַיִּים** N.
 39. **חַיִּים**] **חַיִּים** N (*sic*).
 Psalm 10. 5. **חַיִּים**] **חַיִּים** N.
 Psalm 11. 5. **חַיִּים**] **חַיִּים** N.
 7. **חַיִּים**] *om.* N.
 8. **חַיִּים**] **חַיִּים** N.
 Psalm 12. 6. **חַיִּים**] **חַיִּים** N.
 Psalm 13. 2. **חַיִּים**] **חַיִּים** N.
 חַיִּים] **חַיִּים** N.
 3. **חַיִּים**] **חַיִּים** N.

Psalm 13. 3. ,om ḥṣṣṣ] om ḥṣṣṣ N.

ḥṣṣ] om. N.

4. .ḥḥḥḥ] .ḥḥḥḥ N.

5. ḥḥḥḥ] ḥḥḥḥ N.

6. 7. N agrees with Harris's MS in beginning v. 7
after ḥḥḥḥ

9. .ḥḥḥḥḥ] .ḥḥḥḥḥ N.

Psalm 14. 2. ḥḥḥ] ḥḥḥ N.

3. .ḥḥḥḥ] .ḥḥḥḥ N.

ḥḥḥḥ] ḥḥḥḥ N.

Psalm 15. 4. ḥḥḥ ḥḥ] ḥḥḥ N.

5. ḥḥḥ] ḥḥ N.

6. ḥḥḥḥḥ] om. ḥ N.

The whole of Psalm 16 is lost through mutilation of the bottom of fol. 152^a and the top of fol. 152^b.

Psalm 17. 10. ḥḥḥḥ] ḥḥḥḥ N.

12. ḥḥḥ] pr. om N.

15. ḥḥḥḥḥ] ḥḥḥḥḥ N.

17. ḥḥḥḥ] ḥḥḥḥḥ N.

19. ,om] om N.

20. ḥḥḥḥ] ḥḥ ḥḥ N.

21. .ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥ] .ḥḥḥḥ ḥḥ N.

ḥḥḥḥ] ḥḥḥḥ N.

22. ḥḥḥ] ḥḥḥ N.

ḥḥḥḥ] ḥḥḥḥ N.

23. ḥḥḥ] ḥḥḥ om N.

ḥḥḥḥ] ḥḥḥḥ

24. ḥḥḥ] ḥḥḥ N.

26. ,ḥḥḥḥ] ḥḥḥḥ N.

- Psalm 17. 28. כָּל־יָמַי] כָּל־יָמַי N.
יְמֵי־חַיָּי] יְמֵי־חַיָּי N.
כָּל־יָמַי] כָּל־יָמַי N.
 29. חַיָּי־חַיָּי] חַיָּי־חַיָּי N.
 30. אֶת־חַיָּי] אֶת־חַיָּי N.
 32. מִיָּמַי־חַיָּי] מִיָּמַי־חַיָּי N.
 33. כָּל־יָמַי־חַיָּי] כָּל־יָמַי־חַיָּי N.
 34. חַיָּי־חַיָּי] חַיָּי־חַיָּי N.
 37. כָּל־יָמַי] כָּל־יָמַי N.

We come now to the newly transcribed verses:—

כָּל־יָמַי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי 38
 חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי
 חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי 39
 חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי 40
 חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי חַיָּי
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DUNCAN WILLEY.

Τάξις IN PAPIAS.

FIRST let me express the gratification which I feel that Mr Colson has drawn attention, in the last number of this JOURNAL, to the testimony of Papias respecting St Mark. Too many men, I think, are attempting to solve the Synoptic Problem from internal evidence alone. This is exactly the mistake which St Augustine made with disastrous results. The results, I feel sure, will be not less disastrous now if men persist in ignoring the testimony of History.

Next let me suggest that the ancient rhetoricians have not been quite so much neglected by Classical men at Cambridge, as Mr Colson

supposes. When I lectured in Classics, I gave a regular course on the rhetoricians, and my successor does so now. It is not from ignorance that I have consistently maintained that Papias declares St Mark to be defective in chronological and not in rhetorical order.

If Mr Colson, instead of confining his remarks to the two words *οὐ τάξις*, had examined the explanation of those words which Papias immediately offers, I think that his conclusions would have been different. St Mark (Papias asserts) was deficient in order, because he was not a follower of our Lord, but only of St Peter. That is to say, St Mark got his information second hand, and took no pains to verify and correct it. He attempted nothing more than to copy St Peter. And why was St Peter defective 'in order'? Because (Papias tells us on the authority of 'the elder') he was not composing a formal history of our Lord, but only produced certain lessons, as his disciples required them. Rhetorical order, however, depends upon rhetorical training and not upon first-hand knowledge. If St Mark's Gospel was arranged badly from the rhetorical point of view, why should Papias attribute the failure to St Mark's lack of knowledge, when the fault evidently lay in his lack of skill?

But St Mark's Gospel in my opinion is by no means badly arranged. I do not know any method by which it could be made a more readable book by rearrangement, except in a few short details, such as putting into a climax the list of vices mentioned in vii 21-23. St Mark's Gospel has always been unpopular, as compared with the other Gospels, not because it is faultily arranged, but because St Mark took no pains to collect materials. The fault lies in *εὐπειρία* and not in *τάξις*. St Mark neglected to supply us with an account of our Lord's birth, infancy, and boyhood. He does not give us the Sermon on the Mount, the speeches (except one), the longer Parables, the Lucan 'Stories', the Resurrection Appearances. Fidelity to St Peter has cost him dear. Granted that the early loss of the concluding verses damaged the book, the damage was slight and might have been overlooked, if St Mark had collected new materials which existed in abundance at the time, but have now perished. He might have kept a commonplace book, as St Luke and the redactor of St Matthew probably did. Even if he had made use of the materials which make St Matthew and St Luke so popular, he would have had more readers. At present it is only to a critic that his simple record is invaluable. To our eyes even the embellishments of the 'trito-Mark' have failed to corrupt it.

However 'narrow-minded' Papias was, he was a Bishop of the Church and was compelled by opposition and persecution to defend his treasures. He did not regard St Mark with a critical eye, but had a practical aim. For what was his object in calling attention to

St Mark's defect? Had he any wish to brand St Mark as a failure and advise Christians not to waste time in reading him? Certainly not, or he would not have gone out of his way to declare that St Mark made no mistakes except in the one matter of 'order'.

We must remember that the Harmonists were at work. With mistaken zeal they endeavoured to defend the Gospels by assimilating the readings. When St Mark or St Luke differed from St Matthew, they corrected the text. In Cod. D St Luke's Genealogy is actually changed into St Matthew's with inverted order and gaps filled in. All these changes were evidently made to give the enemy no chance. At a later date Tatian drew up his Diatessaron to reduce the field of controversy. He was only doing what St Matthew and St Luke had done before him—blending into one narrative four Sources, and finally resolving all chronological difficulties.

But although by these questionable methods a 'fence was set about' the Gospels, there remained in the time of Papias one serious discrepancy. The chronology of the fourth Gospel differed very materially from that of the Synoptists. And, if the Synoptists were wrong, as Papias probably believed, the fault lay with St Mark, whom the others had taken as their guide. No paltering with the text could cure this fault. It was fundamental and, if left alone, it would be fatal. The four pillars could not stand unless some explanation were offered. Hence came the anxiety of Papias to explain the exact extent of the difference. He upholds St John by declaring St Mark to be wrong. He explains St Mark's fault by shewing the circumstances under which St Peter worked. If you want chronology, he tells you that you must look to St John: if you want isolated pictures you may look to St Mark.

Whether we agree with this verdict or not, we must admit that it explains the situation. Papias was not a modern reviewer, coldly examining the merits and defects of the Evangelists. It was a matter of life and death to him and to his flock to support them. 'Silly' he may have been, but he knew where danger lay, and he gave his disciples the weapon wherewith to defend themselves.

ARTHUR WRIGHT.

REVIEWS

A QUIETIST CHURCH.

The Church and the Divine Order. By JOHN OMAN, Hon. M.A. (Cantab.), D.D. (Edin.). (Hodder & Stoughton, 1911.)

THIS is a most valuable book by the Professor of Dogmatic Theology at Westminster College, Cambridge, stimulating, suggestive, and individual, with some of the obscurity and ruggedness of the seer, but with much of the seer's vision. Not the least part of its value is the way in which it cuts across certain cherished prepossessions of our time, sometimes with an almost piquant combination of pungency and humility. The harmonious spiritual developement which avoids exorbitant demands finds no favour with Dr Oman.

'The danger is not of touching reality too intensely or even too exclusively at one point, but of refusing to touch reality at all. Men are not kept right in religion by being encyclopædic but by being sincere. That is the one thing needful to which all else shall be added, for it will find its fullness of life in God. It is, therefore, no justification for indifference to any fellow-Christian that we regard him as extreme.'

In this spirit he takes up the problem of the Church—its nature, its true unity, its historic task—which, he says, has been forced upon us by 'the return of a large section of the Church of England to the idea of the Church as one continuous external organization'. His method is to disengage the true idea, as he conceives it, by a discussion of its various historical manifestations, beginning with the Jewish Preparation, and concluding with the Task of the Present. This is certainly better than any more *a priori* treatment, but it does not blind the reader to the fact that the whole is governed by a certain definite conception of what the Church exists for, a conception which is used as a touchstone throughout the whole process. The nature of the Church is not deduced from its history. Rather the history of Christianity is judged by the true view of the Ecclesia. The book is, in fact, prophetic history, not *Dogmengeschichte*. That is perhaps why it is so refreshing. Faith is more vitalizing than learning. It is not that Dr Oman does not carry a very considerable weight of scholarship. There is evidence of much study and pondering on every page, and the reader is conscious of the enormous advantages with which all the critical work of the last fifty years has furnished us. But the fruit is gathered and made to serve

a religious, and in the true sense of the word a theological, purpose. Dr Oman goes straight to the first principles. On the first page we read, 'Our differences do not concern the Church, but the doctrines of God and of salvation upon which our views of the Church rest'.

The view of God upon which this book rests bears strong traces of the influence of Ritschl. It is nowhere quite clearly stated, but it may be said to be the idea of the Divine Will of the Old Testament, immensely softened and transformed by the addition of the New Testament concept of love, but emptied of all the sacerdotal and sacrificial elements which play such a large part in almost all parts of the Bible. That being the case, the ideas represented by the words Atonement and Incarnation do not occupy the place that they do in expositions of the nature of the Church which endeavour to include the whole world of Biblical conceptions in their scope. The primary thought of the Church is accordingly not *ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ, ἣν περιποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου*.

Rather is it 'a society which must even judge itself as the brotherhood of the Kingdom of God, not taking any thought for the amount of visible power it may have on earth, but organizing itself wholly on the basis of love and leaving the issue to God. The fundamental conviction was that the true divine order is ever ready to break into the world, if men will only suffer it to break into their hearts. It was the society of these who already realized the blessings of the Kingdom of God in their hearts.' It will be seen at once that the great difference between these two views is that the one looks back, the other forward. This latter is undoubtedly a true point of view, and Dr Oman shews us by the disciplined intensity of his faith how much inspiration it can give us. We have discovered afresh that it is a large part of the teaching of Jesus. But the teaching of Jesus is not the whole of the Gospel. Between the words which His hearers remembered and the words which St Luke puts into the mouth of St Paul, there stands the Cross.

The Church never altogether lost the splendid apocalyptic vision, which had impressed upon it its early character, though it changed its shape. But it was when its members were most sensitive to its fascination that they also felt most keenly that they were 'bought with a price', and the Return for which they looked was the Return of Him who had died for them. The Christian hope is indomitable, but only because the Church constantly maintains that sure grounds for that hope are to be found in the Incarnation, which guarantees it at once from shallow optimism and from collapse.

'Sacramental' is to Dr Oman a disparaging term. To Athanasius, he says, 'the incarnation means simply His sacramental presence in our

humanity'. 'He is for Athanasius a sacramental, not an ethical incarnation.' Sacramental, symbolical, magical represent an inclined plane which has its highest point very low in the religious scale. This attitude of mind is certainly different, and in a profound way, not only from that of the early Christian writers of East and West, but from that of St Paul. A wider induction from anthropology reminds us that the realities represented by these words correspond to elements of universal religion. To omit them is to narrow, not to broaden our view of human nature. This ought not to be forgotten in considering the background of the Gospels, the faith and practice which Jesus and His disciples had in common, the religion which is hardly referred to, because it is obvious. Dr Oman speaks of the worship of the synagogue as 'the most important of all outward preparations for the Church', points out how there the teacher took the place of the priest, and reminds us that 'in an important if small section there was positive antagonism to the legal ceremonies and revolt against the sacrifices'. Professor Lake has of late emphasized a somewhat similar point in calculating the influence of the Diaspora. But it is only half a truth to assert that 'it was everywhere from the synagogue and not from the temple that Christianity extended itself'. The influence of the Essenes is difficult to find in the Gospel narrative. The followers of Jesus betray no anti-sacerdotal tendencies. They are astonished at the beauty of the Temple, when they see it, perhaps for the first time, with their Leader. After He is gone they seem to cling to its courts and services with the most assiduous care. A great devotion to the Shrine of Sion was part of the religion in which they had been brought up, and their hearts would kindle in far-off Galilee at the thought of its daily sacrifice. This is not a fancy picture, at least if we are to suppose that the first followers of Jesus came from the same kind of circle as He did Himself. The tone in these matters that prevailed there may be gathered from the first two chapters of St Luke, which are shot through with the spirit of a priestly religion which is at the same time the religion of the people, the simple, natural faith of a church-going countryside. You might be at Ober-Ammergau. We have to face the possibility that Luke i and ii do not give us genuine information as to 'the Gospel of the Infancy'. They, no doubt, bear traces of editing. But the whole thing has not been invented. It is the product of art, but the art of a realist.

It is surely hardly just to the religion of which Hanna the prophetess, Simeon, and Zacharias are all types to say: 'Not with the institutions associated with the temple, but with the spiritual preparation associated with the synagogue was its fellowship.' Nor is it historically true. The sacrifices of the Temple formed the centre of the religion of the primitive Christians until they were driven partly by the march of events, partly

by what was implied in the logic of St Paul, to recognize that they had a greater Sacrifice in the Eucharist.

The realm of Spirit is clearly marked off throughout the book, and in a way which certainly seems more circumscribed than it is in the New Testament, or in Catholic thought generally, as may be seen from the use of the word 'body' in the following sentence: 'A spiritual religion only arises when it is discovered that the things of the body are all corruptible, and that only the things of the spirit can be eternal.' 'Spirit' is not opposed to 'body' in St Paul, but to 'flesh'. It is strange that there should be this limitation, for Dr Oman speaks of the truth underlying the Rationalist movement shrewdly and well, when he says that 'the religious life is just the ordinary life properly lived'. This is a principle of wide application; for if the ordinary life means normal human life, then some place must be found for metaphysic, and art, and even that enemy—law, in the Church's view, and the attempt to find it was actually made before the Great Cleavage. Rationalism was in this matter a reaction against Protestantism (which had so much narrowed the religious field), and a return to the mediaeval view, less its divine background. In the fundamental principles of this book there is much then that I must venture to call in question. But when we go on to the statement of what the Church is, I find myself very largely in agreement.

The Ecclesia is the New Testament Israel, and the essence of the whole is in every part. It is the society in which the power of the world to come is working. The soul of the Church is union under the direct rule of God, all organization is only the body of it. It lives most vividly, not when everything is undenied and undeniable, but in the vision of things unrealized. Therefore we must hold with Calvin that it must have its own life, express its own conviction, make plain its requirements in the world. And for this one great ethical institution tinged with Christianity will not do. And so it cannot be a mere creature of the State. Finally the Church is engaged in the task of history, of introducing nothing less than God's rule, a rule where freedom, equality, and fraternity are the conditions.

We part company in our attitudes towards 'the body', and the parting is due to the difference of principle outlined above. It is possible heartily to agree that 'the immediate need at least is not reunion but a revival of positive ideals', while at the same time believing intensely that inward union of spirit is in danger of unreality if it does not do all in its power to make unity concrete; for what appears to be mere organization is not a preference for episcopal or other form of government but an assertion of the reality of history and of God's part in it. And more, it is the building of the House of which Jesus Christ is

foundation, and the body is His Body, where living and departed are actually united, the visible and the invisible.

Dr Oman recalls us finely to an utter apocalyptic dependence upon God. We can bow to the urgency of the demand, but we cannot at the same time avoid the responsibility of sharing in the representative Humanity of the Christ, wherewith He has clothed us to carry on His work. The author's real criterion is sincerity. His religious passion separates him by whole worlds from Hoadly and his sermon on the Kingdom of Christ. But the objections which William Law urged against the employment of this as the single touchstone hold good in essence still. The Church cannot live without a large share of the Quietist Spirit. But it cannot live by that alone.

Two brief criticisms of details before I close. (1) The 'hospital' illustration (p. 297) is crude and made fair fun of. But so might the statement of any point of view that one is likely to find in a popular manual be easily subjected to the same process. And when all is said and done, does it not actually amount to very much the same thing as Dr Oman's own admirable description of the meaning of the Church to an early Christian? 'He held no such exclusive view as *nulla salus extra ecclesiam*, but there was a glad sense of possessing in a special degree a salvation which made it a joy to bring men into the fellowship of the Christian society.'

(2) Is Dr Frere's satisfaction that Elizabeth and Cecil alone had the guidance of the English Church in their hands any more strange than Dr Oman's at the result of the action of Henry VIII? Would it not be true to say that in both cases non-religious people in God's providence furthered religious ends?

A. S. DUNCAN JONES.

CHRISTIANITY AND JUDAISM.

The Parting of the Roads: Studies in the Development of Judaism and Early Christianity by Members of Jesus College, Cambridge. Edited by F. J. FOAKES JACKSON, D.D., Fellow and Dean of the College. (Edward Arnold, London, 1912.)

DR FOAKES JACKSON in the preface to this volume informs us that he has 'almost completed thirty years of service' to the College of his adoption: and the collection of essays of which the book consists constitutes in some sense a summary and record of achievement. The result is upon the whole such as aptly to illustrate the editor's

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remark that 'Jesus College, Cambridge, has been singularly fortunate as regards theology in recent years': Dr Foakes Jackson has as good reason to be proud of his pupils as the College has to be grateful to its theological tutor.

It is not possible in a short review to notice the work of every contributor in detail: the place of honour among those of the essays which appear to call for special comment belongs of right to Dr Foakes Jackson's own contribution—'How the Old Testament came into being'. Assuming the general position that the Old Testament in its final form is mainly the product of exilic and post-exilic Judaism Dr Jackson divides his essay into two parts, the first dealing with the Reforms of Ezekiel, and the second with the Jewish Scriptures under Babylonian influence. The second portion of the essay is of especial interest and value. Following (as it would appear) the guidance of Gunkel, the writer points out in an exceedingly fresh and striking way that not merely the prophetic writings commonly ascribed to the exilic period but the books of the Pentateuch also, as woven into a continuous whole by the Priestly editor, constitute what is virtually a sustained and deliberate polemic against the polytheistic and idolatrous worships of Babylon. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say that wherever in the Old Testament we find idolatry denounced we are invited to read the denunciation as aimed, in effect if not in words, at the idolatry rather of Babylon than of Canaan. Dr Jackson's essay is both suggestive and illuminating, and deserves to be read by all serious students of the Old Testament.

Of the essay which follows Dr Jackson's—a study of 'The Devotional Value of the Old Testament', by the Rev. R. T. Howard—it is perhaps sufficient to say that it is an attempt, at once scholarly and devout, to shew that in the process of critical enquiry as applied to the books of the Old Testament the gains outweigh the losses from the religious point of view.

Dr Oesterley in Essay IV writes with his accustomed learning of 'Judaism in the Days of Christ'. From the age of Ezra onwards a dual tendency is traceable in Judaism, a movement towards nationalism and separatism on the one hand, and a wider, universalistic movement on the other. These Dr Oesterley characterizes respectively as the 'religion of law' and the 'religion of hope'. Regarding Pharisaism as the culmination of the one movement and the 'popular' Apocalyptic literature as the culmination of the other, he discusses in the light of this conception the eschatology of the Gospels and the attitude of our Lord towards the Law. That the essay contains many valuable *obiter dicta* goes without saying: but Dr Oesterley is surely wide of the mark in connecting the universalist tendency, in so far as it was exhibited by *Palestinian* Judaism, with the rise of Hellenism. The religious coteries which

produced the Apocalyptic Literature were assuredly not the spiritual children of those who in pre-Maccabaeian times 'succumbed' to the 'fascination' of Greek culture: the latter were apostates from Judaism pure and simple. It may be doubted, too, whether Dr Oesterley does not over-estimate the 'universalist' tendency of the 'religion of hope' as represented by the Apocalyptic writings. As a general rule the emphasis is rather on the anticipated destruction of the Gentiles as a punishment for their oppression of the chosen people; though it is true that in some instances the hope is held out of the conversion of a 'remnant' even of the Gentiles, when once the judgement is past. We cannot but feel, then, that Dr Oesterley has to some extent yielded to the temptation to draw the lines of demarcation too sweepingly and to represent the religious issues of late Judaism as less complex than in reality they were: nor can we pretend to feel satisfied with the antithesis of faith and reason by which in the last paragraph of the essay dogmatic orthodoxy is secured.

Mr H. G. Wood's essay on 'Some Characteristics of the Synoptic Writers' is without doubt the most striking in the book. Fresh and lucid in style, sane and balanced in outlook, it must be characterized as a wholly admirable piece of work which cannot fail to take rank as a contribution of permanent value to the literature of its subject. Accepting frankly the position—which is indeed obvious upon the face of the narratives—that the Gospels were 'written by believers to create and instruct faith', Mr Wood begins with a trenchant and well-merited criticism of the logic of M. Reinach and other writers who argue that documents of such a character must of necessity be historically valueless. The proper inference, as he points out, is rather that a knowledge of the special point of view of each Evangelist is important for the understanding of his work: and he proceeds to draw out in detail the characteristics and presuppositions of their several Gospels.

The difficulty of this task is greatest in the case of St Mark: and it is to the discussion of the work of this writer that Mr Wood rightly devotes the greater part of his available space. He gives excellent reasons for discounting the alleged 'Paulinism' of St Mark and for thinking that the general proportion and emphasis in his presentation of the Gospel facts must be regarded as common ground between St Paul and the original disciples. Mr Wood's summaries are worth quoting. 'Mark', he writes, 'proclaimed Jesus the conqueror of demons; Jesus the giver of a new religious life in which the Gentile might know the true God, apart from the fetters of Jewish Law: Jesus, the God who died and rose again in actual fact, to transform the moral character of men: Jesus the coming Judge and Lord of all.' 'Matthew . . . conceives Christianity as the fulfilment of Judaism. It is a moral law at once

higher and easier than that of Moses. The Divine Lawgiver who has thus fully revealed the word of God is the Jesus whom the Jews rejected and crucified. He cometh quickly to judgement. Prepare ye then to meet Him.' 'Luke is the Gospel of mercy. If there is something of pessimism in Matthew, Luke is full of hope. If both present a seeking Shepherd, Luke's Shepherd seeks the lost sheep *until He find it*. The third evangelist knows a Saviour who works moral miracles among poor men. He is aware of the fact that not many rich, not many mighty are called, and he rejoices in it. "He hath filled the hungry with good things, and the rich He hath sent empty away." Of the three synoptists, Luke has detached the permanent evangelical impulse from all temporal and national limitations, and consequently Luke makes the directest appeal to the modern world. From no other writer does the reader derive such a sense of the joy of the Gospel as from St Luke.'

Of the remaining essayists Mr Redman gives us a workmanlike summary of the theology of St Paul on the received lines, and Mr B. T. D. Smith an elaborate and most suggestive study of the Johannine Theology. The pages in which the latter writer discusses the relation of the Johannine presentation of Christ to history (pp. 266-269) are especially admirable and judicious. If we are to criticize Mr Redman's presentation of St Paul it must be on the ground that he hardly takes sufficient account of the individual background and purpose of the several epistles: they are for him rather dogmatic treatises than 'answers to correspondents'; and in the result we miss any indication of the writer's attitude towards the all-important question of the relation of St Paul's theology to that of the Gentile 'Mysteries'.

In Essay IX—'The Breach between Judaism and Christianity'—Mr Ephraim Lévine has given us from the point of view of a Liberal Jew of the school of Mr Montefiore a valuable study of the survival of Judaism and its reorganization after the disaster of 70 A.D. The essay is so good that it is a pity that the writer should have marred it by the piece of special pleading on p. 293 in which he represents the crucifixion of our Lord as 'a political step on the part of the Romans, deplored by Jews no less than Christians'.

The Dean of St Paul's writes a characteristic introduction to the volume, in which it may be hoped that the paradoxical conceit of a 'Teutonic Catholic Church' is not meant to be taken too seriously.

A. E. J. RAWLINSON.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF PLOTINUS.

The Problem of Evil in Plotinus. By B. A. G. FULLER. (University Press, Cambridge, 1912.)

THE one great thinker of the third century—that strangely barren period—is at last coming into his own. The studies of Edward Caird, of Whittaker, of Drews, and of Eucken have called the attention of educated men to Plotinus, and have shewn the immense importance of the *Enneads* in the developement of religious philosophy and Christian theology. The history of Greek philosophy, which spans the longest period of unfettered thought which the human race has as yet been permitted to enjoy, is no longer shorn of its last chapter, and the river of Augustinianism in particular can now be traced to its principal source. We have here a further contribution to the study of Plotinus by an American scholar, a former pupil of Santayana. The book is able and original. But it belongs to the same class as Santayana's own studies of Christianity, or Anathon Aall's learned work on the *Logos*, in that it is an elaborate critique of a system which, as we are told at the end, is riddled with fatal inconsistencies. This is hardly the best spirit in which to study the work of a great genius. Not only is there in some places an irritating tone of superiority, but want of sympathy leads to misunderstandings which a less acute but more receptive mind might have escaped. It is perhaps characteristic that Mr Fuller has chosen to study almost the least valuable part of the *Enneads*—that which deals with the problem of evil. It is quite true to say that Plotinus throws out several incompatible hypotheses about the origin and nature of evil. The fact is that he seems to regard it as a tiresome problem which does not affect the core of his philosophy. He is not always even quite serious when he speaks of it. To his radical optimism there is no dualism of fact and value. Whatever has *οὐσία* is, so far, purely good. And yet the human soul is clearly involved in a struggle to gain or regain its true position in the world of *οὐσία*, the *κόσμος νοητός*. We can see that what we call evil is the weight which the soul has to move, the condition for the putting forth of its powers, and is thus, so far as we can see, necessary for the actualization of good as an activity. But *why* this struggle is imposed upon the soul, Plotinus knows that he has not explained. His main object is to shew the road back to heaven. He is only careful to bar such false theories as that God is Himself involved in the moral struggle; that there is an anti-God, as the Manichaeans supposed; or that existence (*οὐσία*) is itself the principle of evil.

Mr Fuller's book contains some acute discussions of this insoluble problem. He also deserves great credit for avoiding two out of the three fundamental misconceptions which still disfigure most accounts of

Neoplatonism. (1) He does not talk about the 'intellectualism' of Plotinus. He knows, in other words, that νοῦς does not mean 'intellect' (διάνοια), but spiritual intuition of spiritual reality. Νοῦς, νόησις, and νοητόν are the inseparable Trinity in Unity which constitutes the real-ideal world of οὐσία. Among the many injuries which Greek philosophy suffered in being translated into Latin, must be reckoned the conversion of νοῦς into *intellectus*. Aquinas is decidedly more of an 'intellectualist' than Plotinus.

(2) He does not follow Caird in his common but most unfortunate view that in Plotinus we find an 'extreme dualism'. Like Whittaker, he sees that 'the intention of his system is from beginning to end monistic'. The vulgar error about Plotinus is that his world consists of two parts, which cannot be brought together—The One, and Matter. The fact is that, as Plotinus tells us again and again, neither of these two 'exists'. The Absolute is superexistential; and ὕλη (which has not the slightest connexion with the 'matter' of to-day's, or rather yesterday's, science) is a mere abstraction. If we wish to understand Plotinus, we must never call the One 'God', but 'the Absolute', or, with Eckhart, 'the Godhead'. Νοῦς must be 'Spirit'; and ὕλη—any word that we can think of, except 'matter'.

Mr Fuller, however, does not see very clearly that we must seek the centre of the Plotinian system in the κόσμος νοητός, which is the world of experience transfigured, purified, and realized *sub specie aeternitatis*, in the full perfection of beauty, truth, and goodness. Πάντα ἐνταῦθα ὅσα κακεῖ, he says; but 'there' all that has a meaning and value abides in an eternal activity which transcends the opposition of rest and movement. It is here that we see the generic difference between Neoplatonism and Buddhism, in which the spiritual world simply drops out. If Mr Fuller had seen this, he might have modified or withdrawn his argument about degrees of perfection, which does not seem to me valid as a criticism of Plotinus. This neglect of the κόσμος νοητός, as the centre of the whole system, is the third blunder into which most critics of Plotinus have fallen.

The fundamental question, by the answer to which the philosophy of Plotinus must stand or fall as a great constructive system, has, I believe, been rightly stated, perhaps for the first time, by Mr Fuller. It is much the same question as that which all students of Spinoza have to face, viz. Is there a hiatus between the naturalism which Plotinus inherits from the Stoics, and the mysticism which belongs to the Platonic and Neopythagorean tradition? Mr Fuller thinks there is; I am disposed to think there is not. But if this question were settled with authority, there would not be much left for future philosophers to do.

W. R. INGE.

THE ODES OF SOLOMON.

The Odes of Solomon. By J. H. BERNARD, D.D., Bishop of Ossory. 'Texts and Studies' vol. viii no. 3. (University Press, Cambridge, 1912.)

THIS volume contains Dr Bernard's fuller exposition of a view as to the origin and purpose of the Odes already put forward by him in this JOURNAL (vol. xii no. 1 pp. 1 ff). It was there suggested that they were written as hymns for the newly baptized, and much interesting material was brought together from Christian writers of different ages to illustrate the language of the Odes regarded from this standpoint. In his Introduction to the present volume Dr Bernard rightly (as I cannot but believe) upholds the unity of authorship of the whole collection. As regards language, he seems to have leanings towards a Semitic, and even a Syriac, original, being partly influenced in this by an article of Dr Rendel Harris in the *Expositor* for December 1911, where an attempt is made to shew that St Ephraim knew and used the Odes, and possibly in a different form from that of the present Syriac text. But Dr Harris's parallels seem hardly to provide a convincing argument even for the use of the Odes by Ephraim; and his original view, that the Odes were written in Greek, is doubtless the true one (see below, the notice of Dr Abbott's book). Dr Bernard concludes that the Odes were written between 150 and 200 A.D. Possibly another fifty years might be added to the later term.

Dr Bernard gives a fresh translation which, though substantially that of Dr Harris, contains a number of alterations suggested by other translators. There still remain a good many cases in which Dr Harris's version might be improved upon. The following are a few of the more striking:—

vi 9 'and the restrainers of the children of men': 'restrainers' should be 'restraints'; and the Coptic text in *Pistis Sophia* makes the suggestion (which I have somewhere seen) ܐܬܝܬܐ ܠܝܠܬܐ (or ܐܬܝܬܐ ܠܝܠܬܐ), that is, 'et aedificia' for 'of the sons of men', at least worth considering. In the last verse of this Ode the Syriac does not admit of the rendering 'by the waters of life for ever': the grammatical version is 'by the waters life eternal'. An explanation of the very difficult 'and they gave strength for (*lit.* to) *their coming*' (v. 16) is perhaps to be sought in some Greek word of double meaning. Acts iii 7 offers a possible suggestion, ἐστρεψέθησαν αἱ βάσεις αὐτοῦ (cf. xxxiii 2, where ܐܬܝܬܐ ܠܝܠܬܐ appears to represent ἄβατος). In vii 27 'anything that breathes' (ܐܝܬܐ ܠܝܠܬܐ) seems impossible; it literally

means 'anything of a soul', for ~~ܠܢܝܢ~~ after ~~ܡܢܢ~~ cannot be a participle fem. The original was, perhaps, ~~ܠܢܝܢ~~, 'anything *that is left* without knowledge'. In viii 23 'and abound' should be 'and multiply' (to ask), i. e. ask often (so Flemming). In xii 6 I believe we should read 'and its descent *is not known* nor its way'; and in v. 7 Harris is surely right in correcting 'expectation' into 'limit' (as in v. 6): the emendation is a very slight one. In xiv 6 'from evil' is in the Syr. text 'from *the evil one*' (the masc. of this word never means 'evil'): was the original ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ? In xvi 18 'and their alternations one to another speak the beauty of God' involves an unnecessary correction of the text ('speak' for 'fill up'), and is otherwise a targum rather than a translation of the Syriac, which is literally 'and their receivings one from another fill up the beauty of God'. Ephraim Syrus, ridiculing Mani's idea that the moon received light from the earth and passed it on to the sun, in which it was stored, says: 'Fine receivers these, that receive one from another' (Overbeck *S. Ephr. Syri aliorumque op. select.* p. 71). In xviii 13 'neither does it know Thee' overlooks a difficulty in the Syr. text, viz. the presence of ܠܟ, 'but'. For this we should probably read ܡܠܟ, 'my God', and translate: 'And Thou knowest not error, *my God*, and neither does it know Thee.' In xix 3 a new sentence should begin with 'because', v. 4 (which has no 'and' at the beginning) containing the apodosis. In v. 4 'from' should be 'of'; also 'without its knowing it' is hardly the meaning: the Syr. is 'while (*or* whereas) they knew (it) not', which in the context suggests John i 10-12. In v. 8 'as it were a man, by the will 'of God'' is a rather daring emendation and interpretation of the Syriac, which is literally 'as a man by (her own) will', ܡܢ ܚܝܬܐ being quite a natural and usual expression for 'by one's own will'. *Hermas Vis.* iii 8 makes Continnence a woman 'that is girded about and *looketh like a man*'. As Dr Bernard favourably mentions my translation (in *J. T. S.* Jan. 1912, pp. 308-309) of vv. 4, 5, and 8, I venture to point out that he has departed from it in the passages just noticed. In Ode xxiv 5 'and they sealed up the abysses with the seal of the Lord': Burkitt's version, cited p. 106, seems preferable. Ode xxviii 7 'has come forth': the verb is in the imperfect, and the Nitrian MS shews clearly that it is a corruption of ܡܠܥܥܐ, 'has embraced me'. Ode xxxviii 11 (with the comment upon it, and note 1 p. 125): surely 'imitate', not 'resemble', is the meaning that lends point to the passage (see *J. T. S.* xiii, Jan. 1912, p. 306). Ode xl 4: the Nitrian MS shews that a line has dropped out in Harris's MS after 'and my tongue'. The missing line is 'is sweet with his colloquies, and [my] m[embers] are fat with' (Burkitt).

To each Ode Dr Bernard adds a commentary, which almost invariably takes the form of illustration from Christian writers calculated to support the view that the Odes are Baptismal Hymns. This purpose is frankly admitted by him; nor can we regret that he has adopted such a line of treatment. It is right that the Odes should be tested in the light of different theories; and whatever can be said in favour of the view that they are baptismal hymns is said in this book. Yet, attractive as is Dr Bernard's view, and his presentation of it, it is hardly satisfying. It may readily be admitted that there are allusions to baptism in some of the Odes (particularly iv, vi, and viii); but it is another matter to discover baptism in all of them; and I find it difficult to believe that they are essentially baptismal. Dr Bernard naturally finds a difficulty in iv 8 'and thine elect archangels are clad with it' (the seal), and hints at a possible corruption in the Syriac. It is curious that in fact a simple emendation of the verb 'are clad' occurred to me on independent grounds. It is said just before 'and thy hosts possess (*lit.* hold, ܠܚܝܬܝܡ) it': this suggested in the next and parallel clause ܠܚܝܬܝܡ, 'grasp', for ܠܚܝܬܝܡ, 'are clad'. The idea that angels were custodians of the seals is found in a Syriac fragment of the *Testament of Adam*: 'but the cherubim bear His throne and honour (it), and they hold (ܠܚܝܬܝܡ) the seals' (*Patrol. Syr.* pars 1 t. ii col. 1358 ll. 25-27). For 'elect angels' cf. 1 Tim. v 21.

The supposed assertion of the permanence of the Jewish sanctuary at Jerusalem in verses 1-3 of Ode iv is the mainstay of the view that the Odes were of Jewish origin. But the passage can be better explained in a Christian, and even anti-Jewish, sense. To the remarkable parallel from *Hermas Vis.* ii adduced by Dr Bernard (p. 50) may be added a still more remarkable one from the *Ancient Homily* (or '2 Clem.') § 14: 'If we do the will of God our Father, we shall be of the *first Church*, which is spiritual, *which was created before sun and moon* . . . And the Books of the Apostles plainly declare that *the Church existeth not now for the first time, but hath been from the beginning*: for she was spiritual, as our Jesus also was spiritual, but was manifested in the last days that He might save us' (Lightfoot's transl.). Such passages suggest that the older sanctuary referred to in the Ode is the Church, and the younger the Jewish temple-worship, or the Synagogue at large. The promises made to Abraham went before the covenant of circumcision (Rom. iv): the Gospel is older than the Law.

Light on the Gospel from an ancient Poet ('Diatessarica' part ix).

By EDWIN A. ABBOTT. (University Press, Cambridge, 1912.)

I CAN make no pretence of doing justice to this remarkable study of

a number of the Odes of Solomon. It is hardly too much to say that the book would baffle any reviewer who had not at his disposal the space for a lengthy paper.

In the first place the method and arrangement of the book make it very difficult reading: comments, illustration, dissertations are scattered throughout as the language of any particular passage suggests. The whole is divided up into sections, or paragraphs, 363 in all, beginning, where the last volume of 'Diatessarica' ended, with no. 3636 and ending with no. 3999. The volume contains 64 pages of 'Preliminary' and Preface, and 602 pages of commentary, dissertations, appendices, and indices: and yet only some dozen of the Odes are directly dealt with. The Appendices are five in number: I on 'The "Sign" in the Odes'; II on 'The Chariot of Truth'; III Translations; IV on 'Readings of Codex N' and 'The Style of the Odes'; V on 'The Feast of Tabernacles or Booths'. The full Indices, (1) to passages of Scripture, (2) to passages of the Odes, and (3) an English *Index rerum* considerably ease the labour of finding one's way about the book.

The position of the author is entirely different from that of Dr Bernard, save in a partial agreement as to the status of the writer of the Odes. Dr Abbott also thinks that he was a Christian, and strongly inclines to the view that he composed his Songs in a Semitic tongue. On the correctness or otherwise of this latter supposition much, I think, of the value of Dr Abbott's comments will be found to depend. He would date the Odes much earlier than Dr Bernard; and for him they illustrate not any more or less regulated Church practices of the later second century in regard to baptism, or any other Christian ordinance, but the personal sentiments of a Jewish Christian of the first century in regard to the recent advent of the Messiah. 'These Odes of Solomon—better perhaps called Songs—appear to me to constitute a series of what might be entitled, like some of our Psalms in the Bible, "Songs of Degrees, or Ascents", in which the thought ascends, without any serious breaks or interpolations, from the first imperfect son of David, who failed to deserve his prophet-spoken name of Jedidiah, "the beloved", to that second and perfect Son of David who was hailed from heaven as the Beloved indeed' (p. vii).

Dr Abbott, like Dr Bernard, overwhelms us with an abundance of illustration that is truly astonishing; but he draws primarily from Jewish sources—Philo, the Targums, the Talmuds, the Midrash, and only secondarily from early Christian writings. This difference of treatment is of course based on the difference of view as to the date and *milieu* of the author of the Odes: the traditions which influenced him were not Christian, but Jewish: 'for him, as for John the Divine, the Song of Moses is a prelude to the Song of the Lamb. For him,

the Deliverance of Israel, under the leadership of Moses at the Red Sea, means the Deliverance of Man, the spiritual Israel, under the leadership of the Messiah, the Son of Truth, from the waters of Sheol . . . the poet is continually superimposing, so to speak, in a kind of poetic photography, person upon person, deliverer upon deliverer, Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, Hezekiah, in order to approximate to the fulness of the form of the greatest Deliverer of all, the Lord Messiah' (pp. xii-xiii).

It is with this idea that Dr Abbott gives most of the Odes he deals with an Old Testament setting, or background. Regarding our present Syriac text as at least a Semitic version of a Semitic original, he often discusses the root meaning of words with the minuteness we are accustomed to in linguistic commentaries on the Hebrew of the Bible, and sometimes—it must be said—in a way that will hardly appeal to those who are familiar with the conventionalized values which many Syriac words had acquired at a comparatively early date. The distinction Dr Abbott makes between the two Syriac words for 'love' or 'to love' (p. 43) is a case in point. I doubt if in actual use any real difference of force can be traced between them, apart, of course, from the stylistic aptness of one or other in a particular word-setting. To render ܐܢܝܢܐ ('every one') by 'every human being' (Ode vi 17, p. 523) is hardly to give the exact force of the Syriac expression at any known stage in the history of the language.

As regards the question of the original language of the Odes, I feel personally that no true understanding of them can be reached until it is generally recognized that they were composed in Greek. Dr Harris has drawn attention to several cases in which the Syriac seems obviously to be turning Greek expressions. Such are 'greatness of beauty' for μεγαλοπρέπεια, and a number of examples of privative *alpha*, such as ἀφθονος, ἄφθαρτος. I should like to add to this evidence a couple of examples which I think have not yet received attention.

(1) If it be admitted that the Odes are all by the same author, there is one passage in them which appears to me to be almost conclusive evidence that our present Syriac text is a translation from Greek. In xli 16 we read: 'The Christ in truth is one: *and He was known from before the constitution of the world.*' This, it may be noticed in passing, is very like 1 Peter i 20 προεγνωσμένου μὲν πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου. But what it is important to notice is that 'from [before] the constitution of the world' (ܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܪܝܢܐ [ܡܢ] ܥܕܡܐ) is the Peshittā rendering of ἀπὸ (or πρὸ) καταβολῆς κόσμου in seven out of ten cases in the New Testament, viz. Mt. xiii 35 (where Pesh. represents the reading which adds κόσμου), Mt. xxv 34, John xvii 24, Eph. i 4, 1 Pet. i 20, Rev. xiii 8, xvii 8. But *syr. vet.* does not use ܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܪܝܢܐ for καταβολή.

At Mt. xiii 35 it read ἀπὸ καταβολῆς (without κόσμου), and renders 'from of old'. At Mt. xxv 34 the MSS are defective; but Aphraates quotes 'from the beginning' (without expressing 'of the world': Burkitt *Evang. da-Mepharr.* in loc.). At Lk. xi 50 *syr. vet.* has a paraphrase which Pesh. has kept, and at John xvii 24 it has a different paraphrase, which Pesh. has altered.

Evidently then ܠܬܠܡܝܬܐ, 'constitution', was not a word which occurred naturally to an early Syriac writer in connexion with the beginning of the world: *syr. vet.* finds no equivalent substantive for καταβολή in this sense, and has recourse to paraphrase. The only occurrence of καταβολή in the LXX is at 2 Macc. ii 29, and there we do find ܠܬܠܡܝܬܐ again as the Syriac equivalent: but only in the sense of the 'structure' of a house.

Moreover, ܠܬܠܡܝܬܐ is a comparatively rare word outside the Pesh. New Testament. Also it is not the regular Syr. word for 'foundation'. Further, Syriac has exact equivalents for the Hebrew ארץ, 'earth', and תבל, 'earth' or 'world' (a poetic synonym of ארץ). Hence in the Old Testament we never find ܠܬܠܡܝܬܐ ܕܠܬܠܡܝܬܐ, 'constitution of the world', for such Hebrew expressions as מוסדות תבל, מוסדי ארץ ('foundations of the earth'), but always the literal ܠܬܠܡܝܬܐ ܕܬܠܡܝܬܐ, ܠܬܠܡܝܬܐ ܕܬܠܡܝܬܐ. The fact is that there seems to be no Hebrew expression of which 'constitution of the world' would be a conceivable Syriac rendering. How then does it come into the Odes? Obviously as a Syriac translation of πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου by one who was familiar with the usual Pesh. version of this phrase. If this be so, then our present Syriac version of the Odes was made from a Greek form at a date not earlier than the Pesh. revision of the New Testament, that is, after the beginning of the fifth century. This argument of course will not affect the Semitic origin of the Odes in the minds of those who are prepared to believe that the Greek itself was a translation: but is there any solid evidence for this view?

(2) In Ode xxx 5 there is another phrase which, I think, is hardly of Semitic origin, viz. 'and until it was set [*lit.* given] in the midst, they did not know it'. This is surely ἐς τὸ μέσον τίθεναι, *in medio ponere*.

Though I think we should hesitate to adopt Dr Abbott's view as to the origin of the Odes, yet his book is full of valuable suggestions, which deserve serious attention, and for which we owe him much.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, October 1912 (Vol. lxxv, No. 149 : Spottiswoode & Co.). F. E. WARREN The influence of Celtic Art in England—W. Y. FAUSSET The neo-Christianity of Rudolph Eucken—F. A. HIBBERT Croxden Abbey: its buildings and history—J. S. S. JOHNSTON Dr Du Bose and the University of the South—E. F. MORISON St Basil and Monasticism—C. F. BURNEY The Book of Isaiah: a new theory, II—W. H. FRERE The reconstruction of worship—The Banister-Thompson case and the law of the Church—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, October 1912 (Vol. xi, No. 1 : Williams & Norgate). L. P. JACKS Democracy and discipline—F. I. PARADISE A nation at school—A. J. F. BLAIR A plea for the higher socialism—B. RUSSELL The essence of religion—P. LOBSTEIN Modernism and the Protestant consciousness—A. M. HOCART A native Fijian on the decline of his race: translation and introduction—J. W. SCOTT The pessimism of Bergson—H. A. STRONG Quintilian: a study in ancient and modern methods of education—E. BEVAN The Gnostic Redeemer—T. R. GLOVER The daemon environment of the primitive Christian—M. J. LANDA The future of Judaism in England—H. V. ARKELL Social Service. No. 5: French Catholics and social work—Discussions—Survey of recent literature—Reviews.

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(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, October 1912 (Vol. xvi, No. 4: Chicago University Press). C. A. BECKWITH Authority in present-day religious teaching—T. D. BACON Practical aspects of the Doctrine of the Trinity—C. M. BREFVOLGE The Hebrew sense of sin in the pre-exilic period—E. D. BURTON The office of Apostle in the early Church—G. B. SMITH Systematic theology and ministerial efficiency—C. H. WALKER The trend in the modern interpretation of early Church history—C. S. PATTON and J. H. LEUBU Critical Notes—Recent theological literature—Brief mention—Books received.

The Princeton Theological Review, October 1912 (Vol. x, No. 4: Princeton University Press). J. G. MACHEN The Virgin Birth in the second century—E. C. RICHARDSON The documents of the Exodus, contemporary, original, and written—L. F. BENSON Dr Watt's 'Renovation of Psalmody'—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, October 1912 (Vol. xxix, No. 4: Abbaye de Maredsous). G. MORIN Vers un texte définitif de la règle de S. Benoît—H. PEILLON L'antiphonaire de Pamelius—U. BERLIÈRE Les évêques auxiliaires de Liège (*suite*)—G. MORIN I Sermon inédit du v^e siècle sur Gal. v 16-26; II Orderic Vital—D. DE BRUYNE Le plus ancien catalogue des manuscrits de N.-D. de Paris—Comptes rendus—Notes bibliographiques—U. BERLIÈRE Tables du *Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine*—Supplément: *Bibliothèque d'histoire bénédictine*.

Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses, November–December 1912 (N. S., Vol. iii, No. 6: Paris, 62 Rue des Écoles). F. CUMONT Fatalisme astral et religions antiques—A. VANBECK La pénitence dans Origène—*Chronique bibliographique*: XIII Littérature du Nouveau Testament (*suite*); XIV Origines chrétiennes; XV Littérature chrétienne; XVI Histoire de l'Église; XVII Histoire des dogmes chrétiens—*Faits et documents religieux contemporains*—Tables générales.

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, October 1912 (Vol. xiii, No. 4 : Louvain, 40 Rue de Namur). A. D'ALÈS Tertullien et Calliste ; L'édit de Calliste (*suite et fin*)—L. DIEU Le 'Commentaire de saint Jean Chrysostome sur Job'—E. LESNE La dñme des biens ecclésiastiques aux ix^e et x^e siècles (*suite, à suivre*)—RAYMOND-M. MARTIN Le péché originel d'après Gilbert de la Porée († 1154) et son école—Comptes rendus—E. REMY Semaine internationale d'ethnologie religieuse à Louvain—Chronique—Bibliographie.

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Analecta Bollandiana, November 1912 (Vol. xxxi, No. 4 : Brussels, 22 Boulevard Saint-Michel). †A. PONCELET Les biographes de S^{te} Amelberge—P. PEETERS S. Antoine le néo-martyr—F. VAN OSTROY S. François d'Assise et son voyage en Orient—†A. PONCELET La translation de S. Hugues de Lincoln—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques—Appendice : U. CHEVALIER *Repertorium hymnologicum* : addenda et corrigenda pp. 1-32.

(4) GERMAN.

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THE DECRETAL OF DAMASUS.¹

I HAVE recently had occasion to examine with closer attention the evidence for the genuineness of some documents the value of which as authorities I had hitherto been constrained to accept with more confidence than I can now. This has led me to modify some previously expressed views. Inasmuch as more learned men than myself have been my guides in this matter and it is one of considerable importance and interest, I may be allowed to begin this paper with a discussion of it.

In the first volume of the *Journal of Theological Studies* Mr C. H. Turner published the well-known text of the Decretal attributed to Damasus, who was Pope from 366 to 384, which, if a genuine document, is of prime value in the history of the Latin Canon of the Bible, since it contains a list of the books of the Bible professedly issued by that pope and consequently of very early date.

In support of the genuineness and authority of the document he quotes the excellent recent names of A. Thiel, F. Maassen, and T. Zahn. Notwithstanding the gravity of the names I venture to ask for a reconsideration of this judgement.

¹ The following pages were in type and corrected for press in October 1911, as the first part of Sir Henry Howorth's third article on 'The influence of St Jerome on the Canon of the Western Church' published in this JOURNAL in that month. The discussion of the genuineness of the Decree of Damasus appeared to be easily separable from the rest of the article without loss to the main argument and, partly owing to pressure on our space, it was omitted from the article as published. The question has since been dealt with by Dr E. von Dobschütz in the book which is reviewed in this no. of the JOURNAL (*infra* p. 469). Sir Henry Howorth's article, which is now published without alteration, as it was passed by him for press in October 1911, has the value of an entirely independent treatment of the question by an English scholar. Dr von Dobschütz has carried the argument further, but his chief conclusions were anticipated by Sir Henry Howorth.—J. F. B-B.

The question is not a simple one. The decree attributed to Pope Damasus occurs in several MSS in which that pope is named as its promulgator. In other and more numerous MSS it occurs in an enlarged form with certain notable additions. This enlarged form is assigned in the document itself in some cases to Pope Gelasius and in others to Pope Hormisdas. Those who sustain the genuineness of the document have argued that in the latter cases we have later editions of a primitive Damasine text issued at a later period by Popes Gelasius and Hormisdas respectively, who are supposed to have added fresh material to the original decree. Mr Turner argues that the suspicious character of the matter is confined to the later editions and that the Damasine part of the decree can be completely separated from the latter. His words are, 'It remains inexplicable that the Damasine matter, which is easily separable, and which is separated not only in the Vatican and Vallicellian MS (my *l* and *vall*), but by Arevalo (A.D. 1794) and by Thiel (A.D. 1866) in their editions, should have been passed over by so many writers without even a mention of its possible authenticity'. He does not examine the very strong case against the Damasine portion of the matter at all. He says, in fact, that 'he does not propose to waste time in arguing the genuineness of the Council (? the decree of the Council) of Damasus which is printed here for the first time', but takes it for granted that because the matter in question occurs separately in certain MSS therefore it is genuine, which is not a very conclusive argument; but he adds some supplementary facts which, he urges, support the claim to authenticity.

Inter alia he says :—

'If any fresh arguments are needed, a comparison of the *Decretum* with the preface to the "Isidorian" translation of the Nicene Canons, the date of which must be some years earlier than A.D. 451, may supply what is wanted. The third part of the Damasine decree, that on the Roman primacy, is borrowed by the "Isidorian" translator, and forms the groundwork of the first portion of his preface', &c., &c. (*op. cit.* p. 555).

On this paragraph I should like to say a few words. In the first place the use of the name of Isidore by such an authority even in inverted commas in connexion with the Preface to the Nicene Canons seems to me misleading. It misled me. The

name of Isidore of Seville was no doubt once associated with the early collection of conciliar documents apparently compiled in Spain; but this is no longer the case, and they are not found, therefore, in the critical editions of his works.

Maassen says :—

‘Den Namen der isidorischen hat man derjenigen Version der Nicäischen und der uebrigen griechischen Canonen gegeben, in der die spanische Sammlung diese Canonen bringt. Diese Benennung ist aus einem doppelten Grunde verkehrt. Es ist nämlich weder Isidor von Sevilla der Verfasser der spanischen Sammlung, noch sind die griechischen Canonen von dem Verfasser dieser Sammlung selbst uebersetzt’ (Maassen *Geschichte der Quellen* &c. 12).

The collection of Canons above named I will refer to, as others have done, by the more neutral name of *Hispana*. The compiler of it used an old Latin translation of the Greek Canons. This translation, with the Preface to the Nicene Canons above referred to, occurs in two editions, the earliest copies of which are contained, according to Maassen, in the so-called Quesnel and Freisingen MSS respectively, both probably of the beginning of the ninth century (the former may be a little older).

The fact of there being two editions led Maassen to suggest that it could not have been the writer of the Quesnel MS who composed the Preface to the Nicene Canons, as had been suggested. He goes on to say that, since it was compiled from the Damasine decretal and the Church history of Rufinus, it could not have been written before the fifth century.

To this last statement of Maassen I must take exception. I cannot understand how it could have been made by any one who had compared the documents. The copy of the Preface in the early collection of Canons (it is given in Mansi III) cannot have been taken from the Damasine decretal, for it is much longer and in addition to the mutilation of several clauses in the so-called decretal it entirely leaves out the two last paragraphs which are essential to the understanding of the text. On the other hand the so-called Damasine decretal contains a phrase which is omitted in the Preface and would hardly have been so if the latter had been its source, namely, ‘Est ergo prima Petri apostoli sedes Romanae ecclesiae non habens maculam nec rugam nec aliquid eiusmodi’.

It seems as plain as anything can be that the reverse of Maassen's theory was really true and that the last clause of the so-called Damasine decretal was a mere epitome of the Preface with the clause just quoted inserted, and that the latter was also the source of the common matter given by Rufinus.

That the Preface was an early document is proved by a striking fact. In it Ephesus, and not Constantinople, is made one of the great metropolitan sees and is given a special paragraph, while Constantinople is not named at all. As Maassen himself pointed out, the Council of Chalcedon in 451 by its twenty-eighth Canon gives the see of Constantinople the supremacy over the dioceses of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace, and makes that see rank next to Rome (*op. cit.* 41). This shews that the Preface dates from before the year 451; but, as it seems to me, if Maassen is right in this contention we must go further. The Council of Chalcedon in the Canon just named only professed to confirm what had been done already at the Council of Constantinople in 381, the well-known third Canon of which puts the Bishop of Constantinople immediately after the Bishop of Rome. As Dr. Percival says, in 394, only thirteen years after the Council of Constantinople, we find the Bishop of Constantinople presiding over a synod where the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch were both present and thus given a remarkable precedence.

On the other hand, the Council of 431, which was held at Ephesus, was held there, and not at Constantinople, because it was the heresy of the Archbishop of Constantinople which was to be specially tried, and, be it noted, no mention is made in its acts of the three Ephesian bishops or of the status of the see.

For these various reasons it seems almost incredible that, in the Preface to the Nicene Canons, Ephesus, and not Constantinople, should be mentioned as the metropolitan see, unless the document was written before the Council of Constantinople in 381 and therefore before the alleged Roman Synod of 382, whence the alleged decree of Damasus issued. On *prima facie* grounds it would seem probable, in fact, that the Preface in question, which does not occur in the Greek copies, was the work of the original translator of the Greek Canons into Latin.

For every reason, therefore, it seems impossible to treat 'the

Preface' as Mr Turner does as in any way supporting the genuineness of the Damasine decree since it was an older document.

Let us now turn to another support of the genuineness of the Damasine decretal quoted by Mr Turner. This is based on the similarity in the description in it of the book of 'Lamentations', which is given its Hebrew name as it is in Jerome's *Prologus Galeatus*. This Mr Turner explains by the fact of Jerome having been present at the synod and being supposed to have advised the Fathers there. It is quite true that Jerome in the *Prologus Galeatus* uses the Hebrew name for the book; but that preface was written a good many years later than the reign of Damasus when Jerome had entirely adopted his later theory about the Hebrew verity. At the time of the Roman Council of 382 he still held by the Greek Old Testament and had a very slight, if any, knowledge of Hebrew, and it would not have occurred to him to use a Hebrew name for a Bible book. Much less would it have occurred to the Fathers at the Roman Council to do so. If, therefore, the decretal was influenced by Jerome in this matter, it shews that it was not composed till long after the death of Damasus. The same argument applies to the argument of Mr Turner from the use of the name John the Presbyter in the second and third Epistles of John. It merely proves that the author of the decree, whoever he was, had St Jerome's edition of the Epistle before him, but Jerome's translation of the Epistle was not made till long after the death of Damasus.

Having thus analysed Mr Turner's 'additional arguments' let us now turn to the decree itself and see what its main contents have to tell us.

The copies in which it is attributed to Damasus are contained in four MSS, two attributed by Mr Turner to the eighth and two to the ninth century (*Journal of Theological Studies* i 555). Each is headed 'Incipit concilium urbis Romae sub Damaso Papa de explanatione Fidei', and consists of three different paragraphs or short chapters, the first treating 'de spiritu septiformi qui in Christo requiescit', the second 'de scripturis divinis agendis est quid universalis catholica recipiat ecclesia et quid vitare debeat', while the third deals with the supremacy of the Holy See. Mr Turner, as I have said, follows Maassen, Thiel, and Zahn in

accepting this document as perfectly genuine, and I have followed in their wake in a previous memoir.

The first notable and, in fact, unprecedented thing to remember about this edition of the document is that it is not dated. It does not give us the year of the Council when the decretal was issued, nor yet the particular number of the Council held at Rome in the time of Damasus, as is the case with the other editions. And it has been a mere conjecture that the document was issued at a Roman Council of 382.

It is most unfortunate that we know so very little that is authoritative of this synod and its doings. Jerome, who was a contemporary and was at Rome at the time, and in all probability present at it, does not seem to have been sufficiently interested in it to enter into details about it in his voluminous correspondence, nor does he say a word anywhere about its having discussed the Canon. I can only find two references to it in his letters. In his letter to Eustachius (number 108 in Vallarsi) he says, '*cumque Orientis et Occidentis episcopus ob quasdam Ecclesiarum dissensiones Romam imperiales literae contraxissent*', and he mentions that Paulinus of Antioch and Epiphanius of Salamis were present. In his letter to Ageruchia (Vallarsi, 72) he says, '*ante annos plurimos cum in chartis Ecclesiasticis iuvarem Damasum Romanae urbis Episcopum, et Orientis atque Occidentis Synodicis consultationibus responderem*'.

These two references have been generally, and probably, supposed to refer to the Council of 382, but the fact is not certain. Otherwise the synod, so far as I know, is only noticed in a reference of Theodoret V, where he tells us that a synodal letter was sent from the Council to Constantinople, which was replied to by the Fathers who met at the latter place in the following year.

Besides these three more or less contemporary notices we have absolutely nothing recorded about the Council which a historian dare accept. We have no record of what was discussed there. None of its official acts has been preserved and none is contained in the great collection of conciliar pronouncements. The only one professing to have issued from it is the Decretal we are discussing, which does not occur in any document, nor is there a known reference to it until the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century—that famous age of sophistications and forgeries.

And what are the contents of the document? Can they be matched anywhere? First, a kind of prologue neither laying down a new definition nor prescribing a new dogma, but consisting of a rhetorical outburst about the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit in Christ. Then follows the list of canonical books, which is again followed by an epilogue consisting of a mutilated fragment of the Preface to the Nicene Canons *à propos* of nothing and having no definite or logical tie or connexion with what goes before, but having a very definite meaning if the whole document was a concoction meant to enhance and magnify the primacy and dominance of the See of Rome.

As little can we understand why a council summoned at Rome in 382 should have gone out of its way to formulate a list of canonical books, and, if it had done so, that such a fact should not have been mentioned by Jerome or the Church historians and writers who wrote between the fourth and the ninth century.

In other cases where such a formulation certainly took place there were special reasons why a decision fixing the legitimate books should have been made. The same argument is used by Thiel in regard to the later Gelasian edition of the decree, where he says:—

‘Nulla enim ex huius pontificatu causa nota est, cur de spiritu Sancto, nulla cur de Canone scripturae sacrae synodally tractandum esset.’

It is also very strange and almost incredible that if Jerome, who was very probably present at the Council and was certainly at Rome, had ever heard of such a pronouncement he should nowhere have mentioned it, or that it should not have greatly qualified his own statements on the Bible Canon, for he posed as a most orthodox person and was especially devoted to the papal chair, but, on the other hand, should have so pertinaciously pressed the claims of another Canon altogether. Again, it is almost incredible that Nicholas the First, when writing of the Bible Canon to the archbishops and bishops of Gaul, should say:—

‘Sed responsuri sunt isti qui non ad obediendum potius quam ad resistendum sunt parati aientes, Quod inter Canones inveniatur Capitulum S. Papae Innocentii; cuius autoritate doceatur a nobis utrumque Testamentum esse recipiendum, quanquam in ipsis paternis Canonibus nullum eorum ex toto contineatur insertum.’

Why should Pope Nicholas on this occasion have thus quoted the decree of Innocent the First issued in A.D. 405, to which I shall presently refer, and completely ignore the earlier and more important pronouncement of Damasus if it had then existed?

It is equally remarkable that the writers of the ninth century who refer to the decree under the name of Gelasius should have entirely omitted any reference to the Damasine one which was professedly so much older, and therefore more important. On the other hand a sophisticator would not unnaturally use the name of Damasus, who was otherwise a well-known, if not notorious, personage, and would do it with more safety since the earliest collection of Latin conciliar canons and decretals, namely that of Dionysius Exiguus, begins with those of Siricius, the successor of Damasus. Why Dionysius should have begun at that particular date with the decretals of an obscure pope seems, in fact, best explained by the fact that he was probably the first pope who issued decretals. If Damasus had issued anything so important as the document we are discussing we can hardly doubt that Dionysius would have commenced his work at an earlier date and not left it to some later writer, probably some predecessor of the pseudo-Isidore, to fill up the earlier period with concoctions of his own.

I have devoted considerable space to the Edict of Damasus not only because of the weight of the authorities who have recently supported it, but because, if genuine, it furnishes the earliest official list of canonical books known to the Western Church. It will be remembered, however, by those who have discussed this question of the Canon, that it is only comparatively recently that a pronouncement on the subject has been attributed to Damasus. The list of canonical books for which his name has been recently cited was until lately assigned by virtually every writer to Popes Gelasius or Hormisdas, and the only reason for the change has been that in four out of many MSS, two only of which are early, which contain the list and which have the alleged decretal in a truncated form, his name, which was earlier than theirs, appears. We have seen how natural it was for the forger, if the document was forged, to use that pope's name for the purpose, since there was no means of verifying it or the reverse by an appeal to any early genuine work on decretals and canons. While the form of the decretal assigned

to Damasus occurs in two early MSS only, the enlarged form in which the name of either Gelasius or Hormisdas occurs is found in several MSS, some of them also early. It is again in this latter form that it was usually known and quoted in later times. Let us now turn to this later edition. In the first place it is a longer document than the one just described, which it in fact incorporates as it stands. All the arguments which can be urged in regard to the contents of the so-called Damasine part of the text when occurring by itself, apply to the same text when in its enlarged form, with this additional difficulty, that it is almost incredible that Pope Gelasius should have issued a solemn decretal 100 years after Pope Damasus, in the most important part of which he servilely follows the text of his predecessor without naming the earlier document, if it then existed. A large part of this later document is merely rhetorical and it does not in any way deal with the practical issues which were in dispute in the days of Gelasius.

It was after I had written this sentence that I found Thiel had used the same argument in the passage quoted *supra* with regard to Gelasius: 'Nulla enim ex huius pontificatu causa nota est, cur de spiritu Sancto, nulla cur de Canone scripturae sacrae synodaliter tractandum esset.'

Let us proceed, however. In the papacy of Hormisdas Dionysius Exiguus was commissioned to prepare a translation of conciliar canons from the Greek and to collect the series of the decretals of the Roman popes. The latter part of his work began in the time of Pope Siricius and extended to that of Anastasius the Second, the successor of Gelasius the First and the precursor of Hormisdas. This work of Dionysius is an authority of the very first rank and the only contemporary authority, in fact, which we possess on the subject. He was a very learned and capable person. He lived in the reigns of Justinian and Justin *and was therefore a contemporary of Gelasius, of whom he gives us several decretals, but he nowhere mentions any such document as the one we are discussing.* This is almost, if not quite, conclusive. Again, the document in its enlarged form, as attributed to Gelasius, is not mentioned in any independent document before the year 840, nor is it named by any of the professed ecclesiastical historians such as Gennadius, Ildefonsus, Isidore

Hispalensis, nor even by Sigebert of Gemblours, or Honorius of Autun, nor by authors dealing with the many and fierce controversies of those times, when it would have been most useful to be able to quote it.

The additional matter which is contained both in the Gelasian and in the Hormisdan editions consists of a long list of forbidden books, or books decreed to have no valid authority, and would, if genuine, constitute the first *index expurgatorius*.

Let us now turn to the contents of this so-called Gelasian decree. In the first place the decree in this form is attributed both to Pope Gelasius and also to Pope Hormisdas. But such documents are not repeated intact by different popes in their own names, and the attribution of this to two popes shews there was no real certainty as to its author.

Secondly, even in the case of those MSS which attribute the decree to Gelasius the heading is not the same in all, but varies.

The next thing to be remembered is that the question of the genuineness of the document we are discussing was raised as long ago as the seventeenth century in a very able and complete manner by an English scholar of high repute in a work not too familiar to modern English scholars, namely, by Bishop John Pearson, in his *Vindiciae Epistolarum S. Ignatii*; and it seems to me that his arguments and conclusions, in so far as they relate to the Gelasian document and its special feature, are conclusive.

Thus he shews that in a MS in Trinity College, Cambridge, once belonging to Lanfranc, in which we are told that he had had it brought from the monastery of Bec, 'de Beccensi Coenobio in Anglicam terram deferri fecit', 'the heading is 'Decreta Gelasii Papae de recipiendis et non recipiendis Libris, quae scripta sunt ab eo cum lxx eruditissimis Episcopis'. This same heading was in the MS referred to by Lupus Ferrariensis, 828-857, in the very first independent notice we have of the document, namely one of his epistles numbered 128, where he says:—

'Quoniam docet Gelasius cum lxx Episcopis viris eruditissimis qui scriptores essent vel non essent recipiendi' (J. Pearson *op. cit.* 45).

Other MSS of the decree add that the synod in question was held *Asterio et Praesidio Coss.* Thence Baronius in his annals derives the date which he assigns to a really supposititious synod,

i. e. A.D. 494. From Baronius it was taken over by Labbe in his great *corpus* on the Councils, and thence it has passed into many works in many tongues.

Pearson has shewn whence this last addition to the heading was derived and how it was transferred from a perfectly reputable source by a fraud.

Dionysius Exiguus mentions decrees of Gelasius and notably decrees issued in 494, at the end of which are the words 'Datum v. Idus Martiarum, Asterio et Praesidio VV. CC. Coss.', *but the particular decree we are discussing does not occur among them.* Well may Pearson say:—

'Quisquamne autem credet Dionysium, nominis Gelasiani adeo studiosum, inter decreta iis Consulibus edita, hoc tam celebre omittere voluisse, quo Gelasius depingitur, "distinguens separansque, quasi os Domini, mundum ab immundo, et secernens pretiosum a vili," ut loquitur Baronius? Praeterea res ipsa clamat eum titulum ex collectione Dionysii fuisse huic Decreto falso praefixum.'

It is plain, therefore, that there is no evidence of any kind save the statement of the decree itself that Gelasius ever held a synod at Rome in the year 494; while the fact that the heading to the alleged decree of this Council has been deliberately falsified makes it plain that the document itself is an untrustworthy one.

This conclusion has been ingeniously proved in another way by Pearson. Among the statements in the decree is the following: 'Item venerabilis viri Sedulii Paschale opus, quod heroicis descripsit versibus, insigni laude praeferimus.' This statement could not have been written in 494 when Asterius was consul, for we have copious evidence that the work in question was not published until after he had ceased to be consul, as appears from a note in Gennadius, which reads, 'Hoc opusculum non a Sedulio autore editum est, sed a Turcio Rufo Asterio V. C. exconsule ordinario atque patricio, qui id inter scripta Sedulii invenit'. This is confirmed by an epigram written by Asterius and quoted by Pearson (*op. cit.* 46).

It is plain, therefore, that the decree in question could not have been issued at any synod in 494 for the existence of which this sophisticated document is the only witness, and that the Roman synod of 494 ought clearly to be struck out of all conciliar lists.

Long ago Ussher and 'Binius' had noticed the impossibility of

dating the decree we are discussing in 494, and they therefore transferred its issue to the following year, the consulship of Victor, when a genuine synod was held at Rome, attended not by 70 but by 75 bishops ; but here again, as Pearson says, the position is untenable, since the Acts of that synod are extant and no such decree exists among them.

Gelasius died on the 8th of September 496, and, as Pearson says, 'Postremo Gelasii anno Synodus nulla, quantum novimus, coacta est' ; and he adds what seems unanswerable, 'ut a Synodo aliqua Gelasiana editum fuisse hoc Decretum plane incredibile sit'. This is not all: the contents of the decree are quite inconsistent with its having been issued under Gelasius. Thus, as Cave says:—

'Quis credat Gelasium, virum inter primos eruditum, lxx Episcoporum Concilio stipatum, Clementis Alex. quem totus venerabatur Orbis, Opera in Apocryphorum censum relegasse, et Africani, Arnobii, Lactantii, Commodiani scripta in eandem Classem retulisse? Quis credat, cui sanum sinciput, Papam, Patresque Synodales, in eodem decreto Eusebii Historiam Ecclesiasticam inter probatos autores recipere, et cum damnatis reiicere? Mitto Gelasium verum de Eusebio in Opere suo de duabus Naturis praeclare loqui' (Cave *Hist. Lit.*, sub voce Gelasius ; vide also Pearson *op. cit.* 48).

Again, in the decree we read 'Liber qui appellatur Canones Apostolorum, Apocryphus', a statement most inconsistent with its Gelasian origin. If the statement had been his, how comes it that Dionysius Exiguus, who so greatly admired Gelasius, should shortly after this have translated three Apostolical Canons from Greek into Latin and in the preface to them have said:—

'Quibus quia plurimi consensum non praebuere facilem, hoc ipsum vestram noluimus ignorare sanctitatem : quamvis postea quaedam Constituta Pontificum ex ipsis Canonibus adsumpta esse videantur' ?

How could he have spoken thus if only a few years before the Roman Pontiff in Council had numbered these Canons among the writings which 'Catholicis vitanda sunt et quae nullatenus recipit Catholica et Apostolica Romana Ecclesia...'? 'Certe,' continues Pearson, 'Dionysius Translatione sua efficere nunquam potuisset ut hi Canones ab Ecclesia Romana reciperentur, si ab ipso Gelasio fuissent nuperrime reiecti'.

Cassiodorus *Divin. lec.* cap. 23 is a witness to the high esti-

mation in which the Apostolical Canons were then held in the Church. He says of them, 'quos hodie usu celeberrimo Ecclesia Romana complectitur'. This is again shewn, as Pearson says, by the letter written to Caesarius of Arles by Pope John the Second, in which he quotes the 25th chapter of the Apostolical Canons as authoritative. He further adds, 'Fuerunt igitur tempore Ioannis 2. Pontificis et Cassiodori, Canones Apostolici in Romana Ecclesia receptissimi; quod fieri potuisse nemo concedet, si vel a Gelasio, vel Hormisda fuissent tam publice reiecti'. He further quotes several passages from these Canons used by Gelasius as authorities in his epistolary decretals (vide 50 and 51).¹

Again, we read in the decree, 'Scriptura de inventione Dominicae crucis, et alia Scriptura de inventione capitis B. Ioannis Baptistae novellae quidem relationes sunt, et nonnulli eas Catholici legunt'; but, as Pearson says, this document did not exist in the time of Gelasius. There is a small work falsely attributed to St Cyprian, entitled *De revelatione capitis Ioannis Baptistae*, which Baronius identified with the document referred to in the decree. This tract, however, was certainly written after the time of Count Marcellinus, who is mentioned in it, and the Chronicle of Marcellinus was written in 534, where it ends, which was long after the death of Gelasius. Dionysius also translated a memoir on the same subject by Marcellus the Archimandrite, but this he wrote after the death of Gelasius (Pearson *op. cit.* 54).

That the decree, as we have it, cannot have been written till long after the time of Gelasius appears from another factor in it. Thus, after mentioning four great general councils, the author of the decree goes on to refer to subsequent councils in the words:—

'Sed et si qua sunt Concilia a SS. Patribus hactenus instituta, post illorum quatuor auctoritatem et custodienda et recipienda decrevimus.'

Pearson adds:—

'Aetate Gelasii nullum post Chalcedonense concilium celebratum est quod in numero Generalium poni potuit. Autor igitur huius Decreti

¹ It would seem that the so-called Gelasian decree which Hincmar had before him did not contain the above passage about the Apostolical Canons, for we read in his *Opusc.* ch. 24: 'Sed et Beatus Gelasius in Catalogo qui libri ab Ecclesia recipiantur, de his apostolorum canonibus penitus tacuit sed nec inter apocrypha eos misit.' Nor does Gratian, when reporting the names of those who rejected the Apostolical Canons as apocryphal, mention Gelasius.

omnino post Concilium quintum, sive Constantinopolarum secundum scripsit. De illo diu dubitanter locuti sunt Latini, nec parvis cum quatuor auctoritatis esse voluerunt. Gregorius I: "De illa tamen Synodo, quae Constantinopoli postmodum facta est, quae a multis Quinta nominatur, scire vos volo." A multis aevo Gregorii, non ab omnibus Quinta dicebatur, et cum idem Gregorius de Synodi Chalcedonensis auctoritate dixisset, de quinta haec statim addidit. Nam Synodus quae post eam generaliter facta est, idcirco a nobis recipitur quia eiusdem Synodi in omnibus sequens tenorem illius auctoritatem custodit. Isidorus l. 6 Etymol. c. 16: "Hae sunt quatuor Synodi Principales, fidei doctrinam plenissime praedicantes. Sed et si quae sunt Concilia quae SS. Patres Spiritu Dei pleni sanxerunt post illorum quatuor auctoritatem omni manent stabilita vigore." Quis non videt haec eadem quasi mente scribi, qua illa in Decreto Gelasiano scribebantur? Nec haec igitur nec illa ante Quintam Synodum scriptum fuisse putandum est. Cassiodorus qui post Gelasium, ante vel circa Synodum Quintam scripsit, Quatuor tantum nominavit, de posterioribus nihil omnino addidit' (*op. cit.* 53 and 54).

Of these several passages Pearson says:—

'Quae verba nec Concilio, nec Pontifici Romano satis conveniunt; et res aliter omnino se habet. A nemine enim magis dissentit quam ab Hieronymo. Libros omnes Veteris Testamenti, qui non in Hebraeorum Canonem habebantur, ad Apocrypha rotunde relegavit Hieronymus; eosdem in Decreto pariter cum Canonicis Sancta et Catholica suscipit et honorat Ecclesia. . . . In Decreto omnia quae apocrypha appellantur, tanquam a Catholicis vitanda, et ab Ecclesia eliminanda damnantur. Hoc sensu inter apocrypha numerantur Opuscula Tertulliani, Novati, Arnobii, Apollinarii. Aliter plane Hieronymus Epist. 76. "Ego Originem propter eruditionem sic interdum legendum, quomodo Tertullianum, Novatum, Arnobium, Apollinarium, et nonnullos Ecclesiasticos scriptores Graecos pariter et Latinos, ut bona eorum colligamus vitemusque contraria, iuxta Apostolum dicentem . . ." . . . Pessimo sensu in Decreto legimus: "Liber qui appellatus Pastoris, apocryphus"; quem apud quasdam Graeciae Ecclesias etiam publice legi testatus est, et "revera utilem librum" pronuntiavit Hieronymus', etc. (*op. cit.* 54 f).

The decree again speaks of the Evangelist Mark, saying that he 'gloriosum consummasse Martyrium', but this is not mentioned by Eusebius or Jerome, nor yet by Isidore Hispalensis, and was doubtless taken from a *Vita S. Marci* written between the time of Isidore and that of Bede, and therefore after the time of Gelasius.

Lastly, the incongruity between the decree and the opinions

and writings of the popes at this time is shewn perhaps most of all in the passages in which Jerome is so much exalted and Rufinus correspondingly depreciated. They run as follows:—

‘Rufinus vir religiosissimus plurimos ecclesiastici operis edidit libros : nonnullas etiam Scripturas interpretatus est. Sed quoniam venerabilis Hieronymus cum in aliquibus de arbitrii libertate notavit ; illa sentimus, quae praedictum beatum Hieronymum sentire cognoscimus ; et non solum de Rufino, sed etiam de universis quos sis saepius memoratus zelo Dei, et fidei religione reprehendit. Item Originis nonnulla opuscula, quae vir beatissimus Hieronymus non repudiat, legenda suscepimus : reliqua autem omnia cum auctore suo dicimus renuenda.’

It is perfectly plain, therefore, from its contents that the decree we are discussing was written after the time of Gelasius. It was probably because some scribe who wrote it out could not find such a document among those cited by Dionysius that he altered the name of Gelasius to Hormisdas, the documents of whose papacy were not recorded by Dionysius. The reign of Hormisdas would be, however, equally inconsistent with the consulship of Asterius, nor are the contents of the document consistent with his papacy any more than they are with that of Gelasius.

The case made out against the genuineness of the decree in all its forms by Pearson and Cave seems to me to be unanswerable. Thiel, who knew of Pearson’s work, nowhere attempts to answer his arguments and merely questions its having been concocted by the pseudo-Isidore, considering that it was composed earlier than the middle of the ninth century, which may well be, since we have ample evidence that such forgeries were issued as far back at least as the time of Charles the Great. Until some one has resuscitated the credit of this document, therefore, which seems virtually impossible, we must treat the lists of canonical books passing under the names of Damasus, Gelasius, and Hormisdas, as late sophistications made four centuries after their professed date, and therefore of no service in tracing the history of the Western Canon.

Let us now revert to our story.

The conclusion that the so-called Decretal of Damasus is not genuine affects materially the earlier position of St Jerome in regard to the Bible Canon as it has generally been stated. If no such pronouncement was made on the subject by his patron,

Pope Damasus, at the time when he was living in Rome and acting as his secretary and engaged in translating the Psalms and Gospels, it is plain that he had nothing to do with any Bible Canon issued in 382, and, so far as the evidence is available, had no part at any time in supporting a Bible Canon other than that which he supported in later times.

That he did so change his view, as the facts as previously interpreted seemed to shew conclusively and as, with others, I supposed, was a fact otherwise very hard to understand, since it implied that one of the most orthodox of men adopted heretical views in regard to the most important of all dogmatic matters, namely, the legitimate contents of the Bible, and did so immediately after a solemn pronouncement had been made in a synod at which he was probably present and one presided over by a pope whom he greatly regarded, by whom he was especially patronized, and who adopted two of his new translations, those of the Psalms and Gospels, as the official texts patronized by the Roman See.

It is still more wonderful that Jerome should have done this so soon after the alleged synod, since it would seem now (*supra* vol. xi p. 332) that both in regard to his translation of the Old Testament from the Greek and Hebrew he adopted the shorter Canon, and not that of the Damasine list,¹ just as his early friend and companion Rufinus had always done up to that time, and as we know he did in a work dated before 382. It would seem, therefore, that both Jerome and Rufinus in their earlier days when they were both devoted followers of Origen, like Hilary of Poitiers, followed the footsteps of Origen in a large measure about the Canon, as they did on other matters.

With the cancelling of the claims of the so-called Damasine decretal to be a genuine document we revert again to the view, not long ago everywhere prevalent, that the first official pronouncement of the Latin Church on the question of the Canon was not made at Rome, but in Africa, in the Synods of Hippo and Carthage held in 393 and 397. It is not improbable that this pronouncement was induced by the widespread views promulgated

¹ In addition to the arguments used in the previous paper I would add the fact that if Jerome ever adopted this longer Canon in his translation from the Greek he would not have gone to the Old Latin for the fragments of that Canon which he inserted in his Hebrew translation of Daniel and Esther, but to his own translation.

north of the Mediterranean by Hilary, Jerome, and Rufinus, in favour of Origen's ambiguous teaching on the subject, and that these views led to the iteration of the pronouncement at two successive synods a very short time apart on what must have been deemed a burning question.

The first distinctly Roman pronouncement on the subject was contained in the letter of Pope Innocent to Bishop Exuperius of Toulouse. Exuperius was a friend of Jerome who dedicated his commentary on Zechariah to him. He was apparently troubled in regard to Jerome's views and theories about the Canon and wrote for instruction to the Pope. The Pope's letter in reply was dated February 405, and is very important as formulating the Canon recognized by the Metropolitan Church.

It reads as follows:—

'Qui libri recipiantur in Can. S. Scrip. brevis annexus ostendit.

Moyses libri 5, Ies. N., Iud., Regu. 4, simul et Ruth, Proph. libri 16, Salomonis libri 5, Psalt. Item historiarum Job, Tob., Esther, Iudith, Maccab. 2, Esdrae 2, Paral. 2.

N. T. Evang. iv, Ep. Pauli 14, Ioan. 3, Petri 2, Iudae 1, Iac. 1, Actus Ap., Apoc. Ioannis.

Cetera autem quae vel sub nomine Matthiae, sive Iacobi Minoris, vel sub nomine Petri et Ioannis, quae a quodam Leucio scripta sunt, vel sub nomine Andreae quae a Xenocharide et Leonida Philosophis; vel sub nomine Thomae, et si qua sunt alia, non solum repudianda, verum etiam noveris esse damnanda.'

It will be noted that a phrase in the life of Exuperius in Smith's *Dictionary of Biography* in reference to this list is misleading. It says that the list in question gives the scriptural books as they are now received, *excluding the Apocrypha*, which to most people would mean the Apocrypha in our Bibles, whereas they are duly contained in it without any sign of inferiority.

H. H. HOWORTH.

DOCUMENTS

TYCONIUS'S TEXT OF THE APOCALYPSE: A
PARTIAL RESTORATION.

It is well known that in the Apocalypse we are without the evidence of the Greek uncial B, which is so valuable elsewhere. The Apocalypse text in most documents appears also to have suffered greatly from assimilation of parallel passages to one another, from the removal of grammatical irregularities, &c. No classification of documents was attempted by Westcott and Hort, and that of Bousset in the second edition of his admirable commentary has not commanded universal assent. This at least is certain, that in the case of this book the versions have an importance greater than in that of any other book of the New Testament, and of these versions the Latin are quite the most important.

Among the Latin authorities the only complete texts known are the old African text, preserved in the commentary of Primasius, and the Vulgate. There is, however, another old African text, somewhat different in character from that of Primasius, which can be reconstructed, at least in part. Professor Burkitt in his invaluable article 'Text and Versions' in the *Encyclopedia Biblica* has pointed out that the text of Tyconius the Donatist, who flourished about 370, has to be recovered from the commentaries of Primasius, Beatus, and other sources. We are still without satisfactory editions of Primasius and Beatus. It is a pity that Dr Haussleiter did not edit the commentary of Primasius as well as the chief text commented on in it. The hopes cherished that Dom Ramsay would give us an edition of Beatus seem doomed to disappointment, as other duties claim all his time. Among the other sources are a MS of Monte Cassino edited in the *Bibliotheca Casinensis* and the Pseudo-Augustinian *Homilies* on the Apocalypse. It is with the last only that I am here concerned.

The Pseudo-Augustinian *Homilies* on the Apocalypse are printed at the end of the third volume of the Benedictine edition of St Augustine, and at the end of tome xxxv of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*. The collection, as Dom Morin long ago told me, is the work of the indefatigable bishop and preacher, Caesarius of Arles. Just as elsewhere he uses Augustine to such an extent that in MSS most of his sermons bear Augustine's name, so here the homilies bear the name of Augustine. But internal evidence shews that they consist almost entirely of extracts from the commentary of one whom Augustine held in high regard,

Tyconius the Donatist. The printed text is very unsatisfactory, being vitiated as well by ordinary corruption as by numerous interpolations from the commentary of the Italian Benedictine Ambrosius Ansbertus of the eighth century. I have therefore gone to the MSS. Those used by me are three, all of which I have collated completely for the quotations from the Apocalypse, and I have ignored the printed text, as it is nearly always of obvious inferiority. The MSS are:—

British Museum, Egerton 874 (saec. ix), formerly of St Augustine's, Canterbury. A gap which occurs in the text is partially filled up by a hymn to St Augustine of Canterbury, accompanied by musical notation, and a portrait of the saint himself. Whether the hymn and the portrait are known or not, I have no leisure to enquire. In any case, the musical notation is amongst the earliest known.¹

Bodleian Library, Hatton 30 (saec. x med.), formerly of Glastonbury Abbey, a book made to the order of St Dunstan himself, as an inscription at the end shews.

Cambridge, St John's College, H. 6 (saec. xii–xiii), in an English hand, in which the work is attributed to Gennadius, presbyter of Marseilles, an ascription which is curiously in accord with Caesarius's locality, but is alien to the textual tradition of the family to which the manuscript belongs.

Dom Germain Morin called my attention to the first and second MSS. The third has been the subject of a note by Dr M. R. James.² MSS are probably numerous: I have noted a fourth at Munich, Clm. 14469 (saec. ix), and I believe there is another at Leiden.

The three MSS I have collated all belong to one family. In proof of this one need only cite the fact that they all suffer from the same lacuna, *ligauit eum—exercitus qui sunt* (Migne *P. L.* xxxv col. 2445, lines 36 to 58). This lacuna is evidently due, not to the loss of leaves in the archetype, but to their becoming accidentally illegible through the upsetting of an ink-bottle or in some other way.³ The proof of this is that in the Canterbury and Glastonbury MSS a space has been left to receive the illegible part, but has remained without it, as no other copy turned up. In the much later MS of St John's College the text runs on continuously, and there is no sign of a gap except the break in the sense. A second proof of common relationship lies in the corruption *inmittunt* for *inuicem mittunt* (Apoc. xi 10) found in all three.

Despite the lacuna the text offered by our MSS is exceedingly good.

¹ Cf. Mr H. M. Bannister's forthcoming palmary work *Palaeografia Musicale Vaticana*, which I have been privileged, by the author's kindness, to see in proof.

² *Classical Review* vol. iii p. 222.

³ Compare the notorious case of the Bodleian Epictetus (J. L. G. Mowat in the *Journal of Philology* vol. vii (1877) pp. 60–63).

It is not at all improbable that the archetype of these MSS was almost coeval with Caesarius himself. A perfect text of all the homilies will doubtless be provided by Dom Morin in his Vienna edition of Caesarius, and as complete a restoration of Tyconius's text as can be got from all sources combined may be expected from Dr Prinz's Vienna edition of Tyconius. I am not of course in the least attempting to forestall the work of either of these scholars. I am concerned merely with one *testis* to the Apocalypse text of Tyconius. It seems worth while to print this now, with certain accessory data. I have to thank the Trustees of the Revision Surplus Fund at Oxford for a grant towards my expenses in visiting London and Cambridge.

The proper way to study Old-Latin texts is in relation to the Vulgate. Their interest lies in their divergence from the Vulgate. Our first step, then, clearly is to fix the text of the Vulgate. As this has not yet been done with absolute certainty, I have adopted the obviously convenient plan of noting the divergences from Mr H. J. White's *editio minor* (Clarendon Press and British and Foreign Bible Society, 1912). Differences consisting merely in changes of order are represented by italics: more serious differences are thrown into relief by the use of clarendon type and the double caret. A study of these, on the basis of Dr Sanday's study of *k* in *Old-Latin Biblical Texts II* and of Prof. Burkitt's edition of the *Rules of Tyconius*, makes it perfectly clear that it is an African text we are dealing with. The relation between this text and that of Primasius it would be premature to discuss. All such questions are better reserved till the publication of Dr Prinz's edition.

The Africanism comes out in such instances as *magistratus* (vi 15) and *laedo* (vii 2, 3, xi 5, xviii 4)¹; *claritas* (v 13, xi 13, xviii 1, xix 1), *thronus* (ii 13, iv 2, 4, 6 *bis*, 10, &c.),² *pressura* (ii 10), *expello* (xii 9), *excludo* (xii 10), *quoniam* (xii 10, 12, &c.), *torcular* (xiv 19, 20 *bis*), *clarifico* (xviii 7), *sermo* (xix 13, xxi 5, xxii 18, 19), *indignatio* (= θυμός) (xix 15), *compositus* (xxi 2). A precious example is *indeliciare* found with *se* in xviii 7, elsewhere only in Cyprian's citation of 1 Tim. v 11 as a deponent (= κατασπηνιάζειν), and absent from all the Latin dictionaries. On the other hand *infernus* (vi 8, xx 13, 14) 'is confined to European texts'.³ There can be no doubt that we have below in a state of great purity portions of a later African text of the Apocalypse, comparable to those which Tyconius used for other parts of the Bible. That it is Tyconian is confirmed by an inspection of the passages which Primasius cites from Tyconius's version (cf. Haussleiter *Die lateinische Apokalypse der alten afrikanischen Kirche* p. xiii). The texts used by Tyconius are

¹ Burkitt *Rules of Tyconius* p. lxxxix.

² *sedes* much rarer (iv 4, 5).

³ Burkitt *op. cit.* p. lxxxiv.

late African, and are therefore to be classed with *c* of the Gospels, and the texts used by the Latin Irenaeus and by Augustine.

Some of the clauses are presented in duplicate or even in triplicate. This means that they are two or three times quoted in the *Homilies*, as the case may be, and I do not wish to prejudge which is the real Tyconian text. It may be also that I have included some clauses which are really only paraphrases of the text. Occasionally perhaps it is the Vulgate, as known to Caesarius, that we have. It is better, however, to include everything at this stage, and leave to others the duty of sifting.

[TEXT]

- (i 1) Apocalipsis Iesu Christi, quam dedit illi deus palam facere
seruis suis
Quae oportet fieri cito significans
Seruo suo Iohanni
- (4) **Scribens haec** septem ecclesiis quae sunt in Asia
Gratia uobis et pax **multiplicetur a deo patre** (5) **et a filio hominis**
Testis fidelis
- (8) **Et** ego sum A et Ω
- (13) In medio ♠ candelabrorum **similis** filio hominis
♠ Cinctum **inter** mamillas zona ♠ aurea ♠
- (14) Caput eius et capilli ♠ **sicut** lana alba **aut** ♠ nix
Oculi **ipsius** uelut flamma ignis
- (15) Et pedes eius similes **aurichalco Libani ignitos uelut in fornace ignis**
Uox **eius** tamquam uocem aquarum multarum
- (16) Habebat in dextera sua stellas septem
Gladium uero bis acutum de ore **ipsius pendentem**
Facies eius sicut sol lucet in uirtute sua
- (18) Habeo claues mortis et inferni
- (ii 1) Haec dicit qui tenet septem stellas in **manu** sua
Qui ambulat in medio ♠ candelabrorum aureorum
- (5) Mouebo candelabrum ♠ de loco suo **si non egerit paenitentiam**
- (7) Uincenti dabo ♠ **manducare** de ligno uitae
Quod est in paradiso dei mei
- (9) Scio **opera tua et** tribulationem ♠ et paupertatem ♠ sed diues es
- (10) Habebitis **pressuram decem dies**
- (13) Scio ubi habitas ubi **thronus** est satanae
- (16) Et pugnabo cum **eis** ♠ gladio oris mei
- (17) Uincenti dabo ♠ **manducare de** manna abscondito
Et dabo ei calculum

- (ii 17) Et **super** calculum nomen nouum scriptum
Quod nemo scit nisi qui accipit
- (20) Habeo aduersum te quia permisisti mulieri Iezabel
Quae dicit se prophetem
- (24) **Nec** cognouistis altitudinem satanae
Non mitto super uos aliud pondus
- (25) **Uerum** ꝯ quod habetis tenete donec ueniam (26) ꝯ qui uiuoit
et qui **seruat opera mea usque in finem** dabo ei ꝯ gentes (27) et
pascet eas in uirga ferrea et ut uas figuli **comminuentur**
(28) sicut et ego accepi a patre meo
Stellam matutinam
- (iii 1) **Noui** opera tua quia nomen habes quod uiuas et mortuus es
- (2) Esto uigilans et confirma ꝯ quae moritura erant (7) haec dicit
sanctus et uerus qui habet clauem David
Qui aperit et nemo claudit claudit et nemo aperit
- (8) Ecce dedi **ante** te ostium apertum
Quia modicam habes uirtutem
- (12) Et scribam super **illud** nomen dei mei
Et nomen ciuitatis dei mei nouae Hierusalem quae descendit de
caelo
- (16) **Neque** frigidus neque **feruens es**
- (18) { **Consule** tibi : **eme** a me aurum **conflatum**
Consilium autem do ꝯ **ut emas tibi** aurum
Et collyrio inunge oculos tuos
- (iv 1) Ecce ostium apertum **est** in caelo
Ascende huc et ostendam tibi
- (2) Et ecce **thronus** positus erat in caelo
- (3) Et qui sedebat similis erat aspectui lapidis iaspidis et **sardi**
- (4) In circuitu **throne uidi sedes** uiginti quattuor
[omission by homoeoteleuton] seniores sedentes
- (5) Et de **sede** procedunt fulgura et uoces
- (6) In conspectu **throne** ꝯ mare uitreum
Et in medio **throne** ꝯ quattuor animalia
Plena oculis **in priora** et retro
- (8) Et ꝯ singula eorum habebant alas senas **per circuitum**
Et requiem non habebant
- (10) **Mittentes** coronas suas ante thronum
- (11) Quia tu creasti omnia et **ex** uoluntate tua erant et creata sunt
- (v 1) Et uidi **supra** dexteram sedentis **in** throno librum scriptum intus
et foris
Signatum sigillis septem
- (2) Et uidi angelum fortem **clamantem** uoce magna : Quis *dignus est*
aperire librum et soluere signacula eius ?

- (v 3) Et nemo poterat **neque** in caelo neque in terra neque **sub** terra.
 Aperire librum neque **uidere** illum
- (4) Et ego fiebam multum **quia** nemo dignus *est inuentus* aperire librum **et** uidere eum
- (5) Et **ecce** unus **ex** senioribus
 Leo de tribu Iuda
- (6) Et uidi et ecce ♠ throni et quattuor animalia et in medio seniorum agnum stantem **quasi** occisum
 Habentem cornua septem et oculos septem qui sunt **septem** spiritus dei missi in omnem terram
- (7) Et uenit et accepit de dextera sedentis **super thronum librum**
- (8) Habentes singuli citharas
 Et fialas aureas
- (9) Et cantabant **quasi** canticum nouum
- (11) Et uidi et audiui uocem angelorum multorum
- (12) Dignus est agnus qui occisus est accipere **diuitias et potestatem** et sapientiam ♠
- (13) Omnes audiui dicentes sedenti in throno
 Et agno
 Benedictio et honor et **claritas** ♠ in saecula ♠
- (vi 2) Ecce equus albus et qui sedebat super **eum** habens arcum et data est ei corona et exiit uincens
- (3) Et cum aperuisset sigillum secundum audiui secundum animal dicens: Ueni **et uide** (4) et exiuit ♠ equus rufus et ♠ sedenti super **eum** datum est ♠ **tollere** pacem de terra et ut inuicem ♠ **occiderent** et datus est **ei** gladius magnus
- (5) **Libram habebat** in manu ♠
- (6) Uinum et oleum ne laeseris
- (8) Equus pallidus et qui sedebat **super eum** nomen **ei erat** mors et **infernus** sequebatur eum et data est **ei** potestas super **quartam partem** terrae interficere gladio fame et morte et bestiis terrae
- (9) Et cum aperuisset *sigillum quintum* uidi **sub ara dei** animas interfectorum
- (12) Et ♠ cum aperuisset *sextum sigillum* ♠ terrae motus factus est magnus
 Et sol factus est niger **sicut** saccus cilicinus et luna tota facta est sicut sanguis (13) et stellae ♠ ceciderunt **in** terram
 Sicut ficus **agitata** mittit grossos suos cum **a** uento ♠ **fuerit**
- (13) { **agitata**
 Sicut ficus **uento magno agitata** mittit grossos suos
- (14) Et caelum recessit **ut** liber inuolutus
 Et omnis mons et insulae de locis suis motae sunt

- (vi 15) { Reges terrae ♠ **fugerunt et absconderunt se in speluncis terrae**
 { Et reges terrae et **magistratus**
 { Abscenderunt se in speluncis et petris montium
- (16) Et dicunt ♠ cadite
 Et abscondite nos
- (vii 2) Et uidi **alium** angelum ascendentem ab ortu solis
 Et clamauit uoce magna quattuor angelis quibus **data est potestas**
laedere terram et mare ♠ : (3) **Ne laeseritis** terram neque
 mare
Donec signemus seruos dei ♠ in frontibus eorum
- (4) Et audiui numerum signatorum centum quadraginta quattuor
 milia signati ex omni tribu filiorum Israhel
- (9) Postea uidi **et ecce populus multus** quem **numerare** nemo
 poterat ex omnibus gentibus et tribubus et populis et linguis
 Amicti stolis albis
- (11) Et omnes angeli stabant in circuitu throni
- (13) Et respondit **mihi** unus de senioribus dicens ♠ : **Isti** qui amicti
 sunt stolis albis qui sunt
Isti et unde uenerunt?
- (14) Hi sunt qui uenerunt **ex magna tribulatione** et lauerunt stolas
 suas ♠ in sanguine agni
- (15) Et qui sedet in throno habitat super **eos**
- (16) **Neque** cadit super **eos** sol neque ♠ aestus
- (17) Et deducet eos ad uitae fontes aquarum
- (viii 1) ♠ Cum aperuisset sigillum septimum factum est **silentium** in
 caelo
 Quasi media hora
- (2) Et uidi septem angelos **qui stant** in conspectu dei
Qui acceperunt septem tubas
- (3) Et alius angelus uenit et stetit ante altare
 Habens turibulum aureum
- (5) Et accepit angelus turibulum et impleuit illud **ex igni altaris**
 Et factae **sunt uoces et tonitrua** et fulgura et terrae motus
- (6) Et septem angeli qui habebant septem tubas **prae**parauerunt se
 ut ♠ canerent
- (7) Et primus angelus tuba cecinit et facta est grando ♠ ignis mixtus
 in sanguine
 Et missa est in terram et tertia pars terrae conbusta est et tertia
 pars arborum ♠ et omne foenum uiride conbustum est
- (8) Et secundus angelus tuba cecinit et uelut mons magnus **ardens**
igni missus est in mare et facta est tertia pars maris sanguis
- (9) **Habentium** animas
 Et tertiam partem **nauium corruperunt**

- (viii 10) Et tertius angelus tuba cecinit et cecidit de caelo stella magna ardens **uelut** facula
- (11) Et nomen **huius** stellae dicitur absintium
Et multi hominum mortui sunt **ab** aquis **quoniam amari-**
cauerunt aquae
- (12) Et quartus angelus tuba cecinit et percussa est tertia pars solis et tertia pars lunae et tertia pars stellarum
- (13) Et uidi et audiui uocem unius aquilae uolantis **in** medio caeli **et** dicentem ♫ uae uae uae habitantibus ♫ **terram**
- (ix 1) { Et data est [ei] clauis [putei] abyssi
{ Et **accepit** clauem putei abyssi
- (2) Et aperuit puteum abyssi
Et ascendit fumus **de** puteo
Et obscuratus est sol et aer de fumo putei
Sicut fornacis magnae (3) **ex** fumo **putei** exierunt lucustae in terram et data est **eis** potestas sicut habent potestatem scorpii terrae
- (4) Et praeceptum est illis ne laederent foenum terrae neque ♫ omnem arborem nisi ♫ homines ♫ (5) et datum est **eis** ne occiderent eos
Sed ut cruciarent ♫ et cruciatus eorum **sicut** cruciatus scorpii cum percutit hominem
- (6) Et ♫ quaerent homines mortem
- (7) Et super capita earum tamquam coronae similes auro
- (8) Et habebant capillos sicut capillos mulierum
- (10) Et habebant caudas similes scorpiis et aculei in caudis earum
- (11) { **Habentes** super se regem [angelum] abyssi
{ **Habentem**
Cui nomen hebraice Abaddon graece autem Apolion ♫ latine ♫ **Perdens** (12) uae unum abiit **et** ecce uenient ♫ duo uae (13) **et post haec** sextus angelus tuba cecinit
Et audiui ♫ unum ex **quattuor** cornibus altaris aurei quod est **in conspectu** dei (14) dicentem sexto angelo qui habebat tubam solue quattuor angelos qui alligati sunt in flumine [magno] **Eufraten**
- (15) Et soluti sunt quattuor angeli
♫ Parati ♫ in horam et diem et mensem et annum ut occiderent tertiam partem hominum
- (16) Et numerus ♫ exercituum **bestiae myriadis myriadum** audiui numerum eorum
- (17) Et ♫ uidi equos in uisione et qui sedebant super eos habebant luricas igneas et hyacinthinas et sulfureas
Et capita equorum erant **sicut** ♫ leonum

- (xi 11) **uidentes** eos (12) et audiui *de caelo uocem magnam* dicentem ♫
ascende huc et ascenderunt in caelum in nube
- (13) ♫ in illa hora factus est terrae motus **grandis**
Et decima pars ciuitatis cecidit et occisa sunt in terrae motu
nomina **uirorum** septem milia
Et **ceteri timuerunt** et dederunt **claritatem** deo ♫
- (19) Et apertum est templum dei in caelo
Et uisa est arca testamenti ♫ in templo eius
Et facta sunt fulgura et **tonitrua** et terrae motus ♫
- (xii 1) Et signum magnum **uisum est** in caelo mulier amicta sole et
luna sub pedibus eius
Et in capite eius corona stellarum duodecim
- (3) Draco magnus rufus
Habens capita VII et cornua X
- (4) Et cauda eius trahebat tertiam partem stellarum caeli et misit eas
in terram
Et draco stetit ante mulierem quae erat paritura ut cum peperisset
filium eius deuoraret
- (5) Et **genuit mulier** ♫ masculum
- (6) Et mulier fugit in **heremum**
- (7) Et factum est **bellum** in caelo
Michahel et angeli eius **pugnabant** cum dracone
Et draco **pugnauit** et angeli eius
- (8) Et non ualuerunt neque locus *eorum inuentus est* amplius in caelo
- (9) Et **expulsus** est draco ♫ magnus **anguis** antiquus qui **dicitur**
diabolus et satanas ♫ et angeli eius cum eo ♫
- (10) Et audiui uocem magnam **de** caelo dicentem **modo** facta est
salus et uirtus et regnum dei nostri ♫
Quoniam exclusus est accusator fratrum nostrorum qui **accusat**
et reliqua
- (12) Uae **tibi terra** et mare
Quia descendit *ad uos diabolus* habens iram magnam sciens
quoniam breue tempus habet
- (14) Et datae sunt mulieri duae alae aquilae magnae ut uolaret in
desertum ♫ locum suum ubi alitur per tempus et tempora et
dimidium temporis a facie serpentis
- (15) Et misit serpens ex ore suo post mulierem aquam **uelut** flumen
- (16) Et adiuuit terra mulierem et aperuit ♫ os suum et absorbit
flumen
- (17) Et iratus est draco in mulierem et abiit facere **bellum** cum
reliquis de semine eius
- (18) Et stetit super harenam maris
- (xiii 1) Et uidi *ascendentem bestiam de mari*

- (xiii 2) Et **bestiam** quam uidi similis erat pardo et pedes ♀ sicut ursi et os eius sicut os leonis
Et dedit **ei** draco uirtutem suam
- (3) Et **uidi** unum **ex** capitibus **eius** quasi occisum in morte et plaga mortis eius curata est
Et **mirata** est **omnis** terra **secuta** bestiam (4) et adorauerunt draconem **quoniam** dedit potestatem bestiae
Et adorauerunt bestiam dicentes quis similis bestiae **aut** quis poterit pugnare cum ea
- (5) Et data est **ei** potestas facere menses XLII
- (6) **Deinde** aperuit os suum in blasphemiam ad deum
Et **in** tabernaculo eius ♀ qui in caelo habitant
- (7) Et datum est **ei** bellum facere ♀ et uincere **eos**
Et data est ei potestas **super** omnem tribum ♀ et linguam (8) et adorabunt ♀ omnes **habitantes** terram
Quorum non **est** scriptum nomen in libro uitae agni **signati** ab origine mundi
- (11) Et uidi aliam ♀ ascendentem de terra
Et habebat cornua duo similia agno
Et loquebatur **ut** draco
- (12) Et facit terram et **eos** qui *in ea sunt* ut adorent bestiam **priorem** cuius curata est plaga mortis **eius** (13) et **faciet** signa magna ut ♀ ignem **faciat** de caelo descendere
- (15-16) **Si** qui non adorauerunt **bestiam** nec imaginem **eius** neque **acceperunt** **inscriptionem** *in fronte ♀ aut in manu sua*
- (16) **Ut** dent eis **notam** *super manum eorum dexteram* aut **super** *frontem eorum*
- (17) **Sic ergo facient** **ut** **nemo** possit **mercari** ♀ nisi qui habuerint **notam** **aut** **nomen** bestiae aut numerum nominis eius (18) hic sapientiae est qui habet intellectum computet numerum bestiae numerus enim hominis est
Numerus eius est DCXC
- (xiv 1) Et uidi et ecce agnus stans **in** monte Sion et cum **eo** CXLIII milia habentia nomen eius et nomen patris eius scriptum in frontibus suis
- (2) Et audiui uocem de caelo **sicut** ♀ aquarum multarum
Et **sicut** ♀ tonitruum magnum et uocem quam audiui sicut citharoedorum citharizantium in citharis suis *et reliqua*
- (4) Hi sunt qui cum mulieribus non **se** coinquinauerunt
Hi sunt qui secuntur agnum quocumque **ierit**
- (5) Et in ore ipsorum non est inuentum mendacium
- (6) Et uidi **alium** ♀ uolantem **in** medio caeli
Habentem euangelium aeternum ut euangelizaret **habitantibus** **in** terram ♀ (7) dicens ♀ timete **dominum** *et reliqua*

- (xiv 8) Et alius angelus secutus est
 Dicens cecidit cecidit Babylon illa magna
 Quae a uino irae fornicationis suae **potauit** omnes gentes
- (14) Et uidi et ecce nubem **albam** et **supersedentem** ♫ **filium**
 hominis
 Habens in capite suo coronam auream
 Et in manu sua **habens** falcem acutam
- (15) Aruit messis terrae
- (19) Et misit in **torculari** irae dei magnum
- (20) Et **calcatum** est **torcular** extra ciuitatem
 Et exiit sanguis de **torculari** usque ad frenos equorum
 Per stadia mille sexcenta
- (xv 1) Et uidi aliud signum in caelo **magnum** et mirabile angelos
 septem
 Habentem plagas septem nouissimas quoniam in **his finita** est
 ira dei
- (2) Et uidi **sicut** mare uitreum
Perlucidum mixtum igni
 Et **uictores** bestiae ♫ **super** mare uitreum
 Habentes citharas dei
- (3) Et cantantes canticum Moysi serui dei et canticum agni
Magna et mirabilia **operati sunt et reliqua**
- (5) Post haec uidi et ecce apertum est ♫ **tabernaculum** testimonii
 in caelo
- (6) **Induti lino** mundo et **splendido** et **cineti** **super** pectore suo
zonas aureas
- (7) Et unum ex quattuor animalibus dedit septem angelis septem
 fialas aureas plenas **de ira** dei
- (xvi 3) Secundus **fudit** fialam suam in mare *et reliqua*
- (8) Quartus **angelus** effudit fialam suam **super** solem ♫ (9) et **usti**
 homines **ustione** magna
 Et blasphemauerunt nomen dei habentis potestatem **in his** plagis
 nec egerunt paenitentiam
- (10) Quintus **angelus** effudit fialam suam super sedem bestiae et
 factum est regnum eius tenebrosum
Comedebant linguas suas **a doloribus suis**
- (11) Et *paenitentiam non egerunt*
- (12) Et sextus **angelus** effudit fialam suam **per** flumen illum magnum
 Eufraten
 Et **siccata est aqua** eius
 Ut praeparetur uia **eorum qui sunt** ab ortu solis
- (13) Et uidi **ex** ore draconis et **ex** ore bestiae et **ex** ore pseudo-
 prophetarum spiritus tres imundos in modum ranarum

- (xvi 14) Sunt enim spiritus daemoniorum facientes signa
Qui exeunt ad reges **orbis totius** congregare **eos ad bellum** ♪
 diei magni **domini**
- (16) Congregauit illos in loco ♪ **Ermagedon**
- (18) Et facta sunt fulgura et ♪ tonitrua et terrae motus factus est
 magnus qualis **non est factus ex eo** quo homines **facti sunt** ♪
 (19) et facta est ciuitas **illa** magna in tres partes
 Ciuitates gentium ceciderunt et Babylon **illa magna in mentem**
uenit deo dare ei **poculum** uini ♪ irae **suae** (20) et omnis
 insula fugit et montes *inuenti non sunt*
- (21) Et grando magna **quasi** talentum descendit **super homines de caelo**
 Et blasphemaerunt homines deum **ex** plaga grandinis quoniam
 magna ♪ est **plaga eius nimis**
- (xvii 1) Et uenit unus **ex** septem ♪ et **dixit** ♪ ueni ostendam tibi
 damnationem meretricis magnae ♪ **sedentis** super aquas multas
 (2) cum qua fornicati sunt reges terrae
- (3) Et **tulit** me in **heremum** in spiritu et uidi mulierem sedentem
 super bestiam coccineam
 Plenam nominibus blasphemiae
 Habentem capita septem et cornua decem
- (4) Et mulier erat circumdata purpura et **cocco** et **ornata** auro et
 lapide pretioso
Et habens poculum aureum in manu sua plenum abominationum
 et immunditiarum fornicationis eius
- (5) Et in fronte eius nomen scriptum **mysterium** Babylon magna
 mater fornicationum et abominationum terrae
- (6) Et uidi mulierem ebriam ♪ sanguine sanctorum et ♪ sanguine
 martyrum Iesu
- (8) **Et** bestia ♪ fuit et non est et **futura est ascensura** de abyso et
 in **perditionem irae** ibit
- (13) Hi **unam sententiam** habent
 Et uirtutem et **maiestatem** suam **diabolo dabunt**
- (14) Hi cum agno pugnant
 Et agnus uincet **eos**
 Quoniam dominus dominorum est et rex regum et qui cum eo ♪
 uocati et electi et fideles
- (15) Et dixit mihi **angelus**
 Aquam quam **uides** ubi **mulier** sedet populi **et turbae** sunt et
 gentes et linguae
- (16) Et decem cornua quae uidisti ♪ **hi odio habent meretricem**
 Et **desertam eam faciunt** et nudam
 Et carnes eius **edunt**
- (17) Deus enim ♪ in corda eorum ♪ **facere sententiam eius**

- (xvii 17) **Et dabunt** regnum suum bestiae **usque dum finiantur** **dieta** dei
- (18) Mulierem quam uidisti est ciuitas magna quae habet regnum super reges terrae
- (xviii 1) **Postea** uidi alium angelum descendentem de caelo habentem potestatem magnam et terra inluminata est **claritate** eius (2) et **clamauit** in **fortitudine** dicens cecidit cecidit Babylon **illa** magna et facta est **habitaculum** daemoniorum et custodia omnis **inmunditiae et iniquitatis**
- (3) **Quoniam ex uino** irae fornicationis eius biberunt omnes gentes et reges terrae **qui cum ea** fornicati sunt
Et omnes mercatores terrae **ex uirtute luxuriae** eius diuites facti sunt
- (4) Et audiui aliam uocem de caelo dicentem exite de **ea** populus meus **ne communicetis peccatis** eius et **ne** plagis eius **ne** laedamini
- (5) Quoniam **ascenderunt** peccata eius usque ad caelum et recordatus est **deus iniquitatis eorum** (6) reddite illi sicut **et ipsa** reddidit et duplicate **dupla** secundum opera eius in **quo** poculo **miscuit** miscite illi duplum (7) quantum **se clarificauit** et **indolenciauit** tantum date **ei cruciatum** et luctum **populo suo**
Quoniam in corde suo dicit **Babylonia**
Sedeo regina et uidua non sum et luctum non uidebo (8) **propterea** in una die uenient plagae eius mors et luctus et fames et igni **concremabuntur**
Quoniam fortis **dominus** deus qui iudicabit **eam** (9) et flebunt et plangent se super **eam** reges terrae qui cum **ea** fornicati sunt
- (10) **A** longe stantes propter **metum poenae** eius
Dicentes uae uae ciuitas **magna** Babylon ciuitas **fortis** quoniam una hora uenit **damnatio tua**
- (13) Et equorum et redarum et **porcorum** **qui ditati** sunt **adeo** longe stabant **fientes et lugentes** (16) **dicentes** uae uae ciuitas **magna**
Induta **byssino** et porpura et **coccino** et **ornata** **auro** et lapide pretioso et margaritis
- (17) Et omnis gubernator et omnis qui **manibus nauigat** et nautae et **quotquot mare operatur a** longe steterunt (18) et clamauerunt uidentes **fumum eius ignis**
- (19) Uae uae ciuitas **illa** magna in qua **ditati** sunt illi omnes qui habent naues in mari **quoniam una hora deserta** est (20) **exsulta caelum super eam** et sancti et apostoli et prophetae
- (21) Et **tulit** unus angelus **lapidem ut molam** magnam et misit in mare dicens **sic impetu deicietur illa Babylon magna** ciuitas

- (xviii 22) Et **non inuenietur amplius** (22) **uox citharoedorum et musicorum et tubicinum et flutarum non audietur in ea amplius**
- (23) **Quoniam** mercatores tui erant **maximi** terrae
Quoniam in ueneficiis tuis errauerunt omnes gentes (24) et **sanguis prophetarum et sanctorum inuentus est omnium a te occisorum super terram**
- (xix 1) Audiui **uocem magnam populi** multi in caelo dicentium alleluia salus et **claritas** et uirtus deo nostro **(2) quoniam** uera et iusta iudicia **eius quoniam** iudicauit **meretricem illam** magnam quae corripuit terram **fornicatione** sua et uindicauit sanguinem seruorum suorum de manu eius (3) et iterum dixerunt alleluia
 Et fumus **eorum** ascendit in saecula saeculorum
- (6) Et audiui **uocem populi multi** et **uocem aquarum multarum et ut uocem tonitruorum fortium dicentes** alleluia quoniam regnauit dominus deus noster omnipotens (7) gaudeamus et exsultemus et **glorificemus nomen eius quoniam** uenerunt nuptiae agni et **mulier eius parauit se**
- (8) Et datum est **ei ut operiatur** byssino splendido **mundo** byssinum enim **iusta facta sanctorum sunt**
- (11) Et uidi caelum apertum et ecce equus albus et **essor eius** uocatur fidelis et uerus **(12) et oculi eius ut flamma ignis et super caput eius erant diademata multa**
 Habens nomen scriptum quod nemo **scit** nisi ipse
- (13) Et **circumdatus est** ueste **sparsa** sanguine
 Et **dicitur** nomen eius **sermo** dei (14) **exercitus** qui sunt in caelo sequebantur eum in equis albis
Induti byssino albo mundo
- (15) Et **ex ore eius** procedit gladius **bis** acutus
 Ut in **eo** percutiat gentes et ipse reget eos in uirga ferrea **ipse** calcatur torcular uini **indignationis** irae dei omnipotentis
- (16) **Hic** habet **uestimentum** et **super femur suum nomen** scriptum rex regum et dominus dominantium
- (17) Et uidi **angelum stantem in sole**
 Et clamauit **in uoce magna** dicens omnibus auibus quae uolant **in medio caeli**
 Uenite congregamini ad coenam magnam dei (18) ut manducetis carnes regum et carnes tribunorum et **fortium** et carnes equorum et sedentium **super eos** et carnes omnium liberorum **et seruorum et pusillorum et magnorum**
- (19) Et uidi bestiam et reges terrae et exercitus eorum
 Congregatum **facere bellum** cum **sedente super equum** et cum exercitu eius

- (xx 1) Et uidi **alium** angelum descendentem de caelo
 Habentem clauem abyssi
 Et **catena magna** in manu sua
- (2) Et **tenuit** draconem **anguem** antiquum qui est diabolus et satanas et ligauit eum ♠ annos mille
- (3) Et clusit et signauit super **eum ne** seducat ♠ **nationes usque dum finiantur** mille anni
 Post haec oportet **eum** soluere modico tempore
- (4) **Hi omnes** uixerunt et regnauerunt cum Christo mille annos
- (5) Haec est **itaque prima resurrectio**
- (6) Beatus et sanctus qui habet partem in resurrectione prima
In hoc secunda mors non habet potestatem
 Sed erunt sacerdotes dei et Christi et regnabunt cum **eo** mille annos
- (7) Et cum **finiti** fuerint mille anni soluetur satanas de **custodia sua**
- (8) Exiet ♠ **seducere nationes** quae sunt **in** quattuor angulis terrae
- (9) Et ascenderunt **diabolus et populus eius in altitudinem** terrae
 Et circum**dederunt** castra sanctorum et **dilectorum ciuitatem**
 Et descendit ignis *de caelo a deo*
 Et **comedit** eos
- (10) Et diabolus ♠ **seducens ipsos** missus est in stagnum ignis et sulphuris ubi et bestia et pseudoprophetae
 Et **punientur** die ac nocte in saecula saeculorum ♠ (12) et uidi mortuos magnos et pusillos stantes in conspectu throni et libri aperti sunt et alius liber apertus est qui est uitae **unius cuiusque**
 Et iudicati sunt mortui ex his quae scripta **sunt** in libris secundum opera **sua**
- (13) Et dedit mare mortuos **suos**
 Mors et **infernus** dederunt mortuos **suos**
- (14) *Mors et infernus* missi sunt in stagnum ♠
- (15) Et **si qui** non est inuentus *scriptus in libro uitae*
 Missus ♠ in stagnum ignis (xxi 1) et uidi caelum nouum et terram nouam primum enim caelum et prima terra **abierunt** et mare iam non est (2) et ciuitatem sanctam Hierusalem nouam uidi descendentem de caelo a deo **compositam** sicut sponsam **et ornata** uiro suo (3) et audiui uocem magnam de **caelo** dicentem ecce tabernaculum dei cum hominibus et habitauit cum **ipsis** et ipsi **erunt populus eius** et ipse deus cum eis erit eorum deus (4) et absterget ♠ omnem lacrimam ab oculis eorum et mors **non erit amplius et luctus non erit**
- (5) Et **dixit** scribe **quoniam sermones isti fideles et ueri sunt**

- (xxi 6) (6) et dixit mihi ♀ ego sum alfa et Ω initium et finis ego sitientibus dabo **ex** fonte aquae uiuae gratis
- (7) Qui **uincit** possidebit haec et ero **eius** deus et ♀ erit **meus** filius (8) timidis autem et incredulis et **exsecrabilibus** et homicidis ♀ et ueneficis et **idolorum cultoribus** et omnibus mendacibus pars ♀ erit in stagno ardente **ignis** et sulphuris quod est mors secunda
- (9) Ueni ostendam tibi sponsam uxorem agni (10) et **abstulit** me in spiritu **supra** montem magnum et altum
Et ostendit mihi ciuitatem sanctam Hierusalem descendentem de caelo a deo
- (11) Habentem claritatem dei **liminare** eius simile lapide pretiosissimo
- (12) **Habentem** murum magnum et altum habentem portas XII et **super** portas angelos XII
- (13) Ab oriente portae tres ♀ ab àquilone portae tres ♀ ab austro portae tres ♀ ab **occidente** portae tres
- (14) Et **super** ea duodecim nomina ♀ apostolorum et agni
- (15) Et qui loquebatur mecum habebat mensuram arundinem auream
- (18) Et ♀ **supellex** muri ♀ et ciuitas aurum mundum simile uitro mundo
- (19) Fundamenta muri ciuitatis omnia **ex** lapide pretioso ♀ fundamentum primum iaspis et secundum saffyrus tertium **sardonius** quartum **smaracdinum** (20) quintum **sardonix** sextum **sardonium** septimum **crisolitum** octauum **berillum** nonum **topazius** decimum **crisoprasinus** undecimum **iacentinum** duodecimum **ametistus**
- (21) Et **ideo** duodecim margaritae ♀ **singillatim** et **una quaeque** porta erat ex **una** margarita
Et platea ciuitatis aurum mundum et uitrum **perspicuum** (22) et templum non uidi in ea dominus enim deus omnipotens templum **eius** est et agnus
- (23) Ciuitas non **indiget** sole neque luna et luceant
Claritas **enim** dei inluminabit eam et lucerna eius est agnus
- (24) Ambulabunt gentes **in** lumine eius
Et reges terrae **afferunt** gloriam
- (25) Et portae eius non cludentur **die** nox enim **ibi non est**
- (26) Et **inferent** gloriam et honorem gentium
- (27) **Et non introibit** ♀ **omne inmundum** et faciens abominationem et mendacium nisi ♀ scripti ♀ in libro uitae agni (xxii 1) et ostendit mihi **flumen** aquae ♀ **sicut** crystallum **exiens a throno** dei et agni (2) in medio plateae eius
Et ex utraque parte fluminis lignum uitae **faciens** fructus duodecim per **singulos menses** et reddens fructum suum

- (xxii 3) Et **thronus** dei et agni in ea erit
 Et serui eius seruiant ei (4) et uidebunt faciem eius
 Et nomen eius in frontibus eorum (5) et nox *non erit amplius*
 et non **indigebunt** lumine lucernae et lumine solis quoniam
quidem dominus deus inluminabit **super eos** et regnabit **super**
eos in saecula saeculorum
- (10) Et dixit mihi **angelus** ne signaueris uerba prophetiae **¶ eius**
 tempus enim **proximum** est [See the notes for verse 11.]
- (12) Et ecce uenio cito et merces mea mecum **¶** reddere uni cuique
 secundum opera **eius** (13) ego A et Ω primus et nouissimus
initium et finis (14) beati qui **seruant mandata haec** ut sit
 potestas eorum **super** lignum uitae et **per** portas intrent **¶**
 ciuitatem
- (15) Foris canes et uenefici **¶ fornicarii** et homicidae et **idolorum**
cultores et omnis **¶ amans et faciens** mendacium (16) ego Iesus
 misi angelum meum testificari uobis haec in ecclesia ego sum
 radix et **gens** Dauid stella splendida **¶ matutina** (17) **¶ spiritus**
 et sponsa dicunt ueni
 Qui sitit ueniat qui uult accipere aquam uitae gratis
- (18) **Testor ergo omnem audientem sermonem** prophetiae libri
 huius si quis adposuerit ad **eam** adponat **super eum deus** plagas
 scriptas in libro **hoc** (19) et si quis **contempserit de sermoni-**
bis **¶** prophetiae huius **eius demet** deus partem eius a ligno
 uitae et **ex** ciuitate sancta **¶ scriptam** **¶** in libro (20) **hoc** dicit
 qui **testificatur**
 Etiam uenio cito **¶**

NOTES.

Some of the quotations in chapter i are probably paraphrastic, e. g. verses

- i, 4, 13.
- i 13 *Habentem zonam auream super ubera* (p. 2438).
 - 15 In another place without *Libani*, and with *tamquam in fornace conflati*.
uocem] *uox est* the St John's MS.
 - ii 5 In another place *tuum* is added after *candelabrum*.
 - 13 *thronus*] *sedes* St John's MS; here as sometimes elsewhere this MS gives
 the Vulgate reading.
 - iii 18 I give the doublets in the text here.
 - iv 2 An allusion elsewhere has *solium positum est*.
 6 An alternative *ante thronum* occurs in an allusion.
 - v 11 The Canterbury and St John's MSS have *multorum angelorum*, which,
 as the non-Vulgate order, is more likely to be right in Tyconius.
 - 13 Another passage has *gloria et imperium in saecula saeculorum*.
 - vi 4 *ei gladius est* in another passage.
 5 *stateram* in another place.
 8 *sequitur* in another citation.
 15 *abscondent* is only an allusion.

- vii 3 In another place *laeseris*.
 9 In another place *dinumerare*.
 11 In another place *circa thronum*, an allusion.
 15 In another place, allusively, *super thronos*, simply.
 16 In another place *cadet*, and, as an alternative to the whole clause, *Et non cadat*.
 17 In one place *eos* omitted.
- viii 5 In another place the order *fulgura et tonitrua*.
 13 In an allusion *clamantem*, instead of *dicentem*.
- ix 1 *et* is omitted in one case, and *putei* in two out of three citations.
 5 *Est* is sometimes omitted, and so is *eis*.
eorum] *earum* in second citation.
 7 *et* is omitted on the first occasion.
 8 *sicut capillos* is omitted on one occasion, probably from homocoteleuton.
 11 *angelum* is omitted in the second citation.
 14 On the second and third occasions *ligatos* for *qui alligati sunt*: *magno* is omitted the second and third times.
 17 *eos*: in alternative passage *ipsos*. The *et* before *ignis* is added the second time.
- x 1 *in*] *super* in second passage.
erat ut] *sicut* second and third times.
 4 *septem tonitrua* omitted once out of four times only.
 9 *faciat*] *faciet* St John's MS, perhaps rightly.
- xi 1 *dei* omitted second time.
 3 *duobus* omitted the second time in the Canterbury and Glastonbury MSS, perhaps by a sort of homocoteleuton.
XL no doubt an error for *LX*.
 7 *vincit* on second occasion.
 10 All my MSS have *inmittunt* for *invicem mittunt* in the first instance.
 12 *caelo in nubem* Canterbury and St John's MSS.
 19 The erroneous orthography *fulgora* is given by the older MSS: the -o forms belong only to the masc. noun *fulgor*, spite of MSS.
- xii ¶ 6 *heremo* Canterbury and St John's MSS.
 10 *domini* in second quotation.
 Canterbury and St John's MSS are without *qui accusat* and have *et reliqua* immediately after *nostrorum*.
- xiii 15-16 There is some confusion here, or else Tyconius's text differed greatly from the Greek.
adorauerint Canterbury and the second hand of the St John's MS.
acceperint Canterbury and St John's MSS.
 17 *sapientia* rightly Canterbury (second hand) and St John's MSS.
 18 MSS DCXC, but the comment shews that Tyconius read DCXVI. The corruption is no doubt due to a misunderstanding of the symbol C with a tail, which means VI. The symbol occurs for example in Paris MS 1853 (saec viii ex) fol. 238 v. etc., and also in Lorsch and Murbach MSS of the same date signalized by Von Dobschütz *Das Decretum Gelasianum* (Leipzig 1912) p. 141.
 xv 3 *operati*, a curious error for *opera tua*.
 xvi 9 *usti*] add. *sunt* the second hand of Canterbury.
 10 *sedem*] the comment suggests *thronum* as the reading.
 12 *per*] *super* is read by Canterbury (second hand) and by the St John's MS (compare the comment).

- xvi 12 *illum*] *illud* is read by Canterbury (second hand) and by the St John's MS.
 19 *illa ciuitas* St John's MS.
- xvii 3 *heremo* Canterbury and St John's MSS.
coccineam is omitted the first time by Canterbury and St John's MSS.
 4 *et* before *ornata* omitted in comm. *abominatione* (comm.)
 5 *magna* om. comm.
 6 Second *sanguine* om. comm.
 8 First *et* om. second time. Canterbury and St John's MSS add *est* after *ascensura*.
 15 *Aquam quam* omitted on second occasion.
populi] *haec et populus* on second occasion.
gentes] *tribus* on second occasion.
 17 *Deus enim* merely, Canterbury and Glastonbury MSS: *deus enim dedit* Canterbury (second hand): *dedit deus enim* (without *in*) St John's MS.
- xviii 2 Compare the comment here.
 4 *ne* (first)] In second case MSS have *nec*.
 6 *illi*] *ei* al. loc.
 15 *adeo* or *a deo* is the reading of the MSS, but the comment has *ab ea*.
 17 *manibus*] *nauibis* Canterbury (second hand) and St John's MSS.
operatur] *operantur* Canterbury (second hand) and St John's MSS, and the comment.
 19 *illa* omitted in the second place.
 21 *ut*] *uelut* in second case. *magnam et* om. al. loc.
impetu(m) deicietur] *mergetur* in second case. *illa* and *magna* omitted in second citation, and *Babylonia* read.
 24 *et sanctorum* omitted in second case by the older MSS.
- xix 2 *de manu eius* om. al. loc.
 6 *tonitruum* Canterbury and St John's MSS.
 8 *byssos* in a later allusion.
 12 *scit*] *nouit* al. loc.
 14 *sunt*] *est* al. loc.
sequebantur] *sequebatur* al. loc.
 15 *indignationis* om. al. loc.
 17 The second *in* is omitted by Canterbury and St John's MSS: *dei* is omitted in the second citation.
- xx 4 ? *Omnes gentes et superstites et animae sanctorum*. Does this belong here?
 6 *sed erunt*] *sedebunt*, an interesting corruption in St John's MS.
 8 *angulis*] *angulos* Canterbury and St John's MSS twice.
 9 *populus*] *angeli* in second citation.
dilectorum ciuitatem] In other citations we have the readings *ciuitatem dilectorum*, and *ciuitatem sanctam dilectam* (col. 244t), respectively.
a deo omitted in another place.
 13 *mare dedit* in another citation.
 14 In another citation the sentence commences with *Et*.
 15 The St John's MS adds *est* after *Missus*.
- xxi 2 *et ornata*] The *et* is erased in Canterbury MS and is absent altogether from the St John's MS, which reads *ornatam*.
 5 *dixit*] *dicit* Canterbury and St John's MSS.
 6 *sitienti* in another passage.
 St John's MS reads *uitae* for *uiuae*. In a second passage *uitae aquae* occurs instead of *aquae uiuae*.

- xxi 8 *stagno ardente*] *stagnum ardentis* Canterbury MS (second hand, is in ras.), *stagnum ardens* St John's MS.
 9 *sponsam uxorem*] In another place *mulierem* simply, which is probably the Tyconian reading (cf. xix 7).
mihi: omitted in a second citation; so with *sanctam Hierusalem* and *a deo*.
 11 *liminare*] In another place *lumen*.
lapide] *lapidi* in another place.
 19 *sardonius*] *calcadonius* St John's MS.
 22 *dominus enim deus*] *quia dominus* simply, in an alternative passage, probably allusively.
 23 *et* (first)] *ut* St John's MS (second hand).
 24 *afferunt* Glastonbury MS, others *offerunt*.
 xxii 5 *super eos* omitted both times in a second citation.
 10 *eius*] The following alternatives occur:—*huius libri*, and (twice) *huius* simply (col. 2430 med., 2431 ex.).
 11 In this verse there is great confusion. We can see traces of two (or more) texts:—

A

qui iniustus est iniusta faciat adhuc et sordidus sordescat adhuc

Et qui iustus est iusta faciat adhuc

B

qui perseuerauerit nocere noceat adhuc et qui in sordibus est sordescat adhuc

Et qui iustus est iustiora faciat *¶* similiter et sanctus sanctora

The second half of the first line in B is obviously Vulgate. The relations of the other doublets must be left to experts.

- xxii 16 *ecclesiis* Canterbury and St John's MSS.
 18 *ergo* Glastonbury MS, *ego* the others.
 19 The MSS wrongly divide *eiusdem et*
 20 *etiam*] *ecce* in other citation.

A. SOUTER.

NOTES AND STUDIES

EVAN. 157 (ROME. VAT. URB. 2). III.

John

- i 19 + πρὸς αὐτὸν (*post levitatur*)
 22 + σὺ (*ante τισ*) E* *cfr dim sah boh arm (syr). Hiant D d usque ad iii 16*
 28 βηθανία (*pro βηθαβαρα*)
 29 — ο ἰωαννης
 31 > ἐγὼ ἦλθον [*ἐν τῷ ὕδατι*] C* 604 b g, *dim sah, boh¹⁵* (— *εγω 28 56 58 61 249, boh codd⁹*) Ego veni ego R^{ve} (*Cf. sah syr*)
 37 — αὐτου 59? (69) *latt mult arm [non a be ffr q foss dim μ] (Cf. syr cu sin)*
 39 μεθερμηνευόμενον (†) N^o ABCLNWX 33 249 c^{scr} *Eust 50 Orig (Om. Bir N.T. Habet Var lect et Scho)*
 40 + οὖν (*post ἦλθον*) †† N ABCLN (T^b) WXΔΨ 33 *fam 13 [non 69] 248 262 Parisⁿ al^b Ev 19 44 a e sah (Se) boh (ορν) [ver 39 apud Horner] syr hier Cyr + και l syr^{ca} sin hier aeth + δε b r syr^{ach} pesh *Hiant D d*
 — δε (*post ωρα*)
 42 μεσίαν L* ΓΛΠ* Ψ unc³ *syr etc*
 — ό (*ante χε*) ††
 43 — δε
 44 { — ο ἰησους (*post ἠθέλησεν sic*)
 { + ό ιε (*post αυτω*)
 48 ἰδε δε (*pro ειδεν*) †† W et boh [*non sah*] Ver 47 Horner. ιδων δε 124 a b (c) ff l r *aur foss Epiph (+ και al. et syr) Ihs autem ut vidit e*
 αὐτῷ (*pro περὶ αὐτοῦ*) †† Sol cum 45 *pers aeth (mut syr cu sin et D d) Om. e aur*
Pers vere: Et Iesus Nath. vidit qui ad eum venit: EI dixit in veritate filius Israel ES absque fraude. Aeth^{int} Dixit Nathanieli. N περι του ναθαναη etiam a: 'de Nathanael' (Ita Irici, non de Nathanaele ut Bianc. W-W); forsam om de aliq vett*
 49 — ό
 51 + ό (*ante ιε*) †† Ψ *fam 13 Epiph*
 + οτι (*ante ειδον*) N ABGLW 13-346-556 [*non 69-124*] 74 90 122* 234 a (b) r *dim syr copt arm Cyr [non Tert]*
 52 σοι (*pro υμιν*) X boh¹¹* [*contra rell boh²² et sah et rell*]
 i 4 [ην] II ἦλθεν †† 15 ἐμπροσθέν μου sic †† [*sed i 27, 30 ἐμπροσθέν μου*] 18 ἐώρακε~ πώποτε sic †† [ό μονογενής υἱός] 20 οὐκ ηρνήσατο sine sp. 21 ἤλίας η σὺ sic (*Vult man rec ἦ*) †† sed [ό προφήτης εἰ σὺ] 22 σεδντοῦ sic 26 ἔστηκεν 31 φανερωθή 33 οὐκ ἔδωκεν sine sp. εἶδον (*pro ἰδης*) †† 39 δε sic contra morem. 40 ἐρχεσθαι fin. lin comp. †† [5*

John

- ἴδετε] 43 [*Habet kai init.*] 46 [μωσῆς] προφῆται
 48 [ὁ ἰῆ] 52 ἀπάρτι sic
 ii 2 — και *prim.* (ante ὁ ἰῆ) †† *Solvid inter gr cum* 12 61 Parisⁿ et
efl q aur dim β μ gat υγ^{DEI} aeth pers. [*Absunt notae in*
Tisch de ver 2]
 9 — γεγενημενον *Solvid cum pers* 'de illo vino gustasset' *sed*
add. 'longe gratissimi saporis erat'
 10 πῶς τότε sic †† *Hinc ex sim exempli forsant om. tote* N* BLT^b
 57 67 248 Parisⁿ z^{ser} a e ffl(q) aeth diatess *copt Gaud.*
 15 κατέστρεψε (*pro ανεστρεψε*) N (*fam* 13) 16 229** 382 6^{pe} *Ephr.*
 [non Oxy⁸⁴⁷]
 16 + και (ante μη)
 17 καταφάγεται (*pro κατεφαγε*)
 19 — ὁ †† 22 — αυτοις 23 + τοῖς (ante ιεροσολ.)
 ii 5 λέγει (*pro λέγη*) †† 6 [ὑδρία] λίθιναι [ἐξ μίμεναι] ††
 15 [τὸ κέρμα] 18 Ἰουδαῖοι *vid. sed ver* 20 Ἰουδαῖοι
 25 χρείαν ἐγίνωσκεν ††
 iii 2 αὐτὸν (*pro τον ἰησουν*)
 3 — ὁ †† 5 — ὁ †† 10 — ὁ *prim.*
 12 *fin.* πιστεύσῃτε ††
 15 ἔχει (*pro ἔχη*) 16 ἔχει (*pro ἔχη*) ††
 19 > αὐτῶν πονηρὰ
 22 + δε (*post μετα*) *Solvid cum boh^{omn} vid υγ^r* [non sah non al.
lat] + και *syr sin* [non cu] aeth diatess (§ vi 5)
 23 αἰνῶν . . . σαλήμ . . . παρεγένοντο ††
 25 Ἰουδαίου (*pro Ἰουδαίων*)
 25/26 uno tenore absque interpuncto
 26 — συ †† *Solvid (Havn 3: ωσ pro ω συ) cum a l r μ dim et*
vgg codā^r (Ex lat vid CVITVTESIMONIVM, non ex gr
ΩCYMEMARTYPHKAC)
 27 + ὁ (ante ἰωαννης) †† MN 33 (75**)
 + ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ (ANTE ουδεν) † (*Recte Bir, male Scho POST ουδεν*)
Cf. LA fam 13 33 245 254 262 c^{ser} ce sah boh syr diatess [non
cu sin non aeth] + de terra μ dim υγ^d
 33 λαμβάνων (*pro λαβων*) †† Δ 12 59 124 230 c^{ser} 8^{pe} *Cyr* 1/2
 35 + αὐτὸν (*post δεδοκεν*) †† *Solvid (Error ex lat?*
Cf. a: DITINMANV Cf. l: ETOMNIADEDIT
EIVSQVICRE } INMANVMEIVS }
ei (in eius) sub Dedit positum
 iii 2 οἶδαμεν sic acc. ut in *Evan* 28 4 μὴ sic contra
morem 5 *fin.* [τοῦ θῷ] 6 εστιν *prim.* [non sec.] ††
 8 [καὶ ποῦ] 11 λαμβάνεται †† 14 μωϋσῆς †† 16
 οὕτως †† ἀπώληται †† 29 ἐστηκῶς 32 [τοῦτο
 μαρτυρεῖ]
 iv 3 ἀπῆλθεν (— παλιν)
 5 οὗ (*sic*) *pro* ὁ C* D^{er} (*d quod*) LMNSW *fam* 1.28.33 al⁷⁰ *Chr*
quem ar?

John

iv 13

— *δ prim.*

14 διψήσεις **ΝΑΒΔΛΜΝΤ^bΓ(Δ) Ι** [*non* 118-209] *fam* 13 28 Paris⁹⁷
al. Orig Chr Thdr̄t 3/4 Cyr

20 > ἐν τῷ θρει τούτῳ

27 ἐθαύμαζον (*pro* ἐθαύμασαν)

29 μήτοι (*pro* μητι) †† *Sol?*

30 — ουν

35 τετράμνηος † (*Bir, non Scho*)

36 χαίρει †† **ΕΚΓΑΠ*** *fam* 13 [*non* Wetst^{min} *vid*] 28 122 244
 251 435 *Eust* 53 *Scr^{1b} pers* [*Non lat^{vid} praeter gat gaudet*]

37 ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ ὁ λόγος (*pro* ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ ὁ λόγος) †† 13-124-556 *al.?*
 (et hic sermo *aeth^{int}*; propterea quod sermo *pers^{int}*)

— *δ sec. ante* αληθινος (*Dubium Bir, Recte Scho*) **BC*KLNT^b**
WΔΨ [*Non* **Ν**, *habet* **Ν**, *male Tisch ed 1865, vide Lake ed*
phototyp]

46 πάλιν ὁ ἰδ

49 ἀποθανεῖ *sic codex* (*Male Bir Scho ἀποθάνη*) *sed infinitivum non*
in animo libr. *Sol^{vid} inter gr cum y^{scr} sed cf. verss et lat*
omn et d moriatur

50 — ο ιησους *pr. loco* **E c^{scr}**

+ ὁ (*ante* ἰδ *sec. loco*) ††

51 ἀνήγγειλαν (*pro* ἀπηγγ.) **ΚΠ** *fam* 1 33 42 145* **p^{scr} w^{scr}**
 (ηγγελαν **ΝD**) *om.* **BLN boh** (*syr hier*) *Orig Chr* [*Non rell*
syr̄r habent diserte]

52 > τὴν ὄραν παρ' αὐτῶν **ΝΑCDKNUWΠ** *fam* 1 *fam* 13.33.69.106
 248 254 Paris⁹⁷ *al. a b c d e g₂ q aur* [*Non copt syr aeth*]

iv 1 φαρισαῖοι **5** [συχάρ] **6** πηγῇ (*pro* πηγῇ *prim.*)

7 γυνῇ [*sed* 9, 11, 15, 17, 19, 25, 28 ἡ γυνῇ] **9** σαμα-
 ρεῖτις †† **14** ἀλλομένου **17** [εἶπας] *fin.* [ἔχω]

• **22, 32** οἶδατε **25** μεσιας **29** [ὅσα] **35, 38**

οὐχ' ὑμεῖς **42** [ὅτι] ὀκέτι *sic* **42** *fin.* [ὁ χ^c] **45**

γαλιλαῖοι **46** κανὰ καπερναούμ **47** ἀπήλθεν ††

[ἡρώτα αὐτῶν] **51** [ἀπήντησαν]

v 1 + ἡ (*ante* εορτη) †† **ΝCEFH I?** **LMΔΠΨ** *fam* 1 *al. sah boh Cyr*
 — ὁ

3/4 — ἐκδεχομένων *usque ad fin ver* 4

5 τριά κοντα καὶ ὀκτώ

7 βάλη

16 > ἀποκτείνειν αὐτὸν (*pro* αὐτον αποκτ.) †† *Ord sol vid cum*
boh (aliqu) aeth (contra gr-lat). *Om. claus.* **ΝBCDLW**
 1.22.33.69.249 Paris⁹⁷ *a b c d f f g l gat vg sah boh (rell)*
syr cu sin arm Cyr

19 ἀπ' ἐμαντοῦ (*pro* ἀφ' ἐαντοῦ) †† 153 244 *al.?* (*Error vid ex v 30*)
 ποιεῖ (*pro* ποιῇ)

25 ἀκούσωσι (*pro* ακουσονται) **ΝLWΨ I** [*non fam*] 33.69 2⁹⁸ Paris⁹⁷
 (ακουσουσιν **B** 22 257? 357? *Chr Cyr*) [ακουσονται *Hiḥp*]

28 ἀκούσουσι (*pro* ακουσονται) **B Chr** 1/2 *Cyr^{1xt}* (ακουσωσιν
ΝLWΔ 25 33 Paris⁹⁷ *Laura¹⁰⁴*)

John

v 30 *fin.* — πατρος (*ex industria*)

32 — και οίδα οτι αληθης εστιν η μαρτυρια ην μαρτυρει περὶ εμου (*id est saltus ex hom. Rarum est apud libr*) † (*Recte Bir, negl. Scho*)
Sol^{vid} *cum* ff* l* r, [*Non aeth, rell*] Cf. *Sabatier ad loc.*

35 ἀγαλλιαθῆναι

36 δέδωκέ (*pro* ἔδωκέ) NBLNWΓ *fam* 1 *fam* 13 33 435 *scr*^h
 Matthaei⁵ Laura^{104A} *Eust* 20 *latt Ath Cyr*

42 *fin.* + μένουσαν *Sol*^{vid} *cum* *dim.* *Spatium in a.* (+ *ipsis fffl r foss, + Δπ boh*)

46 μωσεὶ ††

47 *fin.* πιστεύετε †† GDSWA *fam* 1 28 *fam* 13 63 86 248 253 *Paris*⁹⁷
Eust 4 15 20 24 49 *Orig* 1/3 (*goth*) *crederetis tol* (*dim*)

v 3 ταῦτα· 7 ἐν ᾧ ἔρχομε †† 8 ἄρον κράβ-
 βαττον [*ver* 9 κράββατον] †† 10 ἡραὶ 10, 11 κράβ-
 βατῶν *sic** †† 11, 12 ἄρον 12 κράββατον †† 14
 μήκέτι 15 ἀνέγγειλαι *sic* †† 18 ἴσον 19 *fin.*
 [ὁμοίως ποιεῖ] 20 μείζονα *sic* 21 οὕτως †† 22
 πᾶσαν *acc ex em* 25 *fin.* [ζήσονται] 27/28 *iungit*
 37 [αὐτῶν] [ἀκηκόατε πρότε] 44 † *fin. lin pro para*

vi 1 — της γαλιλαϊας (G)N 48 8¹⁰ *iscr* *y*^{scr} H^{scr} *Cyr bis.* Cf. *pers*

2 ἐθεώρουν (*pro* ἑώραν) (A)BDLNΨ (*fam* 13) 33 65 *Paris*⁹⁷ 2^{scr}
Cyr θεωρουντες W εθεωρει Laura^{104A}

5 > τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁ ἰὲ †† NABDKLMNWPΨ *fam* 1.33 *al.*
it vg boh [*non sah*] *goth arm aeth* (*variant syrr*) *Cyr*

7 — αὐτῶν †† NABLNWPΨ *fam* 13 [*non* 124] 16 33 *w*^{scr} *Paris*⁹⁷
it et d [*non* δ *et non* Δ^{8r} D^{8r}] *vg boh goth arm aeth* (*sah syrr*)
Chr Cyr

8 > πέτρῳ σίμωνος *Sol*^{vid} *cum* *goth* [*Absunt adnotationes de versu 8 in Tisch*]

9 — ἐν NBDLNWPΨ*Ψ *fam* 1 *fam* 13 [*noh* 124] 15 42 67 72
 244 258 *al. a b d e l syrr cu* [*contra syrr rell et arm*] *aeth Orig*
Chr Cyr (*copt*) ‘*Est hic puer quidam*’ *Aug*

10 ἀνέπεσαν ††

— οἱ DLNWPΨ *fam* 1.25.33 *Paris*⁹⁷ *y*^{scr} *latt Cyr*

τῶν ἀριθμῶν †† *aliq* (*Om. a e q gal syrr sin sah*)

11 εὐχαριστίσας, *sic* [διέδωκε τοῖς μαθηταῖς] + αὐτοῦ †† *be syrr sin*
 [*non cu sch pesh, om. claus; diatess ex Marco*]
 [οἱ δὲ μαθηταί]

τοῖς ὄχλοις (*pro* τοῖς ἀνακειμένοις) *Sol*^{vid} *cum* Ψ (*et d*^{scr} *tois*
ochlois tois anakeimenois) Cf. *diatess ex Matt. xiv 19.* (*illis qui discumb. verss*) *ff om.*

14 + οἱ (*ante* ἰδοντες) *Sol*^{vid} *ειδοντες* W, *ειδοτες* L (*male Wetst.*)
Error noster, ut Wetst, ex ἀνοῖοντες (*Cf. sah syrr lat.*)
 οἱ οὖν οἱ ἀνοῖ ἰδοντες 69

τὸ σημεῖον δ ἐποίησεν [ὁ ἰὲ] *Sol*^{vid} *cum* (71 259) *b f(l) r vg*ⁿ *sah*
 [*non boh*] *syrr.* (*Corrige verba ‘syrr^{omn}’ apud Tisch unci*)
includenda)

John

vi 19

ὡσεὶ (*pro* ὡς) AD⁸⁷ fam 1.2.3.22? 239 242 i^{8er}

— και *ull* (*ante* εφοβηθησαν) 9 59 69 254 c^{8er} *Eust* 47 a
gat *vg* *syrr* *sah* 1/6 *vid* (*et txt* Horner) *boh*^{allq} [*non aeths*
(Silet Tisch.) *De latt* (*om. a gat* *vg*) *cf. vg*⁸ *fieret pro fieri*
et (FIERIETTIMVERVNT)

21 ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν (*pro* ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς) N⁸ fam 13.28 *al. pauc. Orig* (*lat*)22 — ἐκεῖνο εἰς ὃ ἐνεβησαν οἱ μαθ. αὐτοῦ N⁸ ABLN W⁸ Ψ 1.11.22.42
265* w^{8er} Paris⁸⁷ *it et* *δ om. super* Δ⁸⁷ [*non a de*] *vg goth* (*cf. rell*)23 πλοῖα *sic acc.* (*pro* πλοῖάρια) (N) BW Ψ *Eust* 32 *vg b* *cf. fgl r*
gat aur [*non a de g*] *syrr etc.*24 — και *prim.* (*ante* αὐτοῖς)

[πλοῖα]

26 ἀμὴ *semel* †† *Sol cum* III 251 *syrr sin, syrr hier* C 1/2 [*contra rell*]
+ μου (*post* ἀρτων) †† *Sol*^{vid} *cum gat* (*panibus meis*) *Aug*
Novat *Cf. ord. e:* DEPANIBVSMANDVCASTIS [*Non aeth*
copt syrr, 'the bread' diatess^{int}] ((*post σημαία supra* + *an*
εμου boh codd D₁* EJS))28 ποιῶμεν †† (*sed Txt Scho*)

ἐργαζόμεθα ††

29 — ὁ ††

[πιστεύετε]

30 — τι εργαζῇ 142* *syrr sin* [*contra rell syrr aeth copt lat*] *Chrys*
(*vg*^o *litt min*) (*Bene Horner ed sah* '2° *om.* *quia verba*
eadem sah boh pro *ποιεῖς in it vers et* *ἐργάζῃ fin utuntur*
[*Non similia in lat goth syrr*])31 + και ἀπέθανον (*ante* καθωσ) †† *Sol*^{vid} *cum* 80 (*Cf. Ps.*
lxxviii 24, et 30 seqq)35 εἶπεν οὖν (*pro* εἶπε *de*) NDΓΨ fam 13 [*non* 124] 33 *al. pauc.*
d gq gat vg^B *sah* 5/7 (— *copul* BLTW Paris⁸⁷ *a b e r boh*
syrr arm sah 2/7 *diatess*)38 ἀπὸ (*pro* ἐκ) †† ABLT fam 13.33.254. Laura^{104A}

39 — πατρός

39/40 — ἵνα παν *usque ad* πεμψαντος με *incl. pergens a* πέμψαντός με
ex vers 39 ἵνα π⁸ (*ἵνα πας non ἵνα παν*) ὁ θεωρῶν (*ut Tisch*)
vel om. ver 39 *ut Birch* (*cum* M *goth Mar Merc*)

40 ἔχει ††

ἐγὼ αὐτὸν († *Recte Bir, male Scho* αὐτον *εγω* + αὐτον) Ψ 17? 7¹⁰
(*i^{8er}*) *latt* [*non a e d, al. om. ego*] *Cf. sah et verss.* (*Cf. AD*
d al. om. εγω)

+ ἐν (*ante* τῇ ἐσχάτῃ) †† NADKLNSUΠ *latt* [*non e m*] *et*
verss et Clem

41 > [ὁ ἄρτος] ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐνοῦ καταβάς· MΓΨ *al. vg* *it*^{pl} [*non a d m d*]
*Eus Chr*43 μετὰ (*pro* μετ') †† B44 + μου (*post* πατρ) †† G *Eust* 47 *sah georg* [*non al.*]45 *init.* ἔσται (*pro* ἔσται) †† *Ita vult libr?* *Cf. εστην* Laura^{104A} (*Cf. xi 28*)— του (*ante* θεου)ὁ ἀκούων (*pro* ὁ ἀκούσας) ††

- John
fin. ἐμε (*pro me*) †† NBT Orig 1/2
vi 51 — ἡν ἐγω δωσω (*in sec. loco*) BCDLTWΨ 33 251 e^{scr} Paris⁹⁷
a b c d f f m v g sah [non boh] (syrr cu sin) Clem^{ms} 2/3 Orig 3/4
Ath Cyr Tert Aug Chrom [Non aeth vid, non syr pesh diatess]
52 > οἱ ιουδαῖοι πρὸς ἄλλους *sic* (*pro pr. αλλ. οἱ ιουδ.*) CD *al.*
a c d e f f q gat syrr aeth sah [non boh]
53 + αἰώνιον (*post ζωην*) N v^g h boh^{F, e L} (*Patres^{all}*)
55 ἀληθῆς (*pro ἀληθῶς prim.*) (*secundo loco ἀληθ^e*) †† Cf. Tisch
ad loc. et Clem copt. Add. WΨ Paris⁹⁷ Laura¹⁰⁴
58 ζῆσει (*hoc loco*) *pro* ζήσεται
61 > [ὅτι γογγύουσιν] οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ περὶ τούτου Sol? Cf. sah
[non boh cum gr] (Chrys) (om. περι τουτου e f f l)*
63 λελάληκα (*pro λαλῶ*) N B C D K L N T U W Π Ψ *verss et latt et Patr.*
64 — τινες *prim.* (*ante οἱ οὐ*) Sol? et aeth^{vid} *[non copt, non lat vid]*
65 ἔλεγεν + αὐτοῖς †† 13 *[non fam]* syrr aeth boh *[non sah]* arab
pers (spatium in a, + ad eos v^g DR)
66 τούτων (*pro τούτου*) Sol^{vid} cum boh⁸ (*exinde e contra rell ex*
hoc) τουτου ουν ND *fum* 13 106 258 latt
ἀπὴλ ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ †† BGT 209 x^{scr} P*^{scr} et *al. abefq*
syrr sah 4/6
68 ἀπελευσώμεθα †† Γ *alig.* 13 scr⁴
70 ἐξ ἡμῶν (*pro ἐξ ὑμῶν*) †† [εἰς διάβολός ἐστιν] Sol^{vid} (Cf. xv 20)
71 — εκ 28 44 64 127 253 v^{scr} Paris⁹⁷ goth (*de pro ex a b d f gat*
vgg⁴)
vi 2 [*Habet αὐτοῦ*] 7 [τὴ λάβη] 9 τὸσοῦτος *sic*
10 [ῥοσει] 12 περισσεύσαι κλάσμα^f *sic* 15 [αὐτὸν
βασιλέα] 17 [τὸ πλοῖον] καπερναοῦμ 18 [διηγείρετο]
22 [πλουάριον· ἀλλα] 24, 59 καπερναοῦμ 26 οὐχ ὅτι
36 *fin.* πιστεύεται †† 38 οὐχ ἵνα 42 οὐ *pro* οὐ
οἶδαμεν 43 [οὐν ὁ ἰδ.] 46 οὐχ ὅτι [τίς ἐώρακεν] ὦν
pro ὦν 49 [τὸ μάννα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ,] 51, 57 [ζήσεται]
vide supra ver 58. 62 θεωρεῖτε 65 εἰ pro ἡ ††
vii 1 [καὶ] †† Male male Bir 'καὶ punctis notatur a correctore in Urb 2'
Margine stat solum cap vii a man recent (ut alibi cap rec ab
eadem manu)
> οἱ ιουδαῖοι αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι Sol^{vid} cum a. Cf. syr. (Cf. i^{scr} P^{scr})
3 θεωρήσουσι †† N^c (θεωρουσιν N*) B* D L M N W Δ 33 245 251
8 > δ' ἐμὸς δ' καιρὸς †† Sol^{vid} (ο εμος καιρος (N) B D B* L N T U W X Ψ
al. latt [non a b d e f f r gat d aur v^g] syrr sin sah goth Cyr)
13 οὐδὲ ὁ ἰδ. (*pro οὐδεῖς*) †† Sol^{vid} *errore*
16 + οὐν (*post απεκριθη*)
17 + ἐμῆς (*ante διδαχῆς*) [*Non Gr-lat vid*] Sol cum boh (*et*
Horner txt) ταχῶ [*contra sah τειχῶ, †χῶ, techῶ*]
arm aeth arab pers syrr^{sch} pesh hier diatess [contra syr cu sin
this teaching ut sah georg goth et + hac fl aeth walton]
+ αὐτου *post* διδ. 124 *[non fam]* εκ της διδ. *pro* περι της διδ.
Paris⁹⁷ sol (Latt: 'de doctrina')

John

- vii 28 — και οιδατε (*post* καμὲ οἶδατε) †† X 409 l (r) sah 1/5 Orig 2/6
Tert Chr^{ms} (Cf. latt ord 'et me scitis et unde sim scitis',
scitis *fin.*, *hinc om. l*, et R^{vs} *om unde sim scitis et*)
- 29 — δε
- 31 — τουτων
- 32 > περὶ αὐτοῦ γογγύζοντος ταῦτα Sol^{vid} cf. syr (*om. περι αυτου*
syr sin Chr; *om. ταυτα DL** 1.2^{ve} a b c d e l arm syr cu sin).
υπηρέτας trstf in loc post ἀπίστευαν
- 33 — αυτοις Unc²⁰ *it verss et syrr (contra morem syr)* [Non
T^{8e} c g vg sah 1/10 boh^{2solus} aeth diatess Cyr]
- 39 ἔλεγε (*pro* εἶπε) †† N 249 cff l m q aur β Did Chr Cyr Hil
Thdt Aug (cf. boh) [dixit dixit d sed *om. dim*]
- ό ††
- 40 > πολλοὶ οὖν ἀκούσαντες ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου Sol^{vid} (*ord mutant al. sed*
variant multum inter se)
τῶν λόγων Multi et syr copt goth vg it Orig
- 41 + δε (*ante* οὗτος) †† DLWX 24 69 [non fam] 249 406 Laura¹⁰⁴
d copt [Non syr hoc loco, non lat]
- δε (*post* αλλοι sec.)
- 42 — του (*ante* σπερματος) DU fam 1 fam 13 248 435 2^{ve} Evst 32
53 54 (*boh omn πικροχ artic levis uno excepto πικροχ*)
Orig latt
- 43 > ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ NB(D) LNTWXΨ 33 124 249 (435)
Laura¹⁰⁴ Evst 44 vg it [non q] sah boh syrr arm (Orig) Cyr
- 50 > [ὁ ἐλθὼν] πρὸς αὐτὸν νυκτὸς
- 51 παρ' αὐτοῦ πρῶτον (*pro* παρ αυτου προτερον)
- 53/viii 11 *fin. om.* (fo. 285 recto)
- vii 1 περιεπάτη †† 4/7 [cum t. r.] 8 [ταύτην] [οὕψω]
10/12 [cum t. r.] 15 οὐτος 19, 22 μωῦσῃς ††
22 [δέδωκεν] οὐχότι 22, 23 [μωσέως] 23 χολάτε
ιγνή 24 κατόψιν sic *fin.* [κρίνατε] 25 ἱεροσολυμίτων
sic. οὐχούτος 26 ἀληθῶς sec. (*pr. circumfl. habet*)
29 οἶδα sic 31 [πολλοὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου ἐπίστευσαν]
πλείονα sic *fin.* ἐποίησε, †† 33 μεθυμῶν sic*
34, 36 οὐχέυρῃσατε 35 οὐχέυρῃσομεν 36 [οὗτος ὁ
λόγος] εἶπεν †† ὅπου δύνασθα'ι †† (*phnct man**)
37 εἰσπῆκει 39 ἡμελλον †† [οἱ πιστεύοντες] [οὐδέπω]
42 [ὁ χϞ' ἔρχεται] 44 [ἐπέβαλεν] 45 διὰ τί
46/49 [cum t. r.] 50 ὦν φρο ὦν
- viii 12 > [Πάλιν οὖν] αὐτοῖς ὁ ἱε[ε]ρ[ε]ς [ἐλάλησε]
- 14 > ἡ μαρτυρία μου ἀληθὴς ἐστίν· BW 235 Evst 60 b vg¹¹ sah [non boh]
arm diatess? Orig Did (Chrys^{ms} ambo lect) [non syr lat]
η (*pro* και ult) †† BD^{8e} KNTU [non W] XAΨ al^{ss} flq sah
boh diatess Cf. goth. (neque syr)
- 19 — ό sec.
- 20 — ο ιησους NBDKLT min^{perpau} 38 249 251 254 w^{scr*} verss
(*praeter georg slav vid*)

John

viii 22

+ ὅτι (ante οπου) *me teste* [non ver 21] †† (Male Bir Scho + οτι ver 21) U Eust 47 c^{scr} x^{scr} *copt syr arm arab* [non lat sea forsān ex lat. Cf. gal]

23 + και (ante εγω prim.) †† Sol^{vid} cum syrr arm goth (ith) diatess (18^{er} f q gal sah 4/10 boh aeth georg pers + δε) Non lat vid. [Lat. Ego de . . .] Cf. sah

26 — & †† Sol^{vid} cum 250 Cf. sah [Habet plane boh] λαλῶ (pro λεγω)

28 + οὐ (ante ποιω) = *copt*; I nec facio nihil Cf. Eust 22 Cf. syr: 'nothing of mine own self I do' Cf. b c f f r, nihil ante facio. Cf. aeth (Gr. ΑΠΕΜΑΥΤΟΥΠΟΙΩ hinc + ΟΥ)

38 > ἐγὼ παρὰ τῷ πρὶ μου ὁ (sic) ἐώρακα λαλῶ· [και ὑμεῖς οὖν ὁ ἐώρακατε παρὰ τῷ πρὶ ὑμῶν ποιεῖτε·] Sol = pers^{int}

39 fin. — αν

42 — ουν

43 τῶν λόγων τῶν ἐμῶν (pro τον λογον τον εμου) U 78 108 127 242 d^{scr} 604 Eust 20 49 198 y^{scr} georg slav boh^m sah^{sa} [Non syr-lat vid sed lat^{omn} loquelam meam]

44 + τοῦ (ante πατρος prim.)

+ ὑμων (post πατρος prim.) †† S^{mg} Λ^a min^{so} sah boh syr sin arab (aeth) georg slav Clem Orig 1/5 Did Epiph [non Tert] fin. ἐστιν ὡς ὁ πῆρ αὐτοῦ (pro εστιν και ο πῆρ αουτου) ffr foss syr sch pesh Ign (καθως και Ψ a b c e l aur Cyr Antioch) (Cf. *copt* ne πεα πεκειωτ) [and the father of untruth Epiph diatess]

46 — δε

— υμεις W (28) 71 (87) (250) a r vg (non codd excepto Z) goth arm aeth sah 2/8 boh 3/36

49 + και ειπεν αυτοῖς (ante εγω) †† Sol^{vid} cum aeth georg et boh aliq (+ και ειπεν N G fam I fum 13 22? boh al. arm arab syr hier; ειπεν αυτοις ιησους pro απερ. ιησους syrr diatess)

54 ἡμῶν de industria* sed ex emend vid. (Primum haud dub. ὑμῶν) † Recte Bir, male Scho ὑμων

55 και αν (pro και εν) †† Sol? καν NBDW

ὑμῖν (pro ὑμῶν) BADW fum 1.52 254 2^{ro} latt (Incert Tert ero similis vestri mendax ut ed)

58 ἐγὼ ἡμῖ, sic (pro ἐγὼ εἰμι) †† Id est ἐγὼ ἡμην sol cum 225 Eust 60 (aeth) pers sax syr sin [hiat cu] Ephr. (Silet Tisch) De usu ἡμην in Ioh. vide xi 15 (isto loco libr noster scribit ἡμῖ [non fin lin]) Cf. etiam xix 15

viii 12 περιπατήσῃ 19 ἡδῆτε pr. et ἡδῆτε sec. †† 21 ἀποθα-
νεῖσθαι [non ver 24] †† 22 οὐδὲν: sine sp, id est οὐ
δύνασθαι †† 23 [εἶπεν] 25/26 absque interfuncto
28 [Habet μου] 32 γινώσκεισθαῖ (comp.) †† 37 οἶδα
43, 46 διὰ τί 44 οὐχ ἐστῆκεν sic 47 ἄν 48 σαμα-
ρείτισ †† 51 [τὸν λόγον τὸν ἐμὸν] 52, 53 προφῆται
52 [γεύσεται] 56 ἵνα [ἴδῃ] 59 [διελθὼν Διὰ μέσου
αὐτῶν· και παρῆγεν οὕτως·]

John

ix 1⁴

- 6 ἐπέχρισεν + αὐτοῦ Cf. Tisch
 8 προσαίτησ (pro τυφλος)
 οὐχ' οὗτος ἦν (pro οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν) †† Sol^{vid} inter omn. (Cf. arm)
 9 — δε † (Recte Bir, negl. Scho)
 + δε (post ekeinos)
 10 + οὖν (post πως) NCDLNXY (a) dffl aur (arm) syr hier
 dialess
 11 οὖν (pro δε) NBDLNWXY 1.33.124 249 Paris⁷⁷ 2⁹⁰ d (sol
 inter latt) sah boh (except boh⁹⁷ om. cum e) Cyr
 12 καὶ εἶπον (pro εἶπον οὖν) NBLWX fam 1.33 2⁹⁰ (b fr) l vg aeth
 syr hier Cyr (al. aliq om. copul)
 15 — καὶ prim. (ante οι φαρ.) UX al. pauc syr sah boh arm vg it
 [non dδ] (Errat Tisch — οι. Vult — καὶ)
 > πηλὸν ἐπέθηκε μου ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς
 16 οὐκ ἔστιν οὗτος παρὰ (— του) θῷ ὁ ἄνωσ NBDLNWXY Paris⁷⁷
 d(e)ffl syr hier Cyr (cf. al.)
 17 ἀνέωξε (pro ἤνοιξε) KLNPIY etc (ἠνεώξεν BWX Δ etc)
 18 > ἦν τυφλὸς † (Recte Bir, confuse Scho) NBLNW Paris⁷⁷
 b r (copl) (om. claus D d l)
 20 + δε (post απεκρ.)
 21 ἠνέωξεν (pro ἤνοιξεν) †† ANW 1.33 53 254 346 al.?
 'αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσατε· ἡλικίαν ἔχει· αὐτὸς τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ λαλήσει·' Ψ Cf.
 N°BDLX 1.33 Paris⁷⁷ vg it [non l q δ] aeth boh. (Om. aut.
 ερωτ. N°W b sah syr sin) syr hier Cyr (+ τα min¹³)
 24 > οὗτος ὁ ἄνωσ NBLW 249 goth latt pl [non d e δ; — hic l* gat]
 syr aeth copl
 26 οὖν (pro δε)
 27 > μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ NDLXΓΔΨ 28 33 44 131 234 245 252 259
 Eust 47 verss Cyr
 28 init. + οἱ δε } N°DLNΨ 1 33 2⁹⁰ a d f boh syr (+ καὶ sah 10/12,
 — οὖν } N°BW Paris⁷⁷ (a) aeth Cyr; om. copul sah 2/12,
 AXΔ etc b e l q δ gat; [ελοιδ. οὖν 69 c vg goth])
 σὺ μαθητὴς ἐκείνου ἢ sic (pro εἰ συ μαθ. εκεινου) †† (Male Bir Scho
 εἰ pro ἦ). Ord cum D a b c d ff Cyr; ἦ 33, cf. latt sis (a esto
 ff est) συ μαθ. εἰ εκεινου NABNWΨ 1.33 Paris⁷⁷
 31 θεοσεβὴς ἢ + καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν θῷ, (pro θεοσεβῆς ἦ) Sol^{vid}
 (conflat) Cf. syr: (Burkitt et Hogg feareth magis quam
 reveretur Schaaf Gwilliam) Cf. d: deum TIMET (contra a:
 deum colat, r: colit eum, e Cypr ter: deum coluerit (cf. θελει
 θεοσεβεις ειναι 251 sol), Aug: eum coluerit, gat E⁷⁸: eius
 cultor est, δ: deicola fuerit, vg, rell et l: dei cultor est).
 Aeth^{int} timentes Deum tantum. [Gr seq boh sah (sah literatim
 οτραπποττε, boh εοτϣαμϣεποτ†)] Silet Tisch de 157
 35 — Ηκουσεν ο Ιησους οτι εξεβαλον αυτον εξω Sol vid cum 234* 251*
 1^{scr} r₂ syr hier^{omn} (ex hom εξω ... εξω) om. εξω DW, cf. syr sin

‡ Investigationem Laura 104^a hoc loco abruptit Lake

John

— eis (*post πιστευεις*) *Sol^{vid} cum ff arm georg* (? *ex πιστευεις anteced. sed cf. sah boh*)

fin. [του θθ]

ix 36 + καὶ (*ante τις ἐστι κᾶ*)

38 *fin. αὐτόν* (*pro αὐτῷ*) D 96 e^{scr} *Eust* 5 19 22 36 et d d *latt omn* (*post adoravit*) (*Cf. syr copt*) [*Om. vers N* b (l)*]

40 *init.* — καὶ NBLWX 33 249 Paris^m *sah boh arm pers georg Cyr* [*non syrr latt goth*] (+ *de D dff boh^{codd} sah^{cod1}*; + *ouv fam 1.2^{po} a* [et aud. igitur])

> μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντες NBDLWXΨ *fam 1.33.248 2^{po} it vg syr sah Cyr*

41 [βλεπομεν *sed prob** vel****] βλεπομεν *prob* ut F 28 235 i^{scr} P^{scr} (††)*

— οὐν NBDKLWX 1.33.69 2^{po} w^{scr} Paris^m *vg it pl* [*non a l r d*] *sah goth* (*errat Tisch*) *Cyr Orig^{int}* (+ *καὶ sah^m boh pl aeth georg syr hier arm*) [*Habent ouv syrr rell et diatess diserte; eithan goth*]

ix 5 ὁ sic 6 [τοῦ τυφλοῦ] 7 σηλωὰμ † (*Bir non Scho*) 9 [ὅτι *pr.*] 10 ἠνεώχθησαν 14 [ὅτι] 17 [σὺ τι] 18 ἔωσότου sic 19 *fin.* [ἄρτι βλέπει] 20 [αὐτοῖς] 21 οἷδαμεν sic [*supra et infra in hoc cap οἶδαμεν praeter ver 29*] 22 ἡδὴ ὁμολογήσῃ 23 ἡλικίαν 28 [μωσέως] 29 μωϋσῇ †† οἶδαμεν 30 [ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ] ἐστὶν *sec. loco* †† [ἀνέωξέ μου] 31 [δε] [ἀμαρτανῶν ὁ θεός] 36 [ἀπεκριθὲν ἐκείνος καὶ εἶπε] 36 *fin.* [εἰς αὐτόν] 39 [κρίμα]

x 3 φωνεῖ (*pro καλεῖ*) NABDLWXΨ *fam 1.33.249 2^{po} Paris^m Cyr 4 init.* — καὶ NBLWΠ² 1 [*non fam*] 33 2^{po} *sah boh^{BS} (rell 2e cum b c ff l q, Gr min fauc)* [*syrr et verss kai*]

6 ἐλάλη sic *pr. man.* †† ἐλαλη *scr^s* (*dicebat d, loquebatur b c ff l aur, locutus est 250 a b q, loqueretur rell*)

7 > αὐτοῖς πάλιν [ὁ ἰδῆ] N*AKΛΠ *al. it pl vg syrr arm aeth sah* — οὐ †† BGKLUXΠ*Ψ 33 *al³⁰ a vg^E arm? aeth georg Cyr Lucif*

8 > ὅσοι (*sic*) ἦλθον πρὸ ἐμοῦ *Cf. Tisch et W & W, et d gat foss Lucif Hier⁵ contra Aug* (— *προ εμου mult*)

10 περισσότερον (*pro περισσόν*) XΓΨ 69 Paris^m *Eust 20 Ath latt vid diatess* [*non copt, syr*] (*om. claus D d sah¹¹⁰*)

12 > ὁ δὲ μισθωτὸς NDXΔΨ *al. aliq Const Cyr* ἀρπάξείαυτὰ sic *pr. man.* ††

17 ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων (*PRO ἵνα πάλιν λάβω αὐτήν*) *Sol^{vid} et Auct de prom.* (*Om. boh² vg^F [non diat. arab]*) *Cf. Burkill de Aphraat (syr sin not. p. 485 vol txt)* 'That my life I give on behalf of the flock that again I may take it' *Cf. ace*

18 *init.* + καὶ *Sol^{vid} cum c syr sin aeth Chr^{MSS}* (+ *enim P*; + *γαρ Ψ 250*) + ἀπ' ἐμαντοῦ (*post θειναι αυτην*) †† *Sol^{vid} (cf. pers) Cf. + την*

John

- ψυχὴν μου 28 *Aug Novat Hil Ambr dim aur vg*^{GT}. Cf. de-
 ponendi δ^o (*contra rell ponendi*)
 ἀπὸ (*pro para*) †† *Sol*^{vid} cum W* et 'colb' Wetst
 x 19 — οὖν †† *NBLWX* 33.249 Parisⁿ *vg* [non *tol*] *it* [non *d*] *arm*
sah, (*boh*^A). [*Contra syr sin amplius; rell syrr kai*]
 21 *fin.* ἀποίξαι *sic* (*pro ανοιγειν*) *NBLWX* *fam* 1 *fam* 13 22* 33 249*
 2^o Parisⁿ *Orig Chr*
 22 — τοις
 23 — του †† [*σολομῶτος*]
 24 — εἰ (*in sec loco*) † (*Recte Bir, male indic. Scho ei prim.*) *Sol*?
 (Parisⁿ ?)
 25 οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε (*pro ου πιστευετε*) B 52 63 71 248 (251) 259 (*f*)
aeth? [non *Tert*]
 26 *init.* ἀλλὰ (*pro ἀλλ'*) †† *NABLWA* c^{scr} *copt*
 27 ἀκούουσι (*pro ακουει*) *NB* [non *D^{sr}*] *LWX* *fam* 13 33 249 *latt*
et d Orig 4/6 *Cyr Clem*^{hom} *cod* (*ακουσσωσιν Parisⁿ*)
 28 > διδωμι αὐτοῖς ζωὴν αἰώνιον *NBLM*WX* 249 *sah boh ambo*
fut (*cf. Io. xiv 2*) *syr arm aeth* [*contra lat goth*]
 οὐ μὴ ἀρπάσῃ (*pro ουχ αρπασει*) *NDLX* 69 71 96 249 *Eust* 20 *Cyr*
Bas (*Cf. verss: syr-lat-copt eadem verba utuntur pro ου μη*
[απολωνται] et ουχ [αρπασει])
 32 > [πολλά] ἔργα καλὰ [*ἔδειξα ὑμῖν*] *NAKΛΠΨ* *fam* 1.33.106 254
 2^o c^{scr} p^{scr} w^{scr} *syr arm sah boh aeth it*^{pl} [non *d goth*] — ἐργα
 127* 245 (*Epi^{ph}*); — καλὰ W 220 *Eust* 54 *b gut* *syr sin*
Tert^{prax} (*Tert non citat Tisch.*) [*Habent καλὰ et ἐργα Verss.*]
 — αὐτῶν W Δ³ (69) 435 *Eust* 44 *e* (*boh*) *vg*^T *Ath* [non *sah syr*
verss rel]
 ἐμὲ λιθάετε (*pro λιθ. με*) †† *NBLΨ* 33 Parisⁿ *a b e ff r al. Ath*
 [*Contra syr copt et lat c d f l d*]
 33 — λεγοντες
 34 + ὅτε (*ante εγω*) *NBDLWXΨ* 12.33.38 Parisⁿ *syr sah boh*
pers arab vg it [non *goth*]
 38 + μου (*post εργοις*) *HM* *fam* 13 [non 69] 51 73 218 249 258
d^{scr} i^{scr} Parisⁿ *Eust* 48 50 *sah* 1/7 *aeth?* *slav arab Chr*
 (+ *ipsis syrr*) [non *lat*]
 — και πιστευσητε †† *D a b c d e l ff (m) Tert Cypr Zeno syr sin*
 [non *rell syrr diatess*] (*et cognoscatis r sah boh ut gr*
BLWX *fam* 1.33 2^o *arm aeth georg syr hier*)
fin. ἐν τῷ πρί (*pro εν αυτω*) *NBDLWX* 33 *a d c e foss gal vg sah*
boh (aeth) georg arm pers arab syrr diatess
 39 — οὖν (*post εζητουν*)
 41 > ἐποίησε σημεῖον οὐδέν (*pro σημ. επ. ουδεν*) *KLMWXΠΨ* *fam* 1
fam 13 44 249 2^o *scr^b* Parisⁿ *goth Orig* [non *syr lat copt*]
 γὰρ (*pro δε*) *Sol*^{vid} cum *g₁ vg^E* (*om. 245 boh aliq, sah¹¹⁰ vg^x*)
ith goth
 42 > και πολλοι ἐπιστευσαν εις αυτον εκει (†† *Non accurate Bir Scho*)
NBDLMXΨ 248 249 Parisⁿ *d sah boh pl arm aeth syr hier*
 (*om. εκει 16 syr rell it vg [praeter d d] diatess*)

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B b

John

- x 8 κατόνομα 4 [πρόβατα *prim.*] 12 [εἰσι] 12/13 [τὰ
 πρόβατα. ὁ δὲ μισθωτὸς φεύγει:] 14 [καὶ γινώσκονται
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμῶν] 16 [με δεῖ] [γενήσεται] 17 [ὁ πῆρ
 με] 21 μὴ δαιμόνιζονται *sic*^a 22 [καὶ χειμῶν ἔν]
 24 [ἐκύκλωσαν] [εἰπέ] 33 σεαυτὸν *sic* 35 γραφὴ
sic 36 ἡγίασεν *sic* †† [τοῦ θε] 39 [πάλιν αὐτὸν
 πιάσαι] 40/41 *conīungit*
- xi I — καὶ Μαρθας (*cum* A*?) *errore?* *Pergit* [τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτῆς]
om. Μαρθας *foss.*
- 3 + αὐτοῦ (*post* ἀδελφαι) †† D S *min*²⁸ *syrr sah boh aeth arm*
goth diatess vg it (om. sorores eius b; om. vers ff) [non arab]*
- 7 ἔπειτα †† P^{scr} x^{scr} *al.*? (εἰτα D 435) (μετα δε τουτο 249)
 + αὐτοῦ (*post* μαθηταῖς) *Mult, syrr et verss [non a goth]*
- 8 > σε οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι λιθάσαι U *fam* 1 *fam* 13 245 248 i^{scr} *vg f aur*
(arm syr copt) (οἱ ἰουδ. αποκτ. 218 Parisⁿ r *solī, et conflat*
slav: 'to kill thee with stones')
- 9 — ὁ
 > ἔραι εἰσι (*pro* εἰσιν ὡραι) *Mult et syr vgg pl it pl et was*
χει D d
- 10 περιπατεῖ †† [*sed ver* 9 περιπατῇ]
- 11 ἐλάλησεν δὲ ἰῆ (*pro* αἶπε) †† Sol^{vid} *cum diatess (Cf. syr sin, syr*
pesh, pers) spatium in ff
- 12 αὐτῷ (*pro* αὐτοῦ) BC* X 13 [*non fam*] *boh.* (ND KW Π 42 o^{scr}
 p^{scr} w^{scr} Parisⁿ *al. b d sah arm*) (*ac ff syrr aeth diatess*)
- 14 — ὡν AW 249 2^o Parisⁿ a (p) *dim arm syrr boh [non sah]*
georg (aeth)
 — οἱ ἰησοῦς 33 245 *Eust* 47 a e r d (*habet* Δ^{scr}) [*non syrr non verss*]
- 15 — ἵνα πιστευσητε †† Sol^{vid} (*ord mut e:* quod ibi non fui ut
credatis; confuse E^{scr} propter vos quia non eram ibi ut credatis
quia non eram ibi) Cf. a mutilum. Cf. verss qui (praeter
sah boh goth) ord gr non seq.
- ἀλλα ††
- 17 + εἰς βυθανίαν, (*post* ἰησοῦς) N^b A² D X Δ *fam* 13 [*non* 69] 16
 17 32 218 249 254 262 i^{scr} Parisⁿ d *syrr et diatess aeth georg*
arab pers
- 19 πολλοὶ δὲ (*pro* καὶ πολλοὶ *imil.*) N B C D L W X 33 249 *sah boh*
vg it [non f, cum goth] syr hier (πολλοὶ οὖν *fam* 1.2^o Parisⁿ)
 τὴν (*pro* τας περι) N B C* L W X (D) 33 38 249 Parisⁿ *it vg verss*
παραμυθίσονται ††
- 20 — ὁ
- 21 > ὁδε, (*sic*) οὐκᾶν μου ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐτεθνήκει· († *non lucide Scho.*) (*Cf.*
AD X d copt)
- 24 + ἡ (*ante* μαρθα) †† BC* D K L X Π Ψ *al. min* (scrⁿ).
- 28 μαριάμ †† A B C D K L Δ Π 33 Parisⁿ *syr*
αὐτῇσ' λάβρα εἰπούσα †† 28 34 36 248 (*Cf. sah sol:* εἰπούσα αὐτῇ
λάβρα) f occulte pro silentio, sed D^{scr} σιωπῇ pro silentio
πάρεστιν sic †† Sol? (Cf. vi 45) [venit pro adest a d (D^{scr}
παρεστίν) e l p gal syr goth diatess et verss praeter boh]

John

- xi 29 ἡγήθη (pro εἰρεται) †† NBC*DLWX 33 249 Parisⁿ *it* [non
l gal] goth arm aeth syr copt
ἦρχετο (sic) pro εἰρεται †† NBC*DLWX 33 249 Parisⁿ (it) [non
D⁸⁷] syrr arm aeth goth copt
- 30 οὕτω ἦδει sic (pro οὕτω δε) †† Sol. Vult ουτω ηδη? (γὰρ D *it*
vg boh)
- 31 μαρίαν †† BC*DKLΔΠ 33 Parisⁿ syr
δόξαντες (pro λεγοντες) NBC*DLWX *fam* 1.13.22 (33) 78 127
346 604 Parisⁿ d [non al. lat] arm aeth pers georg boh [non
sah] syrr [non hier] diatess [non goth slav arab]
- 32 μαρίαν †† BC*E*L [non Δ hoc loco] 33 Parisⁿ syr
αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πόδας (pro eis tous podas autou)
> μου ἀπέθανεν †† NBC*LWΔΨ(D) 33 254 dδ (— μου Parisⁿ)
- 33 *fin.* αὐτὸν (pro eauton) †† L*Δ 118-209 250 Parisⁿ *Eust* 48 P^{scr}
y^{scr} al. ? [non lat]
- 37 ἐδύνατο (pro ἦδυν.) †† B*CDKWΠ al.
- 39 τετελευτηκότος (pro τεθνηκotos) ABC*DKLWΠΨ 27 33 249
w^{scr} [non Parisⁿ] (defuncti dδ; om. a p r) Lazar pers. Om.
claus b c e ffl foss syr sin
- 41 — ου ην ο τεθνηκως κειμενος NBC*DLWX 5.24* 33 6^{po} (AKΠ
1.22.249 c^{scr} p^{scr} w^{scr} Parisⁿ fδ goth) arm aeth pers syrr
diatess *it* vg Orig pluries Cf. boh et sah (qui variant)
[Haben^t georg slav arab]
- 43 [λάζαρε δεῦρο ἔξω] *semel*
- 44 > τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας AΛ 69 [non fam] min³⁰ aeth syrr
diatess goth boh^{septem} sah^{duo} georg slav pers arab [non arm]
foss Hier [non gal]
- κῆρῖαις AXΔΛΨ al. (κῆρῖαις W, κῆρῖαις 69)
— ο ιησους Sol^{vid} (ex ΑΥΤΟΙCΟΙC) Ex eadem causa (IHS EIS
ord gr BL Orig) om. eis 604 a l (me teste) r aur tol. ei iesus
f, illi iesus d (contra D⁸⁷ αυτοις)
+ αὐτὸν (post αφερε) BC*L [non W] 33 Parisⁿ ff vg^D boh
sah aeth slav arab syr hier diatess Orig^{ter} Bas (Iren?) Ex
ΑΦΕΤΑΙΥΠΑΓΕΙΝ (vid + ΑΥΤ). Vide W
- 45 [μαρίαν]
- 48 αἰροῦσιν sic (pro ἀροῦσιν) †† Cf. sah slav (syr)
- 54 *init.* ὁ οὖν τῷ οὐκ' ἐτι sic BLMWX *fam* 1.249 Parisⁿ Orig *Ath*
(ord copt, sed boh sah ambo IHC 2e non 2e)
καὶ ἐκεῖ (pro καὶ ἐκ) †† LWΓ *fam* 13 33 69 249 251 252 Orig
- 55 *fin.* αὐτοῦσ' (sic, male Bir Scho αὐτοῦς) pro εαυτοῦς (††) M sol.
(om. arab)
- 56 μετὰ ἀλλήλων †† I sol^{vid}
- 57 — καὶ *prim.*
xi 2 ἦσ (pro ἦς) II ἐξυπνήσω 14 *fin.* [ἀπέθανε*] sed
vult* ἀπέθανεν †† 17 [ἡμέρας ἦδη] 19 [μάρθαν ε
μαρίαν] *fin.* [αὐτῶν] 28 [ταῦτα] 30 *init.* οὕτω
33/34 *iungit* 38 [ἐμβριμώμενος] 39 [ᾗ] cf. Evan

John

- 28 *οὗ με teste* 41 *ὅτι* 45, 46 [δ] 47 [σημεῖα ποιεῖ] 48 *οὕτως* †† 50 *ἅλων* 51 [προεφίητευσεν] ἡμελλεν †† 52 *οὐχὺν ἐρ* 54 [Διέτριβε] 55 ἀγρίωσαν 56 *ἐστηκότες* 57 [ἐντολήν] *ἐστιν* ††
- xii 2 ἀνακειμένον σὺν (*pro συνακ.*)
- 3 ἀλάβαστρον (*pro λίτραν*) †† *Sol inter gr cum syr^{sch} peah diatess arab et vg⁺ diat[contra latt omn] et pers (ampullam).* (αλαβαστρον λίτραν *Eust* 47 *et syr sin*)
μύρον· νάρδον πιστικὲ πολυτίμου· *ita interfuncta a manu rubric. (etiam comita post πολυτιμου a manu prima)*
- 4 [λέγει οὖν εἰς] (— *εκ*) †† [τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἰουδας σίμωνος ἰσκαριώτης] + εἰς ἃν ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα· *Solvid* (— *εκ* B L Q W 33 249; *transponunt* MBL 33 249 *sah syr aeth arab pers*)
- 6 γλωσσόκομον (*pro γλωσσόκομον*) †† *y^{scr}*
ἔχων (*pro εἶχε*) [*Habet* καὶ *seq, male Scho*] † *fam* 1 *Orig* 1/2 (*εχων*, — καὶ MBDLQW 33 2^o Paris⁹⁷ *d g gat vg sah boh Orig* 1/2)
- 7 + ἵνα (*ante εἰς την ημεραν*). *Ita, absque inter-*
functis: ἀφεσ αὐτὴν ἵνα εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν } *Aliq. et verss.*
τηρήσῃ (*pro τητηρηκεν*)
- 9 — *εκ prim.* W 258 Paris⁹⁷ *y^{scr} e goth (boh, non sah) pers aeth*
- 11 > δι' αὐτὸν πολλοὶ *Solvid cum boh [non sah] slav (cf. syr sin) cf. g₁*
- 12 + τε (*post τῇ init.*) *Solvid inter gr (+ ουν w^{**scr}) cum latt*
mult + autem, boh + αe [non sah] et syrr omn aeth arab e
+ καὶ, etiam diatess § xxxix 34. (Io. xii 11 fin. ad § xxxix 6)
ὅτι ἰδ' ἔρχεται (*pro οτι ερχεται ο ιη σους*) ALX 33 74 90 249 *a c e ff*
aur vg⁺ boh sah syrr [non goth]
- 13 συνάντησιν (*pro υπαντησιν*) †† DGLX *al. pauc.*
ἐκραύγαζον (*pro εκραζον*) MBDLQW 44 122 Paris⁹⁷ *Eust* 44
(B¹ εκραυγασαν) εκεκραγον Clem
+ λέγοντες (post εκραυγ.) MADKQXII al. a dff foss syr boh
arm georg slav pers aeth diatess Clem [contra rell et Hier^{Dam}]
- 18 ὄχλος (*pro ὁ ὄχλος*) †† W 69 234 251 *Eust* 47 *latt (et N οχλος*
πολυς) οχλοι πολλοι syrr; οχλοι D c d
ἤκουσαν (*pro ηκουσε*)
- 19 + ὅλος (*post κοσμος*) DLQX *aliq syr arm aeth it [non δ] vg*
boh [non sah] diatess (unus populus ff. cf. so manaseds goth)
- 20 > ἔλθινος τινὲς MBDL MQWX *fam* 1.33.249 2^o Paris⁹⁷ *it*
pl [non a r] syrr (diserte). Graeci (— quidam) l. 69 220 x^{scr} sem.
προσκυνήσουσιν D L Δ 249 Paris⁹⁷ *z^{scr} p^{scr}*
ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ (*pro εν τη εορτη*) *Solvid (Cf. Matt. xxi 12, Mar. xi 11,*
Luc. xix 45 et diatess § xxxix fin., xl init., § xxxii 1) a e = in
diem solemnem (pro in die festo vgg vel in diem festum f)
Obs boh ord: that came up to the feast that they should worship
- 21 θέλωμεν †† 28 69 262 435 *i y z^{scr}*
- 22 + ὁ (*ante φιλιππος sec.*) †† BLWXΠ³ 33
[καὶ πάλιν] + ἔρχεται († confuse Scho) N 249. (Cf. ABL a e r boh
[non sah] aeth georg arab syr sin hier) Non diatess.

John

- + καὶ (*ante* λεγουσι) **NABL** [*non boh* αἱ ἀρχαί, — οὐτορ]
 33 249 *a r aeth georg arab syr sin hier*
- xii 26 > τίς διακονῇ (ἢ *ex em*) *pro* διακονη τις. *Mult et syr goth copt*
 — καὶ ult. **MBDLXΨ** *fam* 1.33 *fam* 13 Paris^m *a de ffgm gat*
aur vg syr [*non sin*] *pers arm sah* [*non boh, non dialess non*
aeth georg slav arab goth]
- 29 ἐστὴκὼς (*pro* ἐστὼς) †† [*Habet kai seq.*]
- 30 > Ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν ὁ (*sic*) ἰδ̄ (†† *Male om.* ὁ *Bir Scho*) (**BL Eust** 48)
 > ἡ φωνὴ αὐτῆς **ABDLMU³WXΨ** *fam* 1.33.90 248 254
 Paris^m scr⁷ *Eust* 47 *latt* [*non ff i d μ dim goth Tert*] (*syr*)
 — αὐτῆ ρ; — φωνῆ *vg^{mi}*
- 32 ὅταν (*pro* ἐάν) 254 *Eust* 48, *Orig* 1/5 *Ath Bas Ambr Ambrst*
Leo 1/2, *a eff* (*soli cum pro si*) *arm pers syrr et dialess aeth?*
(an B 13 [non fam]). *Obs iabai goth*
- 34 — αὐτῷ **H** 33 64 *Eust* 48 *x^{scr}sem georg boh^{dao}* [*non sah syrr latt*]
 — ο (*ante* χριστος) †† *Bir*: ‘— ὁ *prius*’ *hinc male Scho* — ὁ
ante οὗλος
 — ἐστιν *lxi* †† (*Suppl. marg a prima man*) *om. gat*
- 35 ἐν ὑμῖν (*pro* μεθ̄ ὑμῶν) **NBDKLMWXΠΨ** *fam* 1.33 *fam* 13 [*non*
 124] Paris^m *al. vg it goth boh* [*non sah syr rell verss*] *Cyr*
 + ἰ (*ante* σκοτία) †† **N^o KLU** [*non W*] **XΔΠ** *fam* 1. *dowx^{scr}*
Eust 48 (*sah*) *boh* [*Latt tenebrae*] **MHCKOTIA** (*Add vel*
perd ex propinq μῆ)
- 40 ἐπαρώθησαν (*pro* πεπωρωκεν) †† *Sol?* (*Male Bir Scho* ἐπαρώ-
 τησαν) ἐπαρωσεν (**N**) **AB^{*}KLX(Π)Ψ**. [*Pro τετυφλωκεν... και*
πεπωρωκεν habent sah et boh: He hardened . . . and he
 hardened] *επηρωσεν W*; *πεπηρωκεν* 63 259
 ἐπιστρέψωσι (*pro* ἐπιστραφ.) (**N**) **KLMWXΠ** (*fam* 13) 42 68
Eus Did
λάσομαι
- 41 ὅτι (*pro* ὅτε) †† **NABLMXΨ I** [*non fam*] 33 97 252 *c^{scr}* Paris^m
e sah boh arm (aeth) Epiph [*non syr latt*] [*επει W*] *quando*
latro^{mn}. *Diserte pers* in tempore quando
- 43 ὑπὲρ (*pro* ἥπερ) **NLWX** *fam* 1 *fam* 13 [*non* 124] 33 245 250 2^{po}
Eust 48 (*cf. syr*) (*εἰπερ Ψ*) *Magis quam latt pl.* *Potius l*
- 44 ἀλλὰ †† (*ante eis*) **NBDLWΔ** *copt* [*ver* 47 ἀλλ’ ἵνα]
- 47 φυλάξῃ *sic* (*pro* πιστευσῇ) **NABDKLWXΠ** *min³⁰* *et verss* [*non*
goth] *vg latt pl*, [*sed f q d goth georg slav crediderit*], *et a* (*ut*
pers^{int}) **SERVAVERIT**
- 48 κρίνει (*pro* κρίνει) **FGA** 97 124–346 *Eust* 48 (*M κρίνει*). *d vg^p*
(iudicat) D^{8r} κρινει [*non sah boh = fut. cum latt pl iudicabit*]
Cf. goth, et sax: ‘Doometh’
- 50 > ἐγὼ λαῶ **NABLMWX** *al. it boh* [*non sah*] *arm Tert* 1/2
 [*non syr*] *Ergo loquor* (— *ego*) *a d et D^{8r} Γ 44. Om. e*
 xii 1 [*ὁ τεθνηκὼς*] 5 διὰτι 6 οὐχότι ἐμελλεν †† 9 ὃν
 (*pro* ὃν) 13 ὡσάννᾳ 25 [ἀπολέσει] μισῶν 28 φωνῇ
 33 ἐμελλεν (*ε pr. ex em a pr. man.*) †† 34 [σου λέγεισ]

John

- 35 [ἔωσ] οἶδεν †† 36 *init.* [ἔωσ] 42 οὐχὶ ὁμολόγου
 49 [ἔδωκε] 50 οὕτως ††
 xiii I ἦλθεν (*pro* ἐληλυθεν) † (*Recte Bir, negl. Scho*)
 3 ἰδῶσ (*pro* εἰδῶσ) †† ^{scr} *al.* ? (ἰδων 33 = *boh* [non sah arab])
 [δέδωκεν] *sed* *℣ lit capitula a rubric.* ἐδωκεν* ? *cum* *℣ BKLW*
 I [non fam] 57 239 254 Paris⁹⁷ Orig 7/8
 6 *fin.* πόδας , (*aureo a rubric. = interrogationis signum*)
 7 + ὁ (*ante* ἱ) †† K M Δ Π³ 13-346 [non 69-124] 33 249 diw^{scr}
 Paris⁹⁷ Eust 22 55
 — και εἶπεν αὐτῷ 33 h^{scr} Eust 32 (y^{scr}). (— αὐτῷ *arm georg pers*
 [non Gr-lat])
 8 + ὁ (*ante* περὶ) †† L Δ *al.* Orig
 > μου τοὺς πόδας B C L W Ψ 235 435 e^{scr} (D I fam 69) *it* [non
a l r d] syrr (mihi pedes meos) *dialess* Orig 6/7. μου νψ. τοὺς
 ποδας D fam I fam 13
 — αὐτῷ *sec.* †† C³ D 80 Eust 18 55 x^{scr} b d e l m aur dim gat
boh [non sah *praeter* 95 ?] *arm* [non syr non rel verss]
 9 — τας χεῖρας και Sol^{vid}. *Suppl. intra lin a man nova (recent.*
post med sec. xiv). Male 'in marg ab emend.' Bir
fin. + μου Sol *inter gr vid cum syrr aeth pers sah boh georg et dialess.*
 (+ et totum corpus a; + etiam lavabis pers sah syr sin)
 10 εἰ μὴ (*pro* ἦ) B C D L W Π Ψ fam 13 [non 124] 33 42 61 249
 254 *it* syr copt Orig Chr Dionys
 ἀλλὰ ἔστι (*pro* ἀλλ' ἔστι) †† ? *et sah boh* [*sed* ἀλλ' οὐχὶ *seq.*]
 11 + ὅτι (*ante* οὐχὶ) †† B L W 33 a b c f f l g r syr (syr sin του λογον
 τουτον *pro* οτι οὐχὶ παντες καθαροι εστε; om. D d syr hier 1/2)
 copt Cyr
 12 — και (*ante* ελαβε) †† N A C² L Ψ ? 33 249 251 (254) y^{scr} *it* [non
d e q r] *arm aeth syrr sah boh goth verss*
 και ἀνάπεσε (*pro* ἀναπεσων) N^{*} B C^{*} W Paris⁹⁷ a e sah (— και)
 [*boh pauci*] *arm georg pers arab aeth syrr Orig*
 — παλιν († *Negl. Bir N.T. Habet Lect var*) Eust 32 syrr *dialess*
 sah 1/4 boh^{dao} georg pers arab [non latt]
 + και (*ante* εἶπεν) †† Aeth syr^{ach} pesh [non sin] *dialess Aphraat*
a r (b c f f g l m) *arm sah* [non boh] *verss*
 13 > ὁ κς' και ὁ διδάσκαλος C² F E G H M A *al.* sah 1/4 boh⁸ syr hier
 Ath Did Cyr Chr Ambr [non syr rel *it* copt tell goth Orig]
 14 [ὁ κς' και ὁ διδάσκαλος]
 15 δέδωκα
 ὑμῖν *prim.* [non *sec.*] †† ut D saepe
 + ὁμοίως (*ante* ποιῆτε) Sol^{vid} (+ οὕτως *alig*) Cf. etiam syr^{ach}
 pesh *dialess Aphraat*^{vid} [non syr sin] Obs ita latt *alig*; + aliis
e dim μ* (*boh pl*) gr 249 pers Cyr
 18 τινας (*pro* οὓς) N^{*} B C L M [non W] 33 Orig (*diserte vid*) Cyr
 [non verss]
 19 *fin.* ὅτι ἐγὼ εἶπον ὑμῖν (*pro* ὅτι ἐγὼ εἶμι) †† Sol^{vid} cum 13-346-556
 (non 69-124) [non verss *vid*] (+ de quo scriptum est v^g);
 + filius Dei *dim*)

John

- xiii 23 + ἐκ (*post eis*)
- 24 τοῦτο~ *sic fin. lin* (*pro τούτω*) †† 28 b^{scr} Cf. *pers* (Cf. *ord*
gr-LAT: innuit ergo huic *contra e et syr* huic innuit) ei ff
[πυθέσθαι τὸς ἄν εἴη]
- 25 *init.* ἀναπεσὼν οὖν (*pro επιπεσων δε*) (N)(D)LM(W)X(Ψ) *al.* (οὖν =
Δ *et grolla sah*, boh 16/26 *it*; *om.* BC *e syr sin Orig*)
+ οὕτως (*post ekeinos*) *Multi et goth* (*Al. ekeinos outos*, C*? *vid*
outos pro ekeinos; *om.* outos *vel outos* NADΠ *it syr*)
- 26 καὶ δώσω αὐτῷ (*pro ἐπιδώσω*) † *Recte Bir, male Scho.* BCL(MX)
(*aeth copt arm syr Orig*)
- 26 ἰσκαριώτου
- 27 αὐτὸν (*pro ekeionon*) *Solvid cum 3 inter gr et sah boh (syr aeth)*
eum pro illum vg vg^m et a b f g
- 28 — δε BWΨ 248 435 Parisⁿ *al.*?? *sah* 1/7 boh 1/26 *pers sax*
[*non syr-lat*]
- 29 — ο (*ante ioudas*) ††
- 30 ἐξῆλθεν εἰς αὐτὸν· (*pro ευθεως εξ.*) †† NBCDLWX(Ψ) (33) (13-69-
346) (440) 249 Parisⁿ boh (*non sah*) *arm it pl aeth diatess Orig*
(*om.* ευθεως *e syr sin*) *mox exiuit q* (Cf. *arm*)
- 30 *vel* 31 + οὖν (*post οτε*) (*om.* *Bir N.T. Habet Lect var*) NBCDLWX
al. it copt arm goth Orig
- 32 *fin.* + ἐν αὐτῷ *Solvid cum* (249) *l* (Cf. *aur*) *syr pesh^o* [*non syr rell*
non copt]
- 33 + χρόνον (*post μικρον*) NXLT 13-346 [*non* 69-124] 28 (*me teste*)
106 142^m mg 240 244 254 b^{scr} *Eust* 6 y^{scr} *goth sah* 2/6 boh
6/26 *cf l dim verss aliq* [*non syr praeter pesh^o* *non Clem ter*
diserte] *Cyr*
- > ἐγὼ ὑπάγω
- 36 + ἐγὼ (*ante υπαγω*) NDS^{ms}UXΨ *al. it goth sah boh arm Orig Cyr*
μ^a (*pro μοι primo loco*) †† w^{scr} *al.*? [*non al^{scr}*] *Complod et*
last me (aliter syr sin)
- [ὑστερον δὲ ἀκολουθήσεις μοι]
- 37 — δ (*ante πετρος*)
- αρτι 47 56 58 61 435: (*De syr sin syr hier vide Lewis syr hier*
p. lix) (*male Horner de 157 lapsu*) (νυν *ακολ. pro ακολ. αρτι*
C(D)LX (Tisch) d^{scr} v^{scr} *Eust* 2) Cf. D d. Cf. W
- 38 ἀποκρίνεται (*pro απεκριθη*) NABC*LWX *fam* 1 *fam* 13 254
Parisⁿ *last (syr dicit)*
- αὐτῷ
- xiii 2 [γενομένου] [ἰούδα σίμωνος ἰσκαριώτου· ἵνα αὐτὸν
παραδῶ] 3 [ὁ ἰῆ] 6 [ἐκείνος] 8 [ὁ ἰῆ] 10 [οὐ χρεῖαν
ἔχει] 14 ὀφείλεται †† 17 οἴδατε *sic* 19 ἀπάρτι
sic 24 περὶ οὐ 26 [βάψας] *pr. loco* [ἐμβάψας *sec.*
loco] [τὸ ψωμίον] 27 σατανᾶς 29 ὦν 32 ἐνεαυτῷ
sic (*sec. loco*) (ἐν αὐτῷ *Evan* 28) 36 [ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ
ὁ ἰῆ] ἀκολουθήσαι 37 διὰ τί 38 [ὁ ἰῆ] [φωνήσκει]
ἔως οὐ [ἀπαρνήσῃ]

John

xiv 2

[*Ord cum Gr, contra syrr, e q r dim copt, Iren Tert Hil Ambr*]
 πορεύομαι (*pro poréuomai*) †† *Sol^{vid} cum 27 33 37 46 54 Eust*
 6.16 (*Silet Tisch*) sah^{omn} boh^{omn} (*pers^{int} aeth^{int} Wsk*) ετοιμάσω
 w^{scr} [*sed poréuomai*]

- 3 ετοιμάσαι (*pro kai ετοιμάσω*) †† DM *al. et Eusta viginti d f*
sah 1/2 ((syrrsch pesh))
 > τόπον ἱμῶν NBDKLN [*non W*] X * 1 [*non fam*] *fam 13 33*
al. pauc d vg^E Cyr [non syr non goth] (om. τοπον a syr sin ;
om. τοπον υμιν e)
- 4 — οἰδατε και *medio vers.* Ad legendum : “ και ὅπου ἐγὼ ὑπάγω τὴν
 ὁδὸν οἰδατε ” Cf. NBC* LQX 33 a r boh [*non sah syr*] *pers*
sed hi ord. οἰδατε τὴν ὁδον. Aliter sed etiam breviter aeth^{Wsk}
‘ ut sciatis viam quo vado ’ (cf. W c^{scr}) και οπου ἐγὼ υπαγω
ουκ οιδατε τὴν ὁδον Paris⁹⁷
- 6 — και η ἀληθεια †† *Solus vid.*
via veritas (sine copula) et vita pers aeth^{Wsk} Tert vg codd⁸.
Libere Optatus (solus) ‘ego ianua et via et veritas’.
(Separatim citat Clem et al Patr aliq.)
- 9 με φίλιππε, * (*comma = interrog. a man. pr.*)
- 10 + τοῦτο (*post πιστεύεις*) †† *Sol^{vid} (cf. vi 29) Cf. pers^{int} tu*
fidem non habes pro non credis. Victorin quod pro quia
ἔστι, (a aureo a rubric.)
- 11 + ἐστίν (*post εμοι med vers*) (†† *om. Bir. E sil Scho*) 1 [*non*
fam] *fam 13 al. cegm aur gal vg syr cu [non goth non Tert]*
 — οὐτα 24* 244 q r syrr arm boh *diatess verss Tert* (αὐτον
 B 229* sah) ταῦτα πιστεύετε (*pro αὐτα πιστεύτε μοι Paris⁹⁷*)
- 12 — μου NABDLQWXII min¹³ it [*praeter e*] arm goth aeth boh
 [*non sah*] syr pesh [*non syr sch sin*] *diatess*
- 13/14 Claus. ἵνα δοῦσθε ὁ πῆρ ἐν τῷ υἷῳ *transfert ex ver 13 ad fin. ver*
 14 *Sol^{vid} (Δ* plane om.) Om. claus. et ver 14 dim (om.*
ver 14 X Λ 1.22 50 245 2^{do} 6^{do} q^{scr} arm^{Wsk} syr cu sin hier*
vg^F ὁ [non diatess arab non syr sch pesh])
- 16 δῶση (η ex em pr. man.) †† ?
 μείνη ?
- 22 + και (ante τι) Ita ‘ κέ και τι γέγον’ sine interp. post κέ † (*Male*
Bir N. T. + τι. Vult + και recte in Lect var)
 — ὁ prim.
- 26 δσα δν εἶπω (*pro δ εἶπον*) †† (*Linea super εἶπω a man tert vid*) (254)
 οσα 1 [*non fam*] 28 2^{do} j^{scr} it (*non e*) *Orig Eus Cyr^{hier} αν εἶπω*
 DII 254 it (*non f*) λεγω syr (all the words which I said to
 you sah)
- 28 — ειπον sec. (ante πορευομαι) *Multi et verss*
 — μου sec. (POST μει(ων) † (*Recte Bir, male Scho errans de*
testim. Bir) *Sol^{vid} cum vg^Δ Chr⁴ aur* ? (om. μου ANTE*
μει(ων multi)
- 30 — τουτου
 xiv i παρασίσθω †† [*sed ver 27 παρασίσθω*] 3 ἐμαυτον

John

- [εἰμι ἐγὼ] 5 οἶδαμεν 7 ἀπάρτι *fin.* [*Habet αὐτόν*]
 9 [τοσοῦτον χρόνον] 11 *fin.* [*Habet μοι*] 12 [*citant*
Bir Scho μείζον *pro* μείζονα, *sed codex* μείζ^δ *fin lin.*, *non*
μείζον sed μείζονα, *h. compendio pro va.*] 19 *fin.* [ἵσσεσθε]
 20 [γνώσεσθε ὑμῖς] 22 οὐχ' ὁ *sic* 23 *fin.* [ποιουσιμεν]
 28 ἡγαπάμε *pro* ἡγαπάτέ με 31 [ἐνετείλατο] οὕτως ††
- xv 2 > καρπὸν πλείονα (*sic*) φέρη· (K) B L M* X [*Hiat W*] Ψ 33 Paris⁷⁷
it vg syr (Clem)
- 6 μένη †† [*sed* μείνη *ver 4*] N* ABD Paris⁷⁷ d (*a r in ver 4*)
 + το (*ante πυρ*) ††
- 7 μένη Sol cum Paris⁷⁷ Chr⁷⁷ (μενει L 3)
 αἰτήσεσθαι *sic* († Male Scho αἰτησασθαι, *recte Bir N.T. et Lect var*)
Obs. a cf syr
- 10 τηρήσετε †† N^o L 346 [*non fam*] P*^{scr}
- 11 — μείνη Sol^{rid} (ἢ *pro* μείνη ABD [*Hiat W*] Ψ *min* *aliquit* (*sit*
praeter fr δ *maneat*) *vg goth arm aeth syrr* [*sed Sch et Gwil*
int. maneat])
- 15 > ὁ κς^α αὐτοῦ (*pro* αὐτοῦ ο κύριος) N 69 254 2^{scr} latt et d *contra*
 D^{scr} syr Iren^{int} semel Orig^{efint} Did Chr
- 20 ἡμέτερον (*pro* ἡμέτερον) †† Solus vid cum 1 (*Lake*) [*non fam*]
 346 [*non fam*] (Cf. vi 70)
- 24 ἐποίησεν (*pro* πεποιήκεν) ††
- xv 14 [ῥῥα] 15 οὐκέτι ἤκουσα 16 οὐχὺ μείζ 20 οὐ
 (*pro* οὐ) μείζον †† 21 οἶδασι *sic* (*ut* 28, scr²) 26
 ὁ δ' αὖν (*contra morem libr.*)
- xvi 3 — υμῖν
- 4 + αὐτῶν (*post* ὡρα) †† (*Sic codex* αὐτ⁷⁷ *fin. lin.* Male Bir Scho
 Tisch + αὐτη). ABΠ* *fam* 13 (αὐτοῦ 346) 33 118–209 [*non* 1]
 229** 254 p^{scr} w^{scr} goth boh^B syr sch pesh [*non sin hier*] Cf.
etiam LΠ³ al⁸ *it* [*non a d dim cf. ff*] *vg.* [*Habet cod nost*
αὐτῶν etiam post μνημονευητε]
- > ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑμῖν D 33 254 d vg^{BQ} (L 118 Eust 28 vg^x syrr arm
aeth pers)
- 7 + ἐγὼ (*post* γαρ) ††
- 10 — μου N B D L W Ψ 1 [*non fam*] 33 Paris⁷⁷ sah 6/10 boh^{omn}
aeth sax it [*non cf q d*] syr hier [*contra rell syrr et verss*]²¹
- 15 λαμβάνει (*pro* ληψεται)
- 16 [ὅτι] — ἐγὼ [ἐπάγω πρὸς τὸν πῶρ]
- 19 δε (*pro* οὖν) † (*Recte Bir. Male Scho* '— οὖν') UΠ 38 p^{scr} Paris⁷⁷
 fgq gat vg goth boh⁸ (syr) και cff aeth syr hier. (*om.* NBDLW
 1 [*non fam*] 33 2^{po} a b d e r aur arm sah boh²¹ georg pers)
- 20 ἀλλὰ †† DLUYΓΛ *copf.*
- 21 + αὐτίς (*post* θλίψεωσ) Sol^{rid} *inter gr-lat cum syrr et diatess*
pers aeth et goth. (*Obs sah*) λυπης *pro* θλιψεως D Paris⁷⁷
 ἐγεννήθην *prima manu* ††
- 22 ἔξετε (*pro* ἔχετε) †† N^o AD(L)(W) Ψ 33 al. a b d e m r vg 1/2
 Antioch (*Obs. Chr*)

John

- xvi 25 ἀλλὰ ἔρχεται †† (om. ἀλλ' *multi*)
ἀπαγγελῶ (pro ἀπαγγελῶ) ††
- 25/26 *iungit*: ἀπαγγελῶ ὑμῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ †† *Sol^{rid} Cf. lat et*
vg^T + in illo die. Obs. diatess et syr pesh*
- 27 > ἐμὲ ὑμεῖς *Sol [non al. non Clem] (om. quia vos a)*
- 29 — αὐτῶ †† (N) BD* C* N Δ Π Ψ 1-118 [non 209] 262 w*^{scr} 2^{pe}
e q vg^{GM} Hi^{cod} [non syr].* (— αὐτου W 2^{pe} f*^{scr} k^{scr} Paris⁷
sah 1/4 a foss arm pers) *Cf. N* οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτῶ (εἶπον αὐτῶ*
αὐτου οἱ μαθ. sah; εἶπον αὐτου μαθητοὶ αὐτῶ boh)
- 33 — ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ θλιψὶν ἐξετε *Sol^{rid} cm^{mi} Δ⁸⁷ [non δ] (In D d*
unam lin occupat) 'crypt^{ov}' syr hier (Cf. ed Lewis p. 57
Lect xlii fin. et p. 190) vg^O et sa^x [Habent rell et verss] Obs*
syr sin: 'These things have I said that there may be to you
in me peace AND in the world there may be to you distress'
Ita etiam diatess [non syr sch pesh]
- xvi 2 ἀποκτεῖνας sic acc. 5 ἐρωτά με sic 18 οἶδαμεν
19 ἐρωτᾶν 22 [αἶρει] 23 οὐκ ἐρωτήσετε, 24 οὐκ ἠτι-
σατε, sine sp. more 28 contra morem 157 24 λήψε-
σθαι comp. fin. lin 28 [παρὰ]
- xvii 1 + ἄνω (post αὐτοῦ) *Sol^{rid} (Cf. sah εἰρηαι, boh επηραι) Obs goth*
3 γινώσκουσιν ††
- 6 ἔδωκας bis † (Male Bir ἔδωκας prim. sol. N.T. et Lect Var; recte
Scho fortuna)
ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου σοὶ ἦσαν sic, *iungens* †† (*Congruunt* 73 237 — σοι;
congruunt etiam h aur vg¹² hi pro tui)
- 7, 8 [δέδωκας]
- 7 εἰσιν (pro εστιν) N B C L N W X Y Ψ 33 346 Paris⁷ al. pauc et
latt et d d (contra D⁸⁷ Δ⁸⁷) sah boh^{pl} (ἦσαν Chr)
- 8 > ἀληθῶς καὶ ἔγνωσαν *Sol^{rid} (cf. aeth) (— καὶ ἐγνώσαν N* ADW*
a d e q vg^B goth)
- 11 δ (pro οὗς) D* X U 57 254^{aboh} Eust 5 19 20 22 24 31 d vg^{xy}
(ω Unc¹⁰ W Ψ) *Cf. arm et verss. Om. claus syr sin a b c eff.*
Cf. r Cf. COYODEΔΩKAC COYΟΥCΔΕΔΩKAC
- 12 [οὗς]
- 19 > ἔσιν καὶ αὐτοὶ
- 20 πιστευόντων
- 22 ἔδωκας μοι ἔδωκα (pro δέδωκας μοι δέδωκα)
- 23 *init.* καὶ γὰρ (pro ἐγὼ) *Sol^{rid} initio cum Paris⁷ Eust 49 z^{scr} semel a c gr*
dīm vg^{BDK} aeth [non syr] et cf. D 59 d συ ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς
- 24 καὶ ἐκείνοι (pro κάκεινοι) †† A K N U W Π* 209 p^{scr} w^{scr} (καὶ αὐτοὶ
Chr Cyr)
- 26 ἢ (pro ἦ) †† w^{scr} (sic pro sit c; gr aliq ei)
xvii 1/2 *iungit.* *Interp. post σαρκὸς in ver 2.* 2 δώσει
12 [οὗς] 13 fin. [αὐτοῖς] 16 [ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου] κείμιν
pr. man. †† (*Error pro εκ τ. κόσμου ουκ εἰμι*) 17 fin.
ἐστίν †† 22 ἦν 23 γινώσκει †† 24 [δέδωκας] pr.
[ἔδωκας] sec. καταβολῆς 26 ἦν (pro ἦν)

John

xviii 4

ιδῶν (*pro* εἰδῶς) D (εἰδῶν) Ψ *fam* 13 90 253 [*hiat d, sed non latt vid*] *syr sin hier arm (aeth)* Cf. *goth vitands signif vel εἰδῶς vel ιδῶν.* (ιδῶσ C)

6 — οἱ †† NABDLNWXΠΨ *fam* 1.33 42 106 127 2^{po} w^{scr} *it aeth^{int}* [*contra copt-syr-arm*] *Om. claus pers*

7 — οὐν 27 59 73 127* 209 [*non fam*] *a c e gat (syr), arm pers sah boh* (παλιπ οἱ *non* παλιποτη)

8 — ὁ ††

11 *fin.* αὐτὸ, (, aureo)

16 πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ *sic fin. lin* †† (πρὸς τὴν θύρα Γ c^{scr} w^{scr} x^{scr} ;

πρὸς τὴν θύραν N Π³ 13-69 27 28 435* Paris⁷⁷ y^{scr} al¹⁸)

ἐκεῖνος (*pro* ὁ ἄλλος) N Ψ *fam* 13 71 248 *Eust* al⁸, q *aur foss vga* Δσινρ ille; (ille alius *a b c f f r*) *Om. Y* 254 *syr sin, copt (sah ᾤσῃααθητης, boh ᾤχεπιααθητης)*

17 τούτου, (, aureo)

20 — τη (*ante συναγωγή*)

23 δαίρεισ'

24 + οὐν (*post απεστειλεν*) BC* LNWXΔΠ³ Ψ *fam* 1.33 2^{po} p^{scr} 604 *al. ab f f f d slav Cyr* (+ τότε *boh*) *Non sah, habet ae ut N al. et r.* + thanuh *init goth.* + *kai aeth arm georg pers arab*

28 πρωί (*pro* πρωία,)

31 — αυτοῖς †† *Sol^{vid}* [*nonverss*]

84 (*pro* οὐν *sec.*) †† AD^{sup} KNUΘ^o Π *fam* 1.27 a^{scr} p^{scr} w^{scr} 604 *al⁸ slav goth aeth sah 1/9* (*Om. BC* 225 254 *e q vga^{GR} sah 8/9 boh arm pers syrr diatess*) Cf. *Horner in boh: πεχωστ παq 'οτη* might have fallen out between οτ and η'. *In sah = πεχατ παq.*

34 ἀπεκρίνατο (*pro* απεκριθη) D^{sup} ANUWΘ^o Π Ψ *fam* 1.33.254 299 2^{po} apw^{scr} 604 *Eust* 15.63 196

— αυτω ABC* D^{sup} LMNUWXYΠΨ *fam* 1.33.249.299 apw^{scr} 2^{po} Paris⁷⁷ *Eust* 15.63.196 *it^{pl} goth sah 1/5 boh (omn excepto N) arm arab pers [contra syr] Cyr*

36 — ὁ ††

37 σὺ, (, aureo)

— ὁ (*ante ἱε*) ††

[εἰμι ἐγὼ· ἐγὼ εἰς]

38 ἀληθεια. *sic interpunctum* (*Libr pauci subiungunt sign interrog.*)

ἀπῆλθε πάλιν (*pro* παλιν ἐξηλθε) *Solus^{vid} cum syr^{sch} pesh diatess (mut. syr cu sin) (sah ord, non boh) ἐξηλθεν παλιν Paris⁷⁷.*

— παλιν *gat goth.* ait *pro exiuit r*

39 > ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν *sec. loco* ††

40 — παλιν [*Habet πάντες*] †† GKNUPΨ *al⁸⁰ a b c e f f q r aur sah boh arm (aeth) syrr diatess pers [Habet georg goth (slav)]*

xviii 1 [τῶν κέδρων] 4 [ἐξελθὼν εἶπεν] 7 [αὐτοὺς ἐπ-
ηρώτησε] 9 πληρωθῇ 10 [ὁτίον] δεξιὸν ἦν δὲ
ἄνομα . . . *iungit.* 11 [τῶν μαχαίρᾶν σου εἰς τὴν θήκην]
13 [καὶ ἀπήγαγον αὐτὸν] 14 [ἀπολέσθαι] 15 [ἦν γνω-

John

- στόδ] 16 εἰστίκει [ὅς ἦν] 17 [ἡ παιδίσκη ἡ θυρωρός
 τῷ πέτρῳ] 18 εἰστίκεισαν 20 [ἐλάλησα] [πάν-
 τοτε] 20/21 [ἐπερώτασ' ἐπερώτησον] 23 κακῶς
 25 μὴ*, *vult* μὴ** 26 οὐ (*pro* οὐ) 29 κατὰ *sic*
 [non *ver* 31] 30 [κακοποιῶσι] 31 [κρίνατε αὐτόν]
 Ἰουδαῖοι 33 [εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον πάλιν ὁ πῦλᾶτος] 34
 [ὁ ἰδ'] [ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ] [σοι εἶπον] 37 οὐκοῦν *sic* 38
 οὐδὲ μίαν *sic* [αἰτίαν εὐρίσκω ἐν αὐτῷ] 39 [ὑμῖν ἀπο-
 λύσω ἐν] *pr. loco* 39 *fin.* Ἰουδαίων.
- xix 4 — οὐν **ND^{sup}Γ I 106 p^{scr} 2^{po} Eust 15 47 54 y^{scr} sah 6/10** [*Habet*
se 93, *ae* 14 85 m^l] *boh* *omn* (οἱ non οἱ) *vg it* [non *bff*]
arm goth pers (*Habent* καὶ *pro* οὐν **ABKLXII** *syr pesh*
diatess [*hiat sin, habet* οὐν *syr hier*] *aeth Cyr*.
 > [οἱ] αἰτίαν ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδὲ μίαν εὐρίκω' *sic* **LXY** (78) 249 299
(Cf. al. et NW r arm aeth syr hier)
- 5 > ἔξω ὁ ἰδ' **KUΔΠ al. pauc q goth pers aeth (contra syr)** *Om.* ἐξω
 235 **d^{sup} ffg gat vg et sah boh** (*teste Tisch sed sah expr* ἐξηλθεν
 οὐν ὁ ἰησοῦς *ita*: ἦλθεν δε ἐξ ὁ ἰησοῦς *et boh*: τότε ἦλθεν ἐξ ὁ
 ἰησοῦς. *Solus boh^c* om. ehoΛ*) — ὁ ἰησοῦς **N**
- 6 + αὐτόν (*post στρώσον sic*)
- 11 — ὁ *prim.* ††
 > κατ' ἐμοῦ οὐδὲ μίαν *sic* **NBD^{sup}KLWXΨ I-118?** [non 209]
 33.124 ((254)) 2^{po} **Paris^π** (*lat*) *arm aeth syr hier georg pers*
- 12 ἐκραύγασαν (*pro* ἐκραζον) **BD^{sup}** [non *d*] **Ψ 27 33 131? 220 249**
 435 604 **al⁷ a (bohⁿ)** (*syr hier*) ἐκραυγασον **A I L M N W Y Π**
fam I **fam 69** [non 13] 239 245 248 **Paris^π**
ἐαυτόν (pro αὐτόν)
- 13 τούτων τῶν λόγων (*Recte Bir, ordo incert Scho.*) *Aliq et it pl (goth)*
sah boh arm syr hier? [non *sch pesh diatess; mut cu sin*]
 — του (*ante βηματος*) **ABD^{sup}ILNU** [non **W**] **XII fam I**
 74 247 249 254 **Paris^π** *Cyr Chron* [non *sah boh*]
ἐβραῖστί³ λεγόμενον sic a pr. man. †† (*Male Bir Scho* = λεγόμενον
pro δε, non *observantes* δε *supra*). *Sol inter gr + λεγόμενον*
(cf. P *scr) et latt vid cum syrr diatess (aeth) arab pers.*
id est + λεγόμενον post ἐβραῖστί δε (— δε *primum sed add libr ipse*)
- 14 ὥσει (*pro* δὲ ὥσει) *Errat Tisch vid de 157. Cf. Tisch ad loc.*
- 15 εἰ μὴ *sic* (*pro* εἰ μὴ) †† *Cf. 157 ad viii 58*
- 17 [καὶ] ἤγαγον (*pro* καὶ ἀπηγαγον) (*ver 16 Tisch*) *om.* καὶ ἀπηγαγον
BLX 33 al. pauc a b c eff n r boh pl [non *sah*] *Cyr*
 δ (*pro* δε) **NBAKW 40 63 253 259 Eust 7 12 14 19 44 48 scr⁸**
a c f f g r aur syr hier Cyr (om. Ψ et diatess vid ut Luc. xxiii 33)
- 20 > ὁ τόπος τῆς πόλεως
- 22 + αὐτοῖς (*post ἀπεκριθῇ*) †† 13-346 *a* [non *al. lat*] *diatess*
 § li 34 [non *syr sch pesh, mut cu sin*] *aeth aliq? georg*
ἀραφος ††
- 26 ἰδε (*pro* ἰδοῦ) **BD^{sup}** (*ειδε*) **MNT^dXA al. Orig Chr Cyr** [*ver 27*
ιδου 157]

John

- xix 27 [τῷ μαθητῇ (*sic*)] + αὐτοῦ †† *Sol^{vid} cum 19 et aethomn?* (Cf. + *κεῖνον syr sch pesh diatess georg pers soli*)
 > ὁ μαθητὴς αὐτῶν ABLN X^Ψ unc¹⁰ [*non* *κ*W] e (*contra syr et latt tell*)
- 28 πληρωθῇ (*pro τελειωθῇ*) †† *MD^{sup} fam 1.11 fam 13 38 53 60 73 80 435* [*non* Paris⁹⁷] *Eust 13 53 y^{scr} it* [*non a b v Al. incert.*] *syr aeth* [*N.B. κωκ εὐολ ... κωκ εὐολ sah boh pro τετελεσται ... τελειωθῇ*]
- 31 ἐκείνη (*pro ἐκείνου*) (†† e *sil Bir Scho*) H 33 69 c^d^{sup} [*contra D^{8t} sup*] *f g gat vg^d (et vg ille) syr hier diatess Cyr. Om. v*
- 34 εὐθέως [*ἐξῆλθεν αἶμα καὶ ὕδωρ*] ††
- 35 + καὶ (*post wa*)
- 38 — *δε prim.*
 [ὁ ἀπὸ] ἀρμαθ(ας) †† W Π 124 p^{scr} w^{scr} *latt*
 > μαθητῆς ὧν *Sol^{vid} cum sah boh syr bf* [*non al. lat*]
- 39 σμίγμα (*pro μίγμα*) †† 122 259 435 i^{scr} *Eust 47* (P^{scr}) (*κ** B W *ελίγμα*) e *malagmam (pro mixturam tell)*
- 40 εὐλίσαν (*pro ἔθσαν*) †† *Sol^{vid} inter gr cum syrr* [*incipit de nouo syr sin hoc loco*] *aeth pers* (*diserte: 'et corpus Iesu in volucris linteis involverunt'*) *boh* (ατκοτλωλῃ *contra sah ατλοργ*) [*Contra latt ligaverunt (adlig a ff n q, conlig r)*] Cf. *Marc. xv 46* *καθελων αυτον ενελησεν* [*ενετυλιξεν Matt. xxvii 59; καθελων ενετυλιξεν Luc. xxiii 53*] *ειδεισαν 13* [*non fam*]
 + ἐν (*ante othonois*) A D^{sup} [*non d^{sup}*] Γ Δst [*non δ*] Δ Πst unc⁸ *min^{8t} mult q r foss vg^s boh 9/21 sah 2/6.* (*Om. οθον. eff vg^k*)
- 41 [κῆπος] *sed τόπος pro κήπος* †† *Sol^{vid} cum fam 1* (*vid omni e sil Lake*) 71 Paris⁹⁷ [*non syr-copt-lat verss al.*] *Obs. latt aliq orto (ortu in aliq?) pro horto. ortum vg^k hortu aur fin. ἐτίθει †† cum 13* [*non fam*]. *ην τεθειμενος κ B Paris⁹⁷ Cyr, latt: positus erat*
 xix 2, 23, 32 [*non 25*] στρατιώται 3 [*ἐδίδουν*] 6 οὐχ *εύρίσκω* 7 [*ἡμῶν*] [*ἐαυτὸν υἱὸν θῷ ἐποίησεν*] 10, 12 ἀπολύσαι 10 *fin. σε;* (*comma pr. man.*) 11 [*σοι δεδομένον*] ὁ παραδιδούς *sic* 13 ραββαθὰ 14 παρασκευῇ *ἴδε (contra morem)* 15 [*οἱ δὲ (sic) ἐκραύγασαν*] ἄρον ἄρον *sic* 17 βαστάζων †† [*τὸν στρόν αὐτοῦ*] λέγετε *primum*, correxit ipse* γολγοθὰ 23 διόλου *sic* (*ut Evan 28 et scr⁸*) 24 [*ἡ λέγουσα*] 26 ὅν [*τῇ μῆρι αὐτοῦ*] 27 ἀπεκείνησ *sic* 28 [πάντα ἤδη] 29, 30 [*cum t. r.*] 31 ἰουδαῖοι [*ἐπεὶ παρασκευῇ ἦν in loco cum t. r.*] 33 [αὐτὸν ἤδη] 34 [*ἐνυξε sed ἐν-υξε⁸ sic*] 35 ἀληθινῇ †† 37 γραφῇ (*γραφῇ supra*) 38 [*ἠλθεν οὖν καὶ ἦρε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἰῷ*] 39 [*τὸν ἰῷ νυκτός*] ἀλώησ [*ῶσει*] ††
- xx I μιά (*sic vult*)
 + τῆς θύρας (*post εκ*) † (*Recte Bir non accurate Scho*) (Cf. *κ*W *fam 1.19** 22 2^{pe} Paris⁹⁷ d** [*contra D^{8t} sup*] *ε r β dim boh arm aeth georg* [*non slav*] *syr sin hier*)

John

- xx 6 — ουν †† 46 arm georg pers boh^{Tr} (2e sah et rv) a [non al. lat]
 14 *init.* — και NABDNSWXΠ fam 1.33 91 254 2^{pe} Parisⁿ al. *pauc*
it vg (sah) boh arm syr [non hier sin] diatess Cyr
 — ό (ante ῥε)
 15 [ό ῥε] 16, 17 [ό ῥε]
 15 > ἔθηκες αὐτόν,
 16 + ἔβραϊστί (post αὐτῶ) *Multi*
 23 ἀφίσονται (pro ἀφίενται) †† (B*) L (*Variant al. vide Tisch*)
αφρωται Ψ (a Novat)
 25 [τύπον bis]
 28 *init.* [Habet και]
 — ό (ante θωμᾶς) † (*Recte Bir. Negl Scho*)
 29 — θωμα *Multi*
ιδότες †† (Vide supra et obs. 28 saepe)
 31 πιστεύετε †† N* B [non W]
 — ό (ante ῥε) ††
 xx 2 οἶδαμεν *sic acc. ut saepe* 5 [κείμενα τὰ δόγματα]
 10 αὐτοῦς 11 [πρὸς τὸ μνημεῖον] 13 ἦσαν
 14 οὐκ ἰδὲι *sic* 18 μαγδαληνῇ ἀπαγγέλουσα †† [ἰώρακε]
 19 [τῶν σαββάτων] [συνηγμένοι] 20 ἐχάρισαν ††
 21 [πέμψω]
 xxi 2 υἱοὶ τοῦ (pro οἱ τοῦ) *Cf. syrr latt copt verss et οἱ υἱοὶ του*
 N(C)D(E) 27 a^{**scr} 604 *Eust* 47 51 y^{scr} z^{scr} p^{scr} al^o
 3 + οὖν (post ἐξηλθον) † (*Recte Bir. Dubium Scho*) NGLNXΠ²
 209 [non I] al. slav (*Praefon. και AP syrr latt boh aeth,*
 + 2e sah 1/4)
 [ἀνέβησαν]
 4 — ἦδη †† N* 22 59 fam 69 122 209 [non I] 235 251 2^{pe} *Eust* I
 48 150 a c e r q foss syrr aeth arm (*Cf. sah boh*)
 — οἱ μαθηταὶ †† *Sol^{vid} [Non syr-lat-gr-copt-verss-diatess]*
Om. W ο ιησους usque ad fin vers.
 5 προσφάτιν *sic pr. man.* ††
 6 > ἐλκύσαι αὐτὸ *sic* Π I 118? [non 209] 127 254 2^{pe} p^{scr} w^{scr}
a c e f (et syr^{sch} pesh diatess similiter: et non pot. trahere rete)
Amplius syr sin. (— αὐτο r vg^B aeth pers arm vid)
 13 ἔρχεται οὖν ὁ ἰῶ *sic pr. man.* †† (— ουν NBCDLWXΨ al^o a b d e r
aur foss gat arm pers georg sah [non boh praeter duo on
pro OTK]; και pro ουν syr hier diatess latt aeth) om. ἐρχεται
c syr sin
 14 μαθηταῖς, (— αὐτοῦ) NABCLNW I-118? [non 209] 22.33.
 53.122 w^{scr} a e ff aur vg^{pl} arm^{aliq} [non syr-copt]
 15 — ο ιησους †† S 86 209 251 al. *pauc Aug* [Non latt syrr copt
verss diatess]
 17 καὶ λέγει (pro και ειπεν) — αὐτῶ *seq (ante κυριε) ††*
 (λέγει NADNWXΨ 1.33 2^{pe} latt^{pl}; — αὐτῶ B Ψ 249 ff vg^z arab
[contra rell latt et syrr, et contra sah boh, ambo πεπαρ παρ,
forsan — αὐτῶ ex propinq παρπαρ Cf. ver 19 infra])

John

- xxi 18 ἐξώνυσσεν ἑαυτὸν (*pro* ἐξώνυσσεν σεαυτὸν) †† 28 234 *al*⁰
 19 — αὐτῷ †† *Sol*^{rid} *cum gat sah* 1/4 [*mon boh*] ‘πεκαρηνας’ (*Cf.*
ver 17 *supra* *Chro*^{odd} (*Cf. syr*^{resh} *pro* και τουτο ειπων λεγει
 αυτω: ‘et quum dixisset haec dixit ei’. *Aliter et diligenter*
pers syr sin ‘et quum dixisset haec dixit SIMONI’) (*Mut.*
vel om. aeth?) illis (*pro* ei) ff. [*Habent* αὐτῷ *rell verss*]
 xxi 5 [ὁ ἴδ] *fin. oδ.* (*pro* οδ.) 6 [ἰσχυσαν] 9 ὀψάριον
 (*sed* 10, 13 ὀψ.) 10, 12, 14 [ὁ ἴδ] 11 [ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς]
 12 [οὐδεὶς δὲ] 15, 16, 17 [σίμων ἰωῶν] 15 [πλείον]
 16, 17 [τὰ προβάτιά μου] 20 [*Habet* δε] 22 [σὺ
 ἀκολουθεῖ μοι] 23 [ὁ λόγος οὗτος] [καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν] [τὶ
 πρὸς σέ.] 24 [ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία αὐτοῦ] 25 *cum t. r.*
καθὲν sic χωρῆσαι

CORRECTION.

(1) In Matt. xix 30 for the order πολλοὶ δε εἰσονται εσχάτοι πρῶτοι και πρῶτοι εσχάτοι for which I gave L *vg*^R *aeth*, please add *κ* and 892.¹ Tischendorf omits to notice 157 and does not give *κ*, and I omitted to see that Gregory has added *κ* in his *Emendanda*.

(2) At Luke x 25 note that 604 also reads ποιων for ποιησας where I have indicated 157 *sol*.

May I take this opportunity of mentioning the other places in St Matthew where *κ* and *aeth*^{val} appear to agree alone or nearly alone against all others:—

- † v 30 η ολον (*lat*)
 † x 16 ως ο οφεις (*Orig*)
 † xii 22 εθεραπευσεν αυτους
 † xiv 28 ει συ ει κυριε
 † xviii 30 και απελθων
 † xxii 23 —αυτω (*syr sin vg*^{DR})
 † xxii 29 και αποκριθεις (*pro* αποκρ. δε) (*boh*^{tes})
 † xxiii 4 φορτια μεγαλα βαρεα
 † xxiv 11 > πολλους πλανησουσιν (L 33 157 238 *h r r*, *arm Justin*)
 † 45 οικιας
 † xxv 44 —και (*ante* αυτοι) (*boh*)
 † xxvii 9 και (*pro* τοτε) (*aeth* et hoc die, *vg*^a et tunc)

¹ I regret to say that I have neglected this very important witness throughout. Students will please supply the readings from Harris's collation in *Journal of Bibl. Lit.* vol. ix, 1890. It is the Br. Mus. codex Add. 33277 numbered 892 both by Gregory and Scr-Miller, and is as important as Paris⁷⁷. Observe the reading of 892 at Matt. xxv 1 των νυμφων.

[†] Not noticed by Tischendorf.

to which add vii 13 —εισιν \aleph *aeth* and *saḥ*, ix 21 εαν αψωμαι (—μονον) \aleph *a g*, *h aeth pers*, xii 30 *fin.* σκορπιζει με \aleph 33 *boh^{omn} aeth^{allq}*, x 11 εν αυτη τις αξιος εστι \aleph K *p^{scr} saḥ boh aeth, etc., etc.* Also ix 10 και ανακειμενων \aleph (*syr*) *aeth*.

We cannot assume that *aeth* got all this from \aleph . Frequently they are opposed. Observe one place out of many ix 10 —ελθοντες \aleph *a saḥ 1/2 boh^{uans}*, but *aeth* goes with B and the rest. Further, many of the omissions of \aleph alone would have been found also wanting in *aeth* had *aeth* used \aleph . It seems quite clear that *aeth* was only dealing with a MS affiliated to \aleph by parentage. Cf. Matt. xx 18 θανατω B *aeth soli*.

And as regards *boh* being fundamentally independent compare Matt. xx 24 εγγογυσαν *boh syr sin* against ηγανακτησαν of B and most, but ηρξαντο αγανακτηειν \aleph *min^{duo}* (*ex Marco x 41*).

(3) At Matt. xxiv 11 add *h* to *rr₂* for the order πολλους πλανησουσιν with \aleph L 33 157 238.

Other places near by where *hr(r₂)* come together against all other Latins are:

xxiv 40	εσονται δυο	\aleph B <i>p^{scr} soli hr r₂ vg^{12w}</i>
xxv 17	ωσαντως δε και	A <i>min^b hr vg^r</i>
xxv 20	—ταλαντα <i>sec.</i>	Δ <i>y^{scr} hr vg^r aeth syr</i>
xxv 23	> πιστος ης	B <i>hr soli</i>

We get the entire family which I have claimed as Irish at xxvi 56 + αυτου *a hn r r₂ vg^{EQR} gal* only of Latins with B^r *min¹⁰* and *saḥ*. The place is peculiar; it is not the usual οι μαθηται or οι μαθηται αυτου, but it is οι μαθηται παντες by \aleph all other Greeks most Latins and *boh* (*boh* being here against *saḥ*) and *syr pesḥ* (against *syr sin*), instead of οι μαθηται αυτου παντες by B.

H. C. HOSKIER.

THE CODEX BEZAE.

IN a recent lecture on the Codex Bezae¹ I submitted the results of a purely palaeographical investigation. The views there expressed are in several respects at variance with accepted opinions, and an adequate statement of them would, to be convincing, require a full account of the facts involved and facsimile reproductions to illustrate the statements and enforce the arguments. But as a preliminary to such a detailed and illustrated publication it has been suggested that I should communicate a short *résumé* of my conclusions. This I do all the more readily, in the hope that it will elicit criticism which may prove advantageous to the proposed publication.

The main conclusions may be summed up as follows :—

(1) The Codex Bezae is a provincial product, i. e. it originated in a non-Italian centre.

(2) The scribe of the MS, as well as the early correctors, follows the traditions of a Greek scriptorium.

(3) The scribe copied from an interlinear.

(4) From the time of its execution to about A.D. 800 the MS lay in a centre (or centres) where Greek was the literary and ecclesiastical language.

(5) From about A.D. 800 onward the MS lay in some Western or Latin-writing centre.

The considerations upon which the above conclusions are based I will state as briefly as possible. Here only the broad outlines can be given. The details must be left for the larger study of the subject.

1. An examination of the Latin side of Codex Bezae shews us that the scribe used a style of uncials which is foreign to Italian literary MSS and is practically never employed as a book-hand by Western scribes. I refer to that particular type of uncials in which the two letters *b* and *d* are minuscule and the remaining letters all uncial. When we find this type in ancient Italian MSS of the fifth or sixth century, it is invariably used in marginalia, additions, insertions, or at the end of lines to save space.² That is, this type of *b-d* uncials is relegated to a subordinate or secondary position, just as we, for example, use a different fount of type for notes. But whereas in the mother-country, i. e. in Italy, this type served a subsidiary purpose, it was raised in the provinces to the dignity of a principal script, as is attested

¹ Delivered at Oxford on February 22, 1913.

² An excellent example is furnished by the well-known Oxford MS of Eusebius's chronicle translated by St Jerome (Bodl. MS Auct. T. 2. 26):

by literary and epigraphical monuments from Egypt, North Africa, Asia, and Greece. That the provincial scribe (and engraver) could make this use of the *b-d* uncials is doubtless due to his remoteness from Italian centres and his consequent unfamiliarity with the best traditions of Latin calligraphy. If we remember that Roman law was the common property of all the provinces, and that the law books which went to the provinces came from one centre—in the fifth and sixth centuries it was probably Byzantium—we can understand why the *b-d* uncials are found in the different provinces. The law books which must have served as the models of Latin writing to the provincial scribe or engraver, were probably written in this very *b-d* type. As a matter of fact several legal fragments written in *b-d* uncials have actually come down to us, e.g. the Formula Fabiana of Vienna and the Oxford and Berlin vellum fragments from Egypt. Of all the uncial MSS which we possess, nearly 400 in number and ranging from the fourth to the eighth century, only two are known to me in the *b-d* type of uncials, and both are Graeco-Latin, namely the Codex Bezae of the Gospels and Acts and the Codex Claromontanus of the Pauline Epistles.¹ In view, therefore, of the relative prevalence of the *b-d* uncials in the provinces, and their relative absence in Italian and other Western centres the conclusion seems warranted that the Codex Bezae is, palaeographically speaking, a provincial product.

2. That the scribe of the Codex Bezae was accustomed to Greek rather than to Latin methods may be seen from the form of the letters. Palaeographers acquainted with both Greek and Latin writing will be aware that the letters common to Greek and Latin uncial hands are made somewhat differently according as they are written by a Greek or by a Latin scribe. The letters η , θ , τ , α , shew the differences very clearly, and are therefore excellent tests of the scribe's nationality. Now, the Greek letters in the Codex Bezae have on the whole the normal Greek forms; but the Latin cannot be said to have their normal Latin forms, since they are made in accordance with Greek models. Prof. Burkitt explains the unusual appearance of the Latin by supposing that the scribe made the Latin like the Greek for the sake of greater uniformity.² Had the scribe been a genuine Latin scribe he would unconsciously have made his Greek letters conform to his Latin. That he did the very opposite is, I believe, due not to a conscious striving for uniformity but rather to the simple fact that Greek uncials were more natural to him than Latin. In Graeco-Latin MSS

¹ The Codex Laudianus of the Acts, which is also Graeco-Latin, partially shares the palaeographical feature, for it has the *b* minuscule in an otherwise uncial alphabet.

² *J. T. S.*, 1902, pp. 501 sqq.

admittedly written in the West the Greek letters are invariably patterned after the Latin, and not *vice versa*.

But besides the form of the writing there are some practices of scribes and correctors which go to confirm our suspicion that we are moving in a Greek scriptorium. The quires are signed not by means of Roman numerals, as is usual in ancient Latin MSS, but by means of *Greek* numerals. On the Latin side of the MS there are several instances of transposed verses. Their correct order is indicated by means of *Greek* letters. The scribe occasionally places the points of diaeresis over Latin words—a natural enough thing for a Greek scribe to do, but hardly for a Latin. An early corrector uses the apostrophe to separate two words. The scribe writes *magika* for *magica* and *qem* for *quem*; such errors in spelling hardly come from one accustomed to copying Latin. Scrivener's corrector G, who is contemporary with the scribe or nearly so, indicates omission by means of an arrow-head placed in the text and in the margin. This is a common Greek practice; but it is unprecedented in Latin MSS from the West.¹ The same corrector calls attention to variant readings by placing a sinuous line over the word in the text and in the margin. Precisely the same sign is used in the Codex Sinaiticus. Taken separately these small points seem trifling enough, but they go to make up the tradition of a scriptorium, and their cumulative evidence is telling.

3. But it has been claimed by Scrivener (and it has been accepted by Dr J. Rendel Harris) that the scribe and two correctors are Latins. They are supposed to betray their nationality by the occasional substitution of a Latin letter on the Greek side of the MS. As a matter of fact this kind of error proves nothing. For in copying a bilingual MS confusion of letters is perfectly natural. And it must be stated that over against the errors on the Greek side are similar errors on the Latin side. Not only does the scribe substitute Greek letters for Latin, he actually admits entire Greek words on the Latin side. Thus in Marc. vii 3 in the verses

nisi primo laverint
manus non manducant panem

the scribe, for some curious reason, dropped into Greek after the word *laverint* and wrote *τας*² *χειρας*, but catching himself before finishing the word he wrote *manus* over the deleted Greek letters.³ Now this error

¹ The only other case known to me is urnished by a MS which was doubtless written in Byzantium. I refer to the Laurentian MS of the Pandects.

² Note the Latin *s* for Greek *c*, again a most natural confusion.

³ The Latin nationality of the two correctors (E and L) is based on faulty inspection of the original MS. The supposed Latin letters are not Latin but Greek.

in Mark vii 3 has a further interest for us, for it gives us a hint of the character of the scribe's exemplar. It could only have arisen in one way. The scribe was copying an interlinear. His eye happened to run down to the Greek beneath the Latin and before he was aware of it, he had copied two Greek words on the Latin side. There are several other errors which are manifestly attributable to copying from an interlinear.

4. In examining the pages of the Codex Bezae one is struck with the singular fact that nearly all the annotations are on the Greek side of the MS. The one important exception is corrector G, who, as has been said, is practically of the same time as the scribe. The Ammonian sections are marked only on the Greek side. The liturgical lection marks, the *τίτλοι*, and the *Sortes Sanctorum* are all in Greek, none in Latin. This fact is in itself important, for it seems to indicate that our MS was used in a locality where Greek was the liturgical and literary language. But it is also important as throwing some light on the vicissitudes of the Codex Bezae. Scrivener's dates for the various annotators have had the effect of blinding scholars to the very interesting fact that all the annotations down to a certain point are Greek, and none are Greek after that date. Professors Sanday and Burkitt and Sir Frederic Kenyon long ago pointed out that Scrivener's date for his corrector G was impossible. He placed him in the eleventh century. The correct date is probably fully five centuries earlier. But Scrivener's other dates have not been subjected to the same careful examination. The dates impressed me as arbitrary, and I appealed to the judgement of an expert in Greek palaeography. According to Prof. A. S. Hunt, whom I have been privileged to consult in this matter, none of the Greek annotators is later than the eighth century.

5. But we know also that the Codex Bezae must have been in a genuine Latin centre by about the year 800. This appears from the added pages in Matthew, John, and Mark, which are written in imitation uncials of the end of the eighth or early ninth century. The Greek of these pages is as unmistakeably Western as is the Latin. Now, after this point we have no more Greek annotations. And it is a significant fact that the only two marginal additions posterior to the year 800 are in Latin. Considering that nearly all the annotations previous to the year 800 were Greek, and none were Greek after that, it is impossible not to draw the inference that sometime in the eighth century the Codex Bezae changed its home and found itself, probably for the first time, in a truly Western or Latin-writing centre.

E. A. LOEW.

A STUDY IN THE PARABLE OF THE TWO KINGS.

'He sendeth an ambassage and asketh conditions of peace.'

So ends in the Revised Version the little parable of the two kings peculiar to St Luke's Gospel (xiv 31 f). The last four words are, I venture to think, a misrendering of a phrase which has from the first been misinterpreted, mainly through lack of appreciation of the Evangelist's intimate knowledge of the Septuagint. The Old Testament parallel, to which I propose to call attention, striking as it is, and strangely overlooked by the commentators, does not, however, stand alone. The Semitic phrase which lies behind St Luke's words occurs in a similar connexion in Assyrian cuneiform records, while the Egyptian hieroglyphic and hieratic monuments yield further illustration. To understand this little picture, by which our Lord inculcates the lesson that His followers must count the cost of discipleship, we have to look to the language of diplomacy common to a large part of the ancient Oriental world. The mistake in the past has been to treat St Luke's phrase as purely Hellenic. To Professor Burkitt I am indebted for the parallel in the history of Ašur-bani-pal. The Oxford Hebrew lexicon (s.v. שָׁלַח) introduced me to the parallels from Egypt; an instance, not, as in the Exodus story, of Israelites borrowing of the Egyptians, but, reversely, of Egyptians taking on loan a word from their Semitic neighbours. For further assistance and introduction to the recent literature in these to me unfamiliar regions of cuneiform and hieroglyphic script I am indebted to the kindness of Mr L. W. King, Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities of the British Museum, and of his colleague Mr H. R. Hall.

(1) *Text.* The parable runs in the Revised Version:—

Lk. xiv 31 'Or what king, as he goeth to encounter another king in war, will not sit down first and take counsel whether he is able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him
32 with twenty thousand? Or else, while the other is yet a great way off, he sendeth an ambassage, and asketh conditions of peace.'

The Revisers, among other minor verbal alterations, have substituted 'asketh' for 'desireth' of the A.V., but have made no change of substance. The first 'with' in the original is *ἐν* ('armed with'), the second *μετά* ('accompanied by'); the slight difference may or may not be significant.

There is first the question of text in the concluding words. Verse 32

runs εἰ δὲ μήγε, ἔτι αὐτοῦ πόρρω ὄντος πρεσβεΐαν ἀποστείλας ἐρωτᾷ . . . , and then we have a choice of four readings :—

(i) εἰς εἰρήνην B

(ii) τὰ εἰς εἰρήνην K Π 'al plus¹⁰ 11

(iii) πρὸς εἰρήνην N* Γ

(iv) τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην the majority of MSS, including κ^c A D L R X Δ Λ. The Versions (*ea quae pacis sunt* or *pacem* or the like) leave us in doubt as to the original Greek lying behind them.

The Revisers adopted the last of these four variants, which to scribes and editors with Hellenizing proclivities has always seemed to present the least difficulty. It is a little doubtful, however, whether this reading, even in κοινή Greek, would bear the meaning which has been put upon it by our English translators. At all events no exact parallel has been cited. Dr Plummer refers us to Wetstein, but the nearest parallel which Wetstein can adduce is Polyb. v 29. 4 παρακαλέσας . . . οὐ τὰ πρὸς διαλύσεις πράττειν (not εἰσπράσσειν Wetst.²), ἀλλὰ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. But here and in a passage like Thuc. ii 17 τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἤπτοντο ('applied themselves to the war', Jowett), the phrase with article and preposition amounts to little more than the noun standing by itself. The translation 'conditions of peace' seems to be unwarranted. Luke himself elsewhere writes αἰτεῖσθαι εἰρήνην for 'to petition for peace' (Acts xii 20).³ Apart from its greater lucidity or supposed lucidity (a circumstance which, on the principle 'proclivi scriptioni praestat ardua', is in itself suspicious), this reading has, however, one point in its favour. St Luke does in fact once elsewhere write τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην : xix 42 Εἰ ἔγνωσ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ σὺ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην.⁴ But there the phrase in any case cannot mean more than 'the things which make for (or "belong unto") peace'. If there were no other readings to be considered, we might adduce this latter passage and the classical use of τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον above-mentioned, to support the rendering of the Revisers' text in the Parable by 'to ask for peace' (compare the ancient Versions) or 'to ask for a state (or "condition") of peace'; but 'to ask conditions of peace' suggests a bargain as to terms, an idea which does not seem to be inherent in the Greek. A sufficient condemnation of the reading is that it fails to account for the variants with εἰς. It probably owes its origin, in part at least, to the occurrence of τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην in Luke xix 42, which would not escape the notice of the early copyists.

Dr Hort has for once deserted the B text, which stands alone. At

¹ I quote from Tischendorf.

² πράσσειν is Schweighauser's emendation; πράττειν Teubner text.

³ Cf. δεῖσθαι εἰρήνης, Xenoph. *Hell.* ii 2. 13.

⁴ Cf. also Acts xxviii 10 τὰ πρὸς τὰς χρείας, 'such things as we needed' Tischendorf cites from Origen a v.l. with εἰς in Luke xix 42.

least, he has not given it priority; it would be contrary to his principles to ignore it altogether. He relegates it, along with the Revisers' readings, to the margin, as alternatives to the variant *ἔρωτᾷ πρὸς εἰρήνην* which he prints in the text on the authority of *℣* Γ*. Dr Hort's reasons for abandoning the B reading can only be conjectured, since he has left no comment. Considerable hesitation on his part may be inferred from his offering three alternatives. If *ἔρωτᾷ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην*, though apparently unparalleled, is intelligible, *ἔρωτᾷ πρὸς εἰρήνην* is unique and almost impossible to translate. Mere difficulty, however, is no proof of genuineness, unless an interpretation is forthcoming. This reading probably arose from a clerical error, the natural omission of one *τα* in *ερωτα[τα]προσειρηνην*. Like the Revisers' reading, it fails to account for the variants with *εἰς*. It is between these two other variants, I am convinced, that the choice lies, and the prestige of the B text naturally inclines us to follow that MS.

(2) *The Hebrew phrase 'to ask about peace'*. The commentators, through neglect of the LXX (always of importance for the interpretation of the N. T., and above all in the case of St Luke, who for much of his work took it for his model), have entirely failed to do justice to these other variants. Dr Plummer can only suggest that *εἰς* has perhaps come in from the companion parable of the Tower-builder, *εἰ ἔχει εἰς ἀπαρτισμόν* (ver. 28). Neither he nor, to my knowledge, any other editor has remarked on the fact that *ἔρωτᾷν εἰς εἰρήνην* and *ἔρωτᾷν τὰ εἰς εἰρήνην* are recognized 'translation-Greek' for the Hebrew phrase *דִּלְשׁוּ לְשָׁלוֹם*, 'ask after (a person's) health', 'greet' or 'salute'.

The Hebrew *דִּלְשׁוּ* differed from the Greek *εἰρήνη* in that it connoted the welfare of an individual. It was the ordinary form of salutation. Apparently the primitive root-meaning was 'soundness', 'completeness' (*ὁλοκληρία*), and the meaning of peace as opposed to war was secondary.¹ 'To ask after a person's welfare' was expressed by 'to ask about (ב) some one with reference to (ל) (his) peace'. The Greek translators of the O. T. doubtless all alike understood the meaning of the phrase; but here, as elsewhere, the pioneering translators of the Pentateuch differed from their successors in their greater freedom of style. They properly employed Greek idioms where the later interpreters preferred a literal version.

¹ *Εἰρήνη* in N.T. is as a rule Hebraic rather than Greek; and the primitive meaning of its Hebrew equivalent is clearly kept in view in some passages. Note in particular the interchange of *σύνδεσμος τῆς εἰρήνης*, Eph. iv 3, and *σύνδεσμος τῆς τελειότητος*, Col. iii 14; 1 Thess. v 23 *Αὐτοὺς δὲ ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγάσai ὑμᾶς ὁλοτελεῖς, καὶ ὁλοκληρον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀμέμπτos . . . τηρηθεῖν*; and cf. with this last passage Heb. xiii 20f *ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης . . . καταρτίσαι ὑμᾶς*, 'make you perfect'.

Contrast the following passages :—

(a) In the *Pentateuch*. Gen. xliii 27 ἡρώτησεν δὲ αὐτοὺς Πῶς ἔχετε ; (לשׁלם לך לך לך) καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Εἰ ὑγιαίνει ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν . . . ; (אביכם לך) οἱ δὲ εἶπαν Ὑγιαίνει ὁ παῖς σου . . . (ךךך לך). Ex. xviii 7 καὶ ἡσπάσαντο ἀλλήλους (לך לך לך לך לך); cf. Jd. xviii 15 A. Cf. also Gen. xxxvii 14 ἴδε εἰ ὑγιαίνουν οἱ ἀδελφοί σου.

(b) The *later books* use either ἐρωτᾶν (τινὰ) τὰ εἰς εἰρήνην or the baldly literal ἐρωτᾶν (τινὰ) εἰς εἰρήνην: Jd. xviii 15 B, 1 Regn. x 4, xvii 22 A (passage not in B), xxv 5, xxx 21 B (A ἡρώτησεν αὐτὸν εἰρήνην), 2 Regn. viii 10 = 1 Chron. xviii 10, 2 Regn. xi 7 (*ter*). The insertion of τὰ was a slight accommodation of the Hebraism to Greek syntax. The man to whom we owe the completion of the Greek version of Samuel-Kings (possibly Theodotion)¹ did not scruple to perpetrate such a barbarism as 'to inquire into the peace of the war', meaning 'to ask how it fared with the war': 2 Regn. xi 7 καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν Δαυεὶδ εἰς εἰρήνην Ἰωάβ καὶ εἰς εἰρήνην τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ εἰς εἰρήνην τοῦ πολέμου.

(3) *Special significance of the phrase as applied to royalty*. But, it may fairly be urged, surely the translation 'to greet' is ridiculous in the Lukan parable, and the familiar rendering must be right. It was no unexpected announcement last autumn that 'Kiamil Pasha, the Grand Vizier of Turkey, has asked King Ferdinand to agree to a cessation of hostilities with a view to the direct discussion of the preliminaries of peace'.² But it would have surprised us to read that the Sultan or his ministers had sent to beleaguered Adrianople or Kirk Kilisse to make kind enquiries after the health of his Majesty of Bulgaria! A similar argument doubtless weighed with St Luke's copyists, in so far as they understood the Hebraic ἐρωτᾶν εἰς εἰρήνην at all. I was formerly of their opinion,³ supposing that the Evangelist had borrowed but *Hellenized* the LXX phrase, giving εἰρήνη its classical sense. Such an adaptation on his part would not, it seems, be foreign to his manner.⁴ In this instance, however, it is not he, I think, but his editors, who have Hellenized. St Luke knew and understood his Greek Bible better than they. If we may trust the B text, he has not even adopted the slight concession of some of the O. T. translators to Greek idiom by inserting the article τὰ. He wrote ἐρωτᾶ εἰς εἰρήνην and employed the words in a technical sense. For, where royalty was concerned, the Semitic phrase seems to have acquired a special connotation. To ask after the health of a king was to do him homage,

¹ For the early and late portions of the Greek history of the monarchy see *J.T.S.* viii 262. The first translators omitted nearly half the narrative as unedifying.

² *The Times*, November 16, 1912.

³ *Gramm. of O. T. in Greek* i 40 note.

⁴ Plummer *Int. Crit. Comm.* li 'Anyhow Luke shows that he is able to give an Hellenic turn to his Hebraisms, so that they would less offend a Greek ear'.

to tender one's allegiance.¹ Where the salutation to the monarch was offered by another king, the latter thereby recognized the suzerainty of an overlord. 'To salute' in this case was tantamount to *voluntary submission* or unconditional surrender. The special sense of 'submission' thus acquired by *shālôm* is commoner in Semitic languages other than Hebrew²; indeed the ordinary sense is so predominant in the Old Testament that the special connotation has perhaps not been sufficiently recognized. But there is at least one passage in the O. T. where it is clearly present. The passage, rightly interpreted, offers so close a parallel to the Lukan parable (if it does not actually enable us to name the two kings) that it must be considered in detail.

(4) *King Toi and king David*. The eighth chapter of the second book of Samuel describes a series of victories of king David over various enemies. After the defeat of Philistines and Moabites we read (v. 3) how he smote also Hadadezer, son of Rehob, king of Zobah, as he went to recover his dominion³ on the river Euphrates, and how the Syrians of Damascus came to the aid of Hadadezer and met the same fate. Incidentally we note that David took from Hadadezer twenty thousand footmen. The narrative proceeds in the R. V. (vv. 9-12):—

9 'And when Toi, king of Hamath, heard that David
^a Heb. *ask* 10 had smitten all the host of Hadadezer, then Toi *sent*
him of his Joram his son unto king David to ^a *salute* him, and to
welfare. bless him, because he had fought against Hadadezer and
^b Heb. *was* smitten him: for Hadadezer ^b *had wars* with Toi. And
a man of ^c *Joram* brought with him vessels of silver, and vessels of
wars. ^c *Joram* brought with him vessels of silver, and vessels of
^d Heb. *in* 11 gold, and vessels of brass: these also did king David
his hand ^d *were.*

¹ The technical meaning of *shālôm* in connexion with royalty was so well established that the verb might be omitted: 4 Regn. x 13 *καὶ κατέβημεν εἰς εἰρήνην* (וַיָּבֹאוּ וַיִּשְׁלַם) τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ βασι. καὶ τῶν υἱῶν τῆς δυναστεύουσας. Cf. the Egyptian parallels cited in (6) below and Jer. xv 5 LXX τίς ἀνακάμψει εἰς εἰρήνην σοι;

² For Aramaic and Arabic see Robertson Smith *Religion of Semites* 79f: 'To the same conception may be assigned the proper name Salm, "submission", shortened from such theophorous forms as the Palmyrene Salm al-Lāt, "submission to Lat"': 'The same idea of a religion accepted by voluntary submission is expressed in the name *Islām*.' For Hebrew parallels cf. Is. xlii 19, 'Who is blind as the surrendered one?' with Cheyne's note: the proper name Meshullam: and Jos. xi 19, 'There was not a city that voluntarily surrendered to the children of Israel' (לֹא שָׁלַח, not the usual פָּנָה 'made peace with'). In this last passage the B text of the LXX boldly paraphrases, giving the general sense correctly, οὐκ ἦν πόλις ἣν οὐκ ἔλαβεν Ἰσραὴλ; the A text has οὐκ ἦν πολ. ἥτις οὐ παρέδωκεν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰ., in which the second negative seems to be an interpolation, due to misunderstanding of παρέδωκεν = 'voluntarily surrendered'.

³ Or, 'stablish his hand', Driver *Notes on Heb. Text*. Text and meaning are uncertain.

dedicate unto the LORD, with the silver and gold that he dedicated of all the nations which he subdued. [A list of nations follows.]

'To salute him' is the usual phrase לְשַׁלֵּם לוֹ . I append the LXX text of *v.* 10 according to codex B with such variants from the *apparatus criticus* of Holmes and Parsons as deserve mention. The bracketed parenthetical words are, as explained below, perhaps a gloss.

καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Θόου Ἰεδδουρὰν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ πρὸς βασιλέα Δαυεὶδ ἐρωτῆσαι αὐτὸν τὰ εἰς εἰρήνην καὶ εὐλογῆσαι αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ οὗ ἐπάταξεν τὸν Ἀδραάζαρ· [καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτόν, ὅτι κείμενος ἦν τῷ Ἀδραάζαρ] καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ ἦσαν σκεύη ἀργυρᾶ καὶ σκεύη χρυσᾶ καὶ σκεύη χαλκᾶ.

τα εἰς εἰρήνην] *περι της ειρηνης* Arm. Georg.: *τα περι της ειρηνης* Slav. The evidence of these VSS cannot be set against that of all the Greek MSS which have the usual translation phrase in its articular form (as opposed to Luke's *eis eir.* without article).

ἐπάταξεν 1° BA 55 121* 245 247] ἐπολεμησαν 106 120 134: ἐπολεμησε the rest (with the MT).

καὶ ἐπάταξεν—τω Ἀδραάζαρ] Λ 44 74 106^{1a} (marg. ∴ *hostis quippe erat theu Adadeser*) 120 134 144 245. In the last named MS the omission possibly extends to the end of the verse; H. and P.'s '&c.' is ambiguous.

καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτόν] Λ 55 247.

κείμενος B] a mere slip for *αντικείμενος* of A &c.

In the Masoretic text this incident appears as a 'congratulatory embassy' from king Toi to king David upon the latter's victory over a common enemy. This impression, however, is conveyed by words in *v.* 10, the meaning and authenticity of which is doubtful. If we follow the text of the two oldest uncial MSS of the LXX, we should read, not

'Toi sent Joram . . . unto king David to salute him and to bless him, because he had fought against H. and smitten him: for a man-of-wars of Toi was H. And in his [Joram's] hands were,' &c.,

but

'Toi sent J. . . unto king David to salute him and to bless him, because he had smitten H. (and he smote H. because he [David] was an adversary of H.); and in his hands were,' &c.

But, if we follow the text of an important group of MSS, we should omit the bracketed parenthesis altogether. The omission might of course be attributed to *homoioteleuton*; but the clause clearly interrupts the construction, leaving the 'his' so far removed from its antecedent Joram that our English translators feel it necessary to introduce the name:

¹ So Dr Kirkpatrick in the *Cambridge Bible*.

'And *Joram* brought with him,' &c. The words are probably an early gloss¹ referring to the fact that this was not the only occasion on which David was engaged in battle with Hadadezer, a marginal reference, as it were, to 2 Regn. x 16 ff. Gloss or no gloss, the rendering 'Hadadezer had wars with Toi' is not supported by our most ancient authorities.

Removing the doubtful words, we have the ordinary picture of the voluntary submission of one monarch to another, for which parallels are quoted below. The context leaves no doubt as to what manner of 'salutation' is meant, *ποταπὸς εἶη ὁ ἀσπασμὸς οὗτος*, as St Luke would say. To 'salute' David is, as Cheyne observes,² 'to recognize his suzerainty'. To 'bless' him is to bow the knee in homage. The vessels of silver, gold, and brass are the tokens of submission, the usual form of tribute sent on those occasions. Like the Moabites and Syrians (*vv.* 2 and 6), Toi 'became David's servant and brought gifts'; his case differed from theirs only in that by non-resistance he escaped the drastic punishment which fell to their lot. The resemblance to other cases of voluntary surrender extends to details of phraseology; the expression 'in his hands were' may be illustrated from descriptions of the offering of tribute to an Oriental monarch.³

The parallel to the Lukan parable is surely striking. We see, on the one side, king David advancing victorious from the Euphrates valley upon Hamath, his army possibly swelled by the 20,000 infantry captured from Hadadezer⁴; on the other, king Toi, taught wisdom⁵ by the defeat first of Hadadezer and then of his Syrian allies, taking timely precautions, while David was yet far off, by despatching across the desert an embassy under the Crown Prince to 'salute' him.

(5) *Gyges and Ašur-bani-pal*. While the narrative in 2 Samuel is not improbably the immediate source of the parable, the technical sense of 'to salute' is shared by Hebrew written with other Semitic languages. An interesting illustration of what is meant by the 'salutation' of one monarch by another is furnished by the story of the

¹ The context bears marks of interpolation. 'It is not unlikely that [*v.* 11] and the following verse are a late insertion', H. P. Smith (*Int. Crit. Comm.*); *vv.* 7 and 8 in the LXX contain additional matter, apparently interpolated from Chronicles.

² *Encycl. Bibl.* s.v. Toi.

³ Cf. an inscription describing how when Pharaoh (Rameses II) paid his annual visit to the land of Naharain 'the chiefs of every country came bowing down in peace, because of the fame of his majesty. From the marshes was their tribute: silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite and every sweet wood of God's land were upon their backs'. Breasted *Ancient Records of Egypt* iii § 433 ff.

⁴ This cannot be pressed; such parallels may easily be carried too far.

⁵ Cf. Josephus *Ant. Jud.* vii §. 4 *δείσας περὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν Δαυίδην πρὶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἰλθεῖν φίλῳ καὶ πίστει γυνὸς ἐνδύσασθαι, πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀδάραμον κτλ.*

relations between Ašur-bani-pal king of Assyria (668-625 B.C., the 'Asnapper' or 'Osnappar' of the book of Ezra, Sardanapalus of the classical writers) and Gyges king of Lydia.¹ I translate from Jensen's German version,² which is, as Mr. L. W. King informs me, more trustworthy than the older English rendering of G. Smith.³ Ašur-bani-pal *loquitur*.

'To Gôgu king of Lydia, a district across the sea, a distant land, the name of which the kings, my fathers, had not heard, Ašur, my begetter, revealed my name in a dream [saying]: "Embrace the feet of Ašur-bani-pal, king of Assyria, and thou wilt through his name defeat thine enemies." On the [same] day on which he saw this dream, *he despatched* his horseman *to salute me*⁴: sent [word of] this dream which he had seen through his messenger, and he narrated it to me. From that very day on which he embraced the feet of me, the king, he defeated the Gimirians (Cimmerians), oppressors of the peoples of his country, who had not feared my fathers nor embraced the feet of me, the king. In reliance on Ašur and Ištar, the gods, my lords, he took from the Gimirians whom he defeated two chiefs, bound them fast in chains (?), iron fetters and iron bands, and had them brought to my presence together with a weighty present from himself.'

Then came a change: Gyges threw off his allegiance to Assyria. 'His horseman whom he *had constantly sent to salute me*,⁵ he thereupon discontinued.' Trusting in his own might, he aided Psammetichus in his struggle for Egyptian independence and, in fulfilment of the prayers of Ašur-bani-pal to Ašur and Ištar, paid the penalty for his rashness by renewed victories of the Cimmerians and by his death. His son and successor (Ardys) submitted to the Assyrian yoke.

The phrase 'to salute' (ask after the welfare of) a monarch is of constant occurrence in the Assyrian records. The greater part of the article on the word *šulmu* in the Assyrian Lexicon of Delitzsch⁶ is devoted to its illustration. I quote the following extract: '*Šulmu šarri ša'alu*: urspr. das Wohlergehen des Königs erfragen, sich erkundigend wünschen, dass es dem Könige äusserlich und innerlich wohl ergehe, mit ihm allseitig zum Besten stehe, dann aber nur s.v.a.: den König huldigend begrüssen. er der niemals seinen Gesandten geschickt,

¹ As stated, I am indebted to Professor Burkitt for this instance.

² In E. Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* Bd. ii, Berlin 1890, p. 173.

³ *History of Assurbanipal translated from the cuneiform inscriptions*, London 1871 (cuneiform with interlinear transliteration and translation).

⁴ *a-na ša'-al šul-me-ia*: Jensen 'um mich zu begrüssen', G. Smith, 'to pray for my friendship'.

⁵ 'To salute me': original and versions as before (see preceding note).

⁶ *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, Leipzig 1896.

la iš-('a)-a-lu(m) šū-lum šarru-ti-šu-un ihre Majestät nicht begrüßt hatte. . . . Tammarithu, der sich auf den Thron gesetzt hatte, *la iš-a-lu (V. iš-al) šūlum šarrātia* ohne meine M. darum zu begrüßen . . .'

G. Smith's rendering 'to pray for my friendship' seems clearly incorrect. Mr L. W. King writes to me: 'In Assyrian the expression *šūlum . . . ša'alu* always means "to greet, to salute". Its context may sometimes shew that submission is intended or implied, but the phrase in itself has not this meaning. I believe that the Hebrew *שאל לשלום* was used in precisely the same way, the idea of submission being in some passages implied by the context, never by the phrase itself.' Though in doing homage to his overlord a king doubtless had most at heart the 'peace' and welfare of himself and his country, the words which he employed were strictly no more than a prayer for the well-being of his suzerain. But the sense of submission in the root SH-L-M, which is explicit in Aramaic and Arabic,¹ is clearly already implied in the Assyrian and Hebrew use of the phrase 'ask after the peace of a monarch'. On the other hand, the phrase never means 'to ask for peace' as opposed to war. This was apparently a secondary sense of the noun; the Semitic salutation was a prayer for one neighbour's welfare and was not tantamount to the schoolboy's 'Pax!'

Since writing the above, I have read with interest a paper by Mr F. Beames in a recent number of the *Expository Times*,² in which the Lukan parable of the Unrighteous Judge is illustrated from the Babylonian contract tablets. The following passage is so germane to my subject that I am tempted to quote it in full. 'To understand the parables aright we must remember that they are Semitic tales retold to us in the common language of the Greek empire, the medium through which Christianity came to us. The leading Semitic influence was Babylonian, an influence which had pervaded all lands east of the Mediterranean for many centuries. The parable of the house built on the rock as found in St Luke is a case in point. If we read the standard inscription of Aššur-našir-pal, where he describes the building of his palace, and the well-known inscription of Nabu-na'id, where he describes his discovery of the foundation-stone of Naram Sin, we realize that this parable refers to common Babylonian usage. Thus while the study of Greek inscriptions and ostraca, as Dr Deissmann has shewn, throws light on the Pauline writings, the parables are also illustrated by the domestic literature of Mesopotamia and Babylon.' I do not doubt that light might be thrown from the same quarter upon the parable which forms the companion to that of the Two Kings, namely, that of the Tower-builder.

¹ See note 2 on page 393.

² January 1913, vol. xxiv pp. 150 ff.

(6) *Egyptian parallels.* For illustration of the Lukan parable, however, we are not limited to the Semitic records of the Old Testament and Assyria. The Hebrew שָׁלוֹם, along with a somewhat obscure derivative, had already, before the earliest date to which any writings in the Old Testament have been assigned, been adopted as a loan-word in Egypt and transliterated in hieroglyphic characters. Here again we find this root used to denote homage or tribute paid to a monarch. It was Brugsch who first identified the hieroglyphics which are now read as *šarm(a)* or *šalm(a)* with the Hebrew שָׁלוֹם, and the identification has been accepted by all later Egyptologists.¹ The meaning of the word is fixed by its context, by its 'determinative' sign, which is consistently a human figure, standing or kneeling, with arms uplifted in an attitude of supplication, and by the fact² that it is used interchangeably with purely Egyptian words for 'to do homage' or 'greet'. It appears in such contexts as 'We salute him doing homage, we shew our respect'³: 'They are in *šarma* (i. e. "implore health", Burchardt) for thy name'⁴: 'Kapur [a Libyan chief] comes to *šarma* [do homage] in the manner of (?) a blind man [*t'ar*], lays his weapons on the ground along with his soldiers, utters a cry [another loan-word, *t'aāuq* = פֶּאֶן] to heaven.'⁵

A second form, *šarmat(i)* or *šalmat(i)*, the Egyptian representative of some derivative of שָׁלוֹם, which has not with certainty been identified,⁶ is used in the sense of 'tribute', 'contribution'. Its 'determinative' sign is a barrel or similar device symbolizing victuals, though the tribute did not always take this form. In the Papyrus Anastasi I (a letter from a witty scribe to a friend, whom he accuses of shewing inefficiency as head of the commissariat department on a military expedition in Syria and Palestine in the fourteenth century B.C.) Mr Gardiner⁶ renders the word 'a complimentary gift'. 'A complimentary gift has been brought for thee (and set) before thee, bread and cattle and wine. The number of men is too great for thee, the provision (made) is too small for them.' M. Chabas, commenting on this document, remarks that 'quoique déterminé par le signe des vivres, ce mot ne s'appliquait pas uniquement aux provisions de bouche', and goes on to refer to a hieratic papyrus⁷ in the British

¹ See Brugsch *Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig 1868, vol. iv p. 1429, *šarom*: J. H. Bondi *Dem hebräisch-phönizischen Sprachstamme angehörige Lehnwörter in hierogl. und hierat. Texten*, Leipzig 1886, §§ xl ix-l *šarmā*, *šarmāba*: M. Burchardt *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdwörter u. Eigennamen im Aegyptischen*, Zweiter Teil, Leipzig 1910, s.v. *šrm*, *šrmt*.

² Bondi l.c.

³ Bondi, Burchardt.

⁴ Bondi, F. Chabas *Études sur l'antiquité historique*, ed. 2, Paris 1873, p. 238.

⁵ Cf. *𓂏𓂐𓂏* translated 'peace-offering', *𓂏𓂐𓂏𓂏* 'recompense', &c.

⁶ A. H. Gardiner *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, Series i part i, Leipzig 1911; cf. Chabas *Voyage d'un Égyptien en Syrie*, &c., Paris 1866, p. 70.

⁷ Pap. Vasalli, 1860. No translation has been published.

Museum of the first year of Rameses X, which 'parle de la réception de l'or, de l'argent, du bronze et des vêtements' as the outcome of the *šarmati*. This document falls approximately within the half century preceding David's foreign wars, and the contribution, it is noteworthy, takes almost exactly the same form as in the case of king Toi of Hamath. M. Chabas adds: 'Il y a quelque probabilité que les *šarmatha* étaient les contributions en nature, imposées dans certaines circonstances aux populations, et auxquelles on avait donné le nom d'offrande, de don, car le mot égyptien rappelle très directement l'hébreu שלמים.' Herr Bondi concludes from the loan-word that Semites whose speech was of the Canaanite branch paid regular taxes to Egypt (a conclusion which is confirmed from other sources) and that the Egyptians interpreted the word שלם as 'tribute'.

(7) *The Lukan parable and its moral.* We have travelled far from the Lukan parable, from which we set out, but return to see it in a new light. We shall not care to appeal to it, as did Archbishop Trench, to prove that ἐρωτᾶν 'implies on the part of the asker a certain equality as of king with king'.¹ Nor, I think, will the translation 'conditions of peace' prove tenable. On the contrary, we recognize a primitive and widespread Semitic phrase implying in certain circumstances unconditional surrender, whether we prefer to regard its use in the Gospel as a literary reminiscence of the story of David's wars or to trace its origin to Babylonian sources. Moreover, interpreted in the light of the Semitic parallels, the phrase furnishes two links (one of substance, one verbal) between the parable and the moral which immediately and, according to the usual exegesis, rather abruptly follows it: 'So therefore every one of you who renounceth not (saith not farewell to) all his possessions cannot be my disciple.' The commentators, no doubt with some justice, urge that stress must not be laid on the 'details' which 'are part of the framework of the parables and by themselves mean nothing'.² But St Luke's οὐν binds the moral closely to the parable, and are we not intended to recall that king Toi in 'saluting' king David surrendered not only his vessels of gold, silver, and brass, but his independence? Again, is it not a strange coincidence that immediately after the Hebraic phrase for 'to say How do you do?' St Luke employs the κοινή word for 'to say Goodbye' (ἀποχαιρεσάει)? Ἀσπάζεσθαι would cover both. Was there not perhaps an intentional word-play in St Luke's source?

H. ST J. THACKERAY.

¹ *Synonyms of the New Test.*, ed. 2, 1854, p. 166.

² Plummer *in loc.*

THE FOURTH OXYRHYNCHUS SAYING.

λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς·

[πὰν τὸ μὴ ἔμπροσ]θεν τῆς ὁψιῶς σου,
καὶ [τὸ κεκρυμμένον] ἀπὸ σου ἀποκαλυφ(θ)ήσεται[αἱ σοι·
οὐ γὰρ ἐσ]τιν κρυπτὸν ὃ οὐ φανε[ρὸν γενήσεται,]
καὶ τεθαμμένον ὃ ο[ὐκ ἐγερθήσεται].

The above text, as restored by the discoverers, is final in every essential. There are only two slight textual points to be noticed. In the final clause Grenfell and Hunt suggest ο[ὐ γνωσθήσεται] as an alternative to their own reading given above, but few will hesitate to prefer the stronger verb as the more satisfying. One might, perhaps, suggest that *κεκαλυμμένον* be read as an alternative to *κεκρυμμένον* in the second clause. Compare Matt. x 26, Luke xii 2.

The latter half of the Saying has parallels in all the Synoptics, and these passages may be divided into two groups:—

- I (a) οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ τι κρυπτὸν ἐν μὴ ἵνα φανερωθῇ,
οὐδὲ ἐγένετο ἀπόκρυφον ἄλλ' ἵνα εἰς φανερόν ἔλθῃ. (Mark iv 22.)
(b) οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ κρυπτὸν ὃ οὐ φανερόν γενήσεται,
οὐδὲ ἀπόκρυφον ὃ οὐ μὴ γνωσθῇ καὶ εἰς φανερόν ἔλθῃ.
(Luke viii 17.)
- II. (a) οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ κεκαλυμμένον ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται,
καὶ κρυπτὸν ὃ οὐ γνωσθήσεται. (Matt. x 26.)
(b) οὐδὲν δὲ συγκεκαλυμμένον ἐστὶν ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται,
καὶ κρυπτὸν ὃ οὐ γνωσθήσεται. (Luke xii 2.)

In the first group, where Luke is clearly borrowing from Mark, the Saying occurs as one of a series of disconnected *logoi*, and is therefore without context. We find it in the second group as part of the Charge to the Twelve (Matt. x 5), or to the Seventy (Luke x 1), though the third evangelist defers some of the most characteristic matter—including the parallel to the present Saying—to ch. xii.

We may conclude that our authorities for the Saying in its twofold form are Mark (Group I) and Q (Group II).¹ Whether the latter owes its context to the ingenuity of an editor or no is a matter which must be passed over here. The question before us is the relationship of Saying iv to this double tradition.

Grenfell and Hunt considered it to agree with Matthew and Luke (Group II) in general arrangement, but with Mark in the language of the first clause of the second half. Elsewhere, in the *Logia* of 1897 as in the *Sayings* of 1903, the influence of Mark is very slight, if indeed it

¹ Cf. Hawkins *Hor. Synopt.* p. 82.

exists, while that of Matthew and Luke is strongly marked. Now the first clause of the second half of Saying iv coincides word for word with the Lucan parallel in Group I, and it therefore seems likely that Mark must be left out of the matter. On the other side, the relationship between the Saying and Group II seems to extend beyond arrangement. ἀποκαλυφθήσεται is peculiar to the Q version, and this suggests that another Q word, κεκαλυμμένον, should be read in place of κεκρυμμένον, as already noted. I think, therefore, that it may be claimed that the Saying is dependent partly upon the Q tradition, partly upon the Lucan version of Mark's tradition.

This, together with the novel first and fourth clauses, calls for explanation. What has happened to form the Saying seems to be as follows. The final clause either grew up naturally, or (as is more likely in view of the dependence of the third clause upon Luke viii) was deliberately substituted for that of the version of Group I. This Saying was contaminated with the form of Group II, and its first clause superseded the second clause of Group II, which it closely resembles. In consequence, the first clause of Group II was pushed out of the parallelism, but was retained by prefixing a totally new first clause. It is significant that this clause contains the Johannine word ὄψις.

Is Saying iv an extract? If so, in view of its relationship to Group II, we must assign it to a version of the Charge to the Apostles (or to the Seventy), though the final clause indicates that the immediate connexion must have been other than Synoptic. The *Introduction* to the Sayings has been put forward as fatal to theories of extraction, for with what face could an excerptor offer his pillage from known Gospels as a Collection based upon the authority of Thomas? This objection is insuperable if its premisses are sound, but there are reasons which lead one to believe that Thomas was not claimed as an authority for the Sayings by the author of the *Introduction*, but was only casually mentioned.¹ Relying on those reasons I venture to treat this matter as still open.

The use of the second person singular in this Saying is remarkable. In the first place it gives a precision and directness which an independent *logos* would hardly be likely to preserve. This in itself creates a presumption that what we have here is an extract. Secondly, no Synoptist represents the Saying as addressed to an individual. If we can find a version of the Charge in which an individual is addressed, it will be almost certain that the Saying is extracted from such a version, and we may possibly find out its place of origin. Now the author of the pseudo-Clementine epistle (§ 5) has a fragment of the Charge. (λέγει γὰρ ὁ Κύριος) Ἔσεσθε ὡς ἄνθρακx ἐν μέσῳ λύκων. ἀποκριθεῖς

¹ See my note, *J.T.S.* xiii p. 75.

δὲ ὁ Πέτρος αὐτῷ λέγει· Ἐὰν οὖν διασπαράξωσιν οἱ λύκοι τὰ ἀρνία ; εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ· Μὴ φοβείσθωσαν τὰ ἀρνία τοὺς λύκους μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτά, καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ φόβεισθε τοὺς ἀποκτείνοντας ὑμᾶς καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῶν δυνάμενος ποιεῖν· ἀλλὰ φοβείσθε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὑμᾶς ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος τοῦ βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν πυρός. In this citation from an unnamed Gospel we have the monologue broken by an interlocutor—St Peter. May not our Saying have been in answer to another question? I will venture to suggest what this may have been.

A noteworthy deviation from the Synoptic version in the Clementine passage is the oxymoron, 'those that kill you, *and can do nothing to you*'. We shall see presently that the question put by St Peter is a rhetorical trick to give variety. And the oxymoron may be intended to lead up to another question, which would have been somewhat as follows: ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος λέγει· Κύριε, πῶς λέγεις τοὺς ἀποκτείνοντας ὑμᾶς μηδὲν ὑμῶν δυνάσθαι ποιεῖν ; The reply to such a question might well be in the form of our Saying: 'You do not understand this now,'¹ but later it will become clear, for that which is hidden shall be revealed, *and that which is buried shall be raised up*.' The striking fourth clause becomes very apt in such a context.

If, then, the Saying is a fragment from the Gospel used by pseudo-Clement, what was this Gospel? Lightfoot and Harnack have consigned all pseudo-Clement's citations to the Egyptian Gospel. The main ground for so doing is that one of them appears to belong to the Salome dialogue which is quoted by Clement of Alexandria from that Gospel. This may be so, though the Egyptian Gospel need not have been the sole record of the material contained in that dialogue.² But if pseudo-Clement used this Gospel once, the fact does not prove that he used no other; indeed, it would be hard to find a more complete contrast than that between the Salome dialogue on the one hand, and the remaining Clementine citations on the other. Let us recall that these last are Synoptic in character and of the type of the first and third Gospels. What little we actually know of the Egyptian Gospel does not accord with this.³

Now the pseudo-Clementine fragment of the Mission Charge shews a peculiar rhetorical structure. It commences with an abrupt statement: 'Ye shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves.' In its brevity and obvious incompleteness this is surely designed to lead on to the question which follows—a question, however, which is not particularly intelligent. This put, the monologue precedes by way of formal reply. The

¹ Cf. John xiii 7.

² e. g. the Saying about 'trampling on the Garment of Shame' occurs in the Oxyrhynchus Gospel fragment (*Ox. Pap.* iv 655).

³ Batiffol *Revue Biblique*, 1897, pp. 513-515.

arrangement—there is not likely to be any historical foundation—seems intended to substitute a kind of dramatic variety for monologue. Surely this rhetorical structure will serve as a clue to the source of the passage if we can find a parallel. Happily such a parallel is extant. Jerome¹ cites the following from an apocryphal Gospel: ‘Si peccauerit, inquit, frater tuus in uerbo et satis tibi fecerit, septies in die suscipe eum. Dixit illi Simon discipulus eius: Septies in die? Respondit dominus et dixit ei: Etiam ego dico tibi usque septuagies septies.’ I think it will hardly be doubted that the correspondence in rhetorical form between this excerpt and that of pseudo-Clement points to a single source for both. Jerome refers the passage he quotes to the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, and I would therefore suggest this book as the authority for the Mission Charge fragment in pseudo-Clement.²

At the commencement of this note reason was shewn for seeing the influence of Matthew and Luke on the fourth Saying, and later we recalled that pseudo-Clement’s citations are Synoptic and have this same colouring. The Mission Charge fragment is certainly Matthean in the connected form it gives to that address: there is no unmistakable sign of Lucan influence, though *ἀπρία* suggests the Third rather than the First Gospel. But Jerome’s citation, like those of Clement, is Synoptic and shews the influence of Luke in the words *in die* (xvii 4), while *septuagies septies* is due to Matthew (xviii 21, 22).³ Indeed, the other fragments of the Hebrew Gospel mostly shew strong correspondence with both Matthew and Luke.

Our position is then as follows. (1) Saying iv, by its use of the second person singular, is so far extra-synoptic, and a parallel can be found only in pseudo-Clement’s Mission Charge. (2) This citation is remarkable in style, and in this regard finds a parallel in a known fragment from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. (3) The Saying on the one part, and the apocryphal excerpts with which we are here concerned—not to mention the greater number of the fragments of the Hebrews’ Gospel—on the other, have an identical relation to the Synoptists.

Since M. Batiffol in 1897 attributed the *Logia* fragment to the Gospel in question, we have gained the weighty evidence of Saying i, but this is not the place to discuss either that or any more general considerations on this side. I limit myself in this note to stating reasons which, if they will hold together, seem to lead back to the source of the fourth Saying.

HUGH G. EVELYN-WHITE.

¹ *C. Pelag.* iii 2.

² In Jerome’s citation we have *dominus* (κύριος) while Clement’s fragment uses Ἰησοῦς. Yet this is not a serious obstacle: Luke uses Ἰησοῦς, but also uses κύριος. See x 1, 39-41; xi 39; xii 42; xiii 15; xvii 5.

³ Cf. Adeney *Hibbert Journal* iii 154.

IS HERMAS ALSO AMONG THE PROPHETS?

THE kindness of a friend has made me the possessor of the sumptuous volume in which the Clarendon Press has published Prof. Lake's photographs of the New Testament in the Codex Sinaiticus, together with his twenty pages of Introduction; and I cannot better justify the gift than by putting before the readers of the JOURNAL an idea which suggested itself to me on a first examination and which, if correct, appears at once to explain some curious features in the MS and to throw light upon the history of the reception of the *Shepherd of Hermas*.

The three points in the MS which I want to bring into connexion with one another are the following:—

1. *Matter has been lost between the Old Testament and the New.*

The original numeration of the gatherings differs in the New Testament from the present (eighth-century?) numeration: Lake, p. xvi. In the Old Testament there is no trace of change; in the New each quaternion is now marked with a lower number than it was by the original scribe. On foll. 78, 86, and elsewhere, of the New Testament both numerations are still partially visible; and it would seem that the gathering which is now 83 (πρ') was at first 84 (πδ'), and that which is now 84 was at first 85 and so on. Therefore between the Old Testament and the New there was originally another gathering (it would have had the number 73, which is the revised number for the first gathering of St Matthew), and this extra gathering had either disappeared or been removed when the present numeration was substituted for the older cyphers in the New Testament.

2. *The New Testament originally ended with the Epistle of Barnabas.*

The gatherings of the MS are almost invariably quaternions or sheets of eight (four conjugate) leaves: Lake, p. xvi. There are only four exceptions in the New Testament, and of these four two belong to Barnabas. At the end of St Luke, the 78th gathering—by the present numeration—has only seven leaves¹; at the end of the Gospels

¹ Unfortunately Prof. Lake (who by the way has printed ση' by mistake for οη' as the number of the quaternion) does not say at what point in this quaternion a leaf has been lost; but I note that what is now the last leaf of the quaternion, fol. 47 b, is quite unique for its excellent state of preservation. In this MS—as so often happens in older MSS which were left unbound in sheets—the first and last leaves

(no doubt in order that the Epistles may begin on a fresh gathering) the 80th gathering has only six leaves, the whole of the *verso* of the last leaf (fol. 61 *b*) being blank. After the Gospels the Pauline Epistles, Acts, Catholic Epistles, Apocalypse proceed regularly with quaternions, from fol. 62 to fol. 133 inclusive. The 90th gathering, which contains just the end of the Apocalypse and the greater part of Barnabas, has six leaves, foll. 134-139. Then, quite exceptionally, a gathering of two leaves, foll. 140, 141, is added for the end of Barnabas; and Hermas begins with a fresh gathering on fol. 142. The most natural deduction from these phenomena is that the scribe was nearing the conclusion of his work; that he miscalculated the space which would be taken up by Barnabas (Barnabas may well have been copied from a distinct MS, and a distinct MS may have been of a different size and in a different script, making calculation difficult) and supposed that six leaves might do; that when he found that six were not after all enough, he added a new gathering of the smallest possible size, two pages, so that the text and the gathering might end as nearly as possible together. He has done this at no single point after the Gospels. Acts begins on a fresh leaf, Catholic Epistles and again Apocalypse on a fresh page; but nowhere is there any sign of anxiety to begin on a fresh gathering. I conclude that he regarded Barnabas as the end of his New Testament.

3. *Hermas was written and corrected by the same scribes as the Prophets.*

This is of course a point on which one simply accepts the views, wherever they agree, of Tischendorf and Lake; and both scholars conclude (*a*) that—apart from cancel-leaves, representing the work of the *diorthota*—two scribes, and two only, were at work on the New Testament, namely a scribe called by them A, who wrote the Gospels, Pauline Epistles, Acts, Catholic Epistles, Apocalypse, Barnabas; and a scribe called B, who wrote Hermas: (*b*) that the scribe who wrote Hermas wrote also the prophetic books of the Old Testament. But Hermas is connected with the Prophets not only in the original production of the MS, but in its correction as well. About the corrector called C^a there is not sufficient information given by Prof. Lake to enable one to speak with certainty; he is said (p. xviii) to have 'corrected the

of each gathering are always more or less rubbed; fol. 117 *b* is perhaps the least injured of the rest, but even that leaf does not approach the splendid condition of 47 *b*. I conclude therefore that 47 *b* was not the last of the gathering, and that the lost leaf (blank?) intervened between the end of St Luke on fol. 47 *b* and the beginning of St John on fol. 48 *a*. If it was blank, that may have been the reason why at some later date, perhaps when the MS was bound, it was removed; even a blank half leaf between the end of Philemon and the beginning of Acts, fol. 99, has been treated in the same way.

whole of the New Testament, as well as much of the Old, and *Hermas*, but omitted *Barnabas*'. But the work of a later, eighth-century, corrector or group of correctors called D is confined to the Prophetic Books and to *Hermas* (p. xvii).

The solution of these various phenomena which I venture tentatively to suggest is that *Hermas* was originally transcribed as part of the Old Testament and not of the New—after the Prophets, and not after *Barnabas*—and that it was possibly not till some centuries later that he was removed from the Canon of the Old Testament and transferred as a sort of appendix to the end of the whole Bible.

There is nothing in itself inconceivable, or even improbable, in this connexion of *Hermas* with the Old Testament. Of the Latin MSS of the *Shepherd* catalogued by von Gebhardt (*Patrum Apostolicorum Opera* fasc. iii, 1877, pp. xiv–xix) a few give it among the Old Testament books, none among the New: Bodl. Hatton 22 between Tobit and 1 Maccabees, Dresden A 47 between Psalms and Proverbs, Vienna lat. 1217 (theol. 51) between Wisdom and Isaiah. But it is still more germane to our purpose that the Muratorian Canon excludes the book in set terms from the *corpus* of the Prophetic and the *corpus* of the Apostolic books alike, 'legi eum quidem oportet, se publicare vero in ecclesia populo neque inter profetas completum numero neque inter apostolos in finem temporum potest'. Clearly there is evidence of a tendency to find place for the *Shepherd* in the Canon, in whatever position it might be easiest to foist it, whether in the Old or in the New Testament. The controversy with Gnosticism tended to enhance the level of 'apostolic' authorship required for admission to the New Testament, and *Hermas* could not even be called, like Mark and Luke, *Barnabas* and Clement, the companion or disciple of Apostles. It might well seem easier for the moment to retain the book as part of the Prophetic Canon.

But I must not close this note without calling attention to a serious difficulty affecting the combination which I have proposed. The *Shepherd* when complete ought, if I reckon rightly, to have occupied some four quaternions of the Codex Sinaiticus; but the evidence of displacement collected above points to a single gathering only. It is true that the portion of *Hermas* now actually surviving in \aleph is less than a gathering—six leaves, and large portions of the seventh—but we should not naturally suppose that the book was from the first incomplete.

Two brief remarks on other matters suggested by the book may be added here. In the longer books, at least from fol. 21 onwards—that is to say in Mark, Luke, John, the Acts, the Apocalypse, and *Hermas*, the rule appears to be constant that the head-lines occur only

on alternate pairs of leaves, that is to say, on foll. 1a: 2b 3a: 4b 5a: 6b 7a: 8b of each sheet. I have noticed the same feature in some early Vulgate MSS, e. g. the Gospel fragments at St Gall; I wish that Prof. Lake had been able to throw some light on the currency of this practice.

The second remark is only the expression of my regret that Prof. Lake still speaks (p. xiv) as though 'a certain Evagrius' was only busied with the Euthalian apparatus at some later stage of its history than its original production. The preponderance of probability appears to me to be quite overwhelming that the illustrious Origenist Evagrius, whose literary work falls in the last quarter of the fourth century, was the original author of the so-called Euthalian edition. One would even like to speculate as to whether Evagrius, himself a calligrapher of no mean order, may not have had something to do with the production of Codex κ .

C. H. TURNER.

TERTULLIAN AND THE PLINY-TRAJAN CORRESPONDENCE (*Ep.* 96).

THE purpose of this note is to suggest an interpretation of a phrase in Tertullian's reference (*Apol.* 2) to Pliny's famous letter to Trajan on the subject of the Bithynian Christians, by which the supposed discrepancy may be eliminated and the substance of the two accounts brought into complete agreement. The point would seem to be one of some importance for Roman law, for the text-tradition of the Pliny-Trajan correspondence, and also for definitive pronouncement on the authenticity of the Plinian letter.

It may provoke a smile even to hint that this last question has not yet reached the haven of *res iudicatae*. This particular heresy, however, has had the bad taste to survive a number of refutations. Lightfoot (*Ignatius* i 54) and Boissier (*Revue Archéologique*, 1876, pp. 114 sqq.) have between them subjected the general arguments urged against the Plinian authorship to a searching and destructive analysis, while at a later date Mayor (*Class. Rev.* iv p. 210) strongly supported the same conclusion on stylistic grounds. How comes it then that many modern scholars, such as Reinach and De la Berge, like Aubé and Desjardins before them, have entrenched themselves on narrower grounds, maintaining that while the 96th letter is in its general tenor authentic, it cannot be regarded as a complete or exact copy of the original document?

The answer is not far to seek. The residual objection has still to be met that Tertullian (*Apol.* 2), in giving the substance of Pliny's letter,

apparently interpolates a detail of capital significance into the governor's account of the measures taken against the Christians, a fact for which (on the traditional and hitherto unquestioned interpretation of the words) Pliny's letter gives no warrant at all. A very real difficulty is here presented, and it can be resolved only by a close examination of the two passages in question.

First, then, the Plinian letter. Here four classes of offenders are mentioned as brought before his judgement-seat on the charge of Christianity :

(1) Those who persisted in their profession of faith after the third warning from the governor, and were then taken off to execution.

(2) A second class of those who shewed similar *amentia* or *obstinatio*, but, as being Roman citizens, were despatched to take their trial at Rome ('quia cives Romani erant, adnotavi in urbem remittendos').

Apparently, then, in the first part of the proceedings against the Christians, none of the accused wavered in his profession. But arising out of this stage further prosecutions are instituted, partly because the investigation of the first cases had led to the incrimination of others, and partly in consequence of the receipt of an anonymous letter of accusation. Hence we have

(3) 'Qui negabant esse se christianos aut fuisse.' These would appear to have been falsely accused and were discharged on complying with the formal tests for loyalty.

(4) 'Alii ab indice nominati esse se christianos dixerunt et mox negaverunt: fuisse quidem, sed desisse,' &c. These also complied with the test. Pliny continues: 'adfirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel culpae suae vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta ne latrocinia ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent,' &c.

This last class, then, is that of the recanters. Some such, obviously, there must have been—'*fuisse quidem sed desisse*' is only the light in which they deemed it expedient to exhibit their conduct after deciding to recant. If we suppose a Christian to be giving a summary account of the above classes, he might without substantial inaccuracy regard them as falling into two groups—*confitentes* (and by consequence condemned, or liable to be condemned, to death) and *negantes*. Class (3) would not be germane to this classification, while (2) would be subsumed under (1). It is my object to shew as against the generally received opinion that both the above groups of *confitentes* (1 and 2) and *negantes* (4) are faithfully reproduced in Tertullian's account.

The passage from his *Apologeticum* (c. 2) runs as follows :—

Atquin invenimus inquisitionem quoque in nos prohibitam. Plinius enim Secundus cum provinciam regeret, damnatis quibusdam christianis, quibusdam gradu pulsus, ipsa tamen multitudine perturbatus, quid de cetero ageret, consuluit Traianum tunc imperatorem, allegans praeter obstinationem non sacrificandi, nihil aliud se de sacramentis eorum comperisse, quam coetus antelucanos ad canendum Christo ut deo et ad confoederandam disciplinam, homicidium, adulterium, fraudem, perfidiam et cetera scelera prohibentes. Tunc Traianus rescriptit hoc genus inquirendos quidem non esse, oblatos vero puniri oportere.

The important phrase here for our purpose is *quibusdam gradu pulsus*, which has universally (so far as is known to me) been translated in the sense 'degraded from their rank'. But since Pliny nowhere mentions the infliction of this punishment on the Christians, a crop of desperate hypotheses has been raised in the endeavour to conciliate the two accounts. We note that one phrase has been added—*ad confoederandam disciplinam*. This in no way affects the substance of Tertullian's account, but it will be shewn later that it is not without importance for the determination of the meaning of *gradu pulsus*. Another minor and quite negligible discrepancy occurs in most of the manuscript readings of the passage, and since this has been obtruded into the argument against Tertullian's accuracy, it too must be mentioned in its place. We may conclude provisionally that with the exception of the seeming divergence in *gradu pulsus*, the passage in Tertullian is in all essentials a quite accurate summary of the Plinian account.

The conventional explanation of *gradu pulsus* is that Tertullian is here quoting from memory and so naturally ascribes to the age of Trajan the judicial practice of his own time. This was originally suggested, I believe, by Le Blant ('Note sur les bases juridiques des poursuites dirigées contre les martyrs', *Académie des Inscriptions*, 1865-1866), and in this explanation he has been followed by Lightfoot (*Ignatius* i 58) and many others. But the Plinian letter was a document of the greatest moment to the early Church, and few Christians of cultivation (and least of all a jurist like Tertullian) would be likely to make so gratuitous an error in citing it. Such an explanation would perhaps have won less acceptance, had it not been offered at a time when Tertullian's repute, as a student of law and of history, had suffered some undeserved discredit.

That Tertullian was a jurist of competence is attested by Eusebius (*H. E.* ii 2), *Τερτυλλιανὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων νόμους ἠκριβωκῶς ἀνὴρ*, and the intimate acquaintance with Roman legislation and judicial procedure which is everywhere apparent in his writings abundantly bears out this characterization. Harnack indeed sees no objection to believing that he is the jurist of that name whose writings are cited in the *Digest*.

In the last decade the examination of Tertullian from the juridical point of view has given a fresh impulse to the study of the legal bases of the prosecutions directed against the early Christians, and it is from his armoury that writers like Allard and Callewaert have drawn most of their arguments for the existence of special anti-Christian legislation in the early Empire. It would be beside the point at issue to essay here any detailed vindication of Tertullian's credit as an authority for the history of the relations of the early Church with the Roman Empire. It must suffice to say that here again his critics have set out with a bias against him. A ready instance is his presumed credulity in the matter of the alleged report of Pilate to Tiberius. In this case his critics have even aggravated the indictment against him by confounding the *procès-verbal* which he has in mind with the spurious fourth-century document known as *Acta Pilati*. (For this see Ramsay *The Church and the Roman Empire* p. 221.)

The orthodox theory has lately been revived in a more elaborate form by Prof. E. T. Merrill of Chicago in a learned and ingenious article 'Zur früheren Überlieferungsgeschichte des Briefwechsels Plinius und Traians' (*Wiener Studien*, 1909, pp. 250 sqq.). He contends that the Pliny-Trajan correspondence was probably not added to the general collection in nine books until about the tenth century, and he essays to prove that no early writer exhibits any certain knowledge of the so-called Tenth book. For this latter point he seems to me to make out a good case in respect of Symmachus and Sidonius Apollinaris, though the difference of key and of subject-matter may quite well explain why the latter does not 'play the sedulous ape' to the Pliny of the official letters. He might also have added the striking case of Jerome, who (*Interpret. Chron. Eus. Ann.* 2121) almost verbally retails Tertullian's abridgement of Letter 96 and not the letter itself, and this although he declares (*Ep.* 125) that Pliny ('lenitas Plinii') had been one of his earliest models of style. The Eusebian account, too, is manifestly borrowed from Tertullian by way of an indifferent Greek translation. The same silence obtains, Prof. Merrill contends, among writers before Tertullian—Pliny's famous letter is not mentioned by any of the apologists of the second century. (It may be remarked in passing that the argument from silence is here, as generally, a slender reed. We have exactly the converse with the next great imperial rescript—that of Hadrian to Minucius Fundanus. This document was known to Melito and Justin, yet its authority is nowhere invoked by Tertullian.)

Prof. Merrill thus recognizes that the reference to Pliny in the second chapter of the *Apologeticum* is the one bar to the acceptance of his theory of the text-tradition of the Pliny-Trajan Correspondence. Accordingly he seeks to convict Tertullian of two errors in his citation, and so to

prove that the apologist had never seen the actual letters but had recourse for them to some secondary authority.

The first of these 'errors' is the reading *Christo et Deo*, given by most of the MSS of the *Apology*, while Pliny (see above) writes *Christo quasi Deo*.

Prof. Merrill does well to place little weight on this discrepancy, for, as Lightfoot observes (*op. cit.* i 57, note), there can be no question that the correct reading is *ut*. Oehler indeed accepted *et*, and protested against Scaliger's emendation (followed by Havercamp) as 'contra librorum optimorum et paene omnium fidem'. But the only passage which he adduces in support of the reading which he retains is *De Spectac.* 25 'εἰς αἰῶνας ἀπ' αἰῶνος alii omnino dicere nisi Deo et Christo', and here the reversed order is surely decisive against a parallelism.

The crux of the whole question, however, lies elsewhere. This first 'error' is meant to be merely a makeweight to the second—Tertullian's supposed interpolation of *gradu pulsus*. Here he attaches himself to the conventional assumption that this expression means 'degraded from their rank' &c., and proceeds to furnish this 'error' with a psychological genesis in the following argument which I summarize (*Wiener Studien* p. 252).

It is clear that Pliny speaks of the death-penalty as the only punishment which was used against unrepentant Christians. Now we may infer from his words 'multi omnis aetatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus etiam vocantur in periculum' that some decurions were included in this multitude. But by a rescript of Hadrian (*Digest* 48. 19. 15) decurions were exempted from the death-penalty save in cases of parricide. Tertullian then (or an earlier compiler on whom he may have drawn for Pliny's account), having in mind the exemption which obtained in his own day and which he wrongly imagined to date back to Trajan, transferred it into Pliny's letter, which he corrected in the supposed interests of strict historical accuracy. In this way, according to Prof. Merrill, 'der scheinbar willkürliche Zusatz' of Tertullian finds an adequate solution.

This explanation has a mechanical ring about it, Tertullian's memory being conveniently elongated and contracted to accommodate the theory. But with such mechanical solutions we have often to content ourselves, in default of better. This particular theory, however, has the fatal demerit of creating more difficulties than it succeeds in solving.

(1) Such 'apices iuris' would make no special appeal and would cause no serious disquietude to Tertullian's readers; for though he is nominally addressing himself to Roman provincial governors, he really conceives of the whole Roman world as his audience. Legal refinements of this fine-spun character would certainly be wasted on the ordinary man.

(2) Conceding for the moment that Tertullian conceived the difficulty in the terms in which this explanation states it, I cannot see why the *decuriones* should not be supposed to come under group (2) in my classification above, i. e. the *cives Romani in urbem remittendi*. Ex-magistrates, at any rate, would possess the *civitas*, and soon after Trajan (from the time of Hadrian according to Mommsen and Hirschfeld) the privilege is extended to *decuriones* as well by the *maius Latium*, by which 'et hi qui decuriones leguntur, et ei qui honorem aliquem aut magistratum gerunt, civitatem Romanam consequuntur' (Gaius). It is permissible to infer, in my opinion, that this is an index of partial extension even before the date at which the privilege was granted to decurions as a corporation.

(3) Prof. Merrill applies undue pressure to the text from the *Digest* to make it yield proof that the decurions enjoyed almost absolute exemption from the death-penalty. It is practically certain that to the exception there mentioned should be added the case of *maiestas*, an indictment to which the Christian was peculiarly exposed. All immunities of this nature were qualified by the formidable and overriding exception which Tacitus records in a different connexion of an earlier reign—'Si maiestatis quaestio eximeretur'. It can be abundantly shewn from the law-books that to be guilty of *maiestas* removed all distinction between 'honestiores' and 'humiliores' and at once depressed the offender to the status of a slave, e.g. 'Cum de eo (sc. maiestatis crimine) quaeritur, nulla dignitas a tormentis excipitur' (Paul. *Sentent.* v. 29. 2). Moreover, it is just during this period (the second half of the second century) that the death-penalty becomes the ordinary visitation of serious crimes of any kind, and that the magistrate receives or assumes more and more freedom to determine arbitrarily according to the particular case before him.

(4) I will content myself with adding that this theory, like all others which suppose *gradu pulsus* to refer to loss of civic status, has to meet two general and antecedent objections—the first, that *gradu pulsus*, so interpreted, cannot afford a just antithesis to *damnatus*; the second, that it is very questionable whether any instances of degradation on account of Christianity can be cited before, at least, the middle of the third century.

A review of these considerations makes it far from easy to assent to Prof. Merrill's assumption that either Tertullian or his readers would have found a stumbling-block in the infliction of the death-penalty on decurions in the time of Trajan. The probabilities indeed would seem to lead us to exactly the opposite conclusion.

But may not *gradu pulsus* mean 'forced from their position', i. e. constrained to recant? The expression is then the exact opposite of *damnatus*,

as 'negantes' would be of 'confitentes'. It is a military metaphor of the type common in all early Christian literature since the time of St Paul. ('Lapsus' in the sense of 'recanter' seems not to occur before Cyprian.) The saturation of the vocabulary of the early fathers with metaphor and analogy drawn from warfare and the gladiatorial games is too familiar to require much in the way of illustration. For the subject as a whole reference may be made to Harnack's *Militia Christi* and various sections of his *Expansion of Christianity*; while on this particular point we may note the interesting remarks in the latter work (Eng. Tr. ii 415) on the 'strong military element in the vocabulary of the African Church'. Especially instructive in this regard is the very general acceptance won by Zahn's explanation of 'pagani'—that it means 'civilians' ('outsiders' in a still more vital sense than that of the old interpretation) as opposed to the Christians who in virtue of their *sacramentum* are 'milites Christi'.

Two passages of Tertullian may suffice to establish for *gradu pellere* the meaning which has been suggested above.

De fuga 10 'Pulchrior est miles in pugna pilo transmissus quam in fuga salvus: cum duces (the elders of the church) fugiunt, quis de gregario numero sustinebit ad gradum in acie figendum suadere?'

Apol. 27 'Provocati ad sacrificandum obstruimus gradum (= offer opposition) pro fide conscientiae nostrae.'

Such phrases with *gradus* are almost a mannerism with Tertullian—probably no other Latin writer uses the word so often in this metaphorical sense. We find *de gradu pellere* in *adv. Marc* iv 9 'dum te Marcion de gradu pellam', and *gradu cedere, excludere, expellere, gradum conferre, figere*, and other varieties occur frequently in his writings. Most of these metaphors belong rather to the category of the gladiatorial games than to that of warfare, though these two classes hardly admit of being precisely distinguished. The above quotation from *De fuga* will at least shew that Hoppe (*Syntax und Stil des Tertullian* pp. 206 sqq.) has no warrant for assigning *all* such phrases with *gradus* to the former class (that of the arena).

It is not possible to omit a reference to the instructive variations between Tertullian and Pliny on the one hand and between Eusebius and Tertullian on the other. We notice that Tertullian has infused a decidedly military colouring into his abridgement of Pliny's letter at two points. Not only are the recanters of Epistle 96 described in Tertullian by a natural variant or euphemism as *gradu pulsus*, but he has added *ad confederandam disciplinam*, which is to be taken closely with *sacramentis*. This colouring, however, is entirely erased from the Eusebian account, or rather from the very inaccurate Greek translation which he had before him. By mistranslating *gradu pulsus* by τῆς ἀξίας

ἐκβαλὼν he contributed to perpetuate the mistake among later writers (we have, indeed, a further remove from the truth in the Armenian translation of the Chronicle, the translation of which published by the Mekhitarists of Venice in 1818 gives the rendering 'condignam suis factis similiter retributionem recipit'). Nor is this all, for he has deleted the other military phrases in Tertullian, omitting *sacramentis*, and mis-translating *disciplinam* by ἐπιστήμην.

Finally, this general misinterpretation has been confirmed by the tendency to regard the passage in Tertullian as calm historical prose, composed in much the same key as a state paper, like Pliny's letter. This is one of the many passages where divorce from the context (as in extracts) or a false assimilation of contexts (to which the device of parallel columns lends itself) precludes any exact appreciation of the method of expression used in them. These sentences of Tertullian are not simply historical. They are sandwiched between passages of fervent rhetoric, occurring as they do in the very exordium of the treatise, and being immediately followed by the famous rhetorical dilemma—'O sententiam necessitate confusam! Negat inquirendos ut innocentes, et mandat puniendos ut nocentes.' Need we wonder, then, that Tertullian's citation has itself tended to take some slight subjective and rhetorical colouring from its impassioned context?

I am under obligation to my friends and colleagues at Aberdeen—Professor A. Souter, Mr J. Fraser, and Mr W. M. Calder—for assistance and criticism in the preparation of this note. This is not to say, however, that I hold them committed to its main contention.

G. A. T. DAVIES.

ST MATTHEW xxv 31-46 AS A HEBREW POEM.

It is an interesting fact that if the parable of the Last Judgement is translated into Biblical Hebrew it falls immediately into a rhythmical form quite as regular and striking as the forms which are found in the Old Testament prophetic and poetical books.

I offer here such a translation, followed by a transliteration of the same, and an English rendering in which I have sought, while keeping as closely as possible to the familiar English wording, to reproduce as nearly as may be the rhythm of the Hebrew, with its system of so many beats to the line.

It will be noticed that the first three and last two lines of the first strophe rhyme upon the suffix of the 3rd pers. sing. -ו, 'his', whilst in lines 4, 6, and 7 we have rhyme produced by the plur. masc.

termination *-im* ; and rhyme is also apparent in lines 5-9 of the second strophe which end with the suffix of the 1st sing. *-ni*, 'me', and in the corresponding strophe in the second section of the parable. In the third strophe the same effect is reached through use of the suffix of the 2nd sing. masc. *-kī*, 'thee'. We may notice also, in the last strophe of section 1 and its corresponding strophe in section 2, that we have lines rhyming upon the termination of the 3rd and 2nd masc. plur. *-hem*, *-kem*, *-tem*.

כבוא בן אדם בכבודו
 וכל המלאכים עמו
 וישב על כסא כבודו
 ונאספו לפניו כל העמים
 והפרידם איש מאחיו
 כהפריד הרעה הכבשים
 מהעתודים
 והציב הכבשים על ימינו
 והעתודים על שמאלו

ואמר המלך לאשר על ימינו
 לכו ברוכי אבי
 רשו הממלכה הנכונה לכם
 ממוסדות תבל
 כי רעב הייתי ותאכילוני
 צמא הייתי ותשקוני
 גר הייתי ותאספוני
 עירום ותלבישוני
 חלה הייתי ותפקדוני
 בית כלא הייתי ותבואו אלי

וענו אליו הצדיקים לאמר
 ארני
 מתי ראינוך רעב ונסעדך
 או צמא ונשקך
 מתי ראינוך גר ונאספך
 או עירום ונלבשך
 מתי ראינוך חלה ונפקדך
 או בית כלא ונבוא אליך

וענה המלך ואמר אליהם
אמן אמרתי אליכם
אשר עשיתם לאחד
אחי אלה הצעירים
גם לי עשיתם

או יאמר גם לאשר על שמאולו
לכו מעלי הארורים
אל אש עולם
הנכונה לשמן ולמלאכיו
כי רעב הייתי ולא האכלתוני
צמא הייתי ולא השקיתוני
גר הייתי ולא אספתוני
עירום ולא הלבשתוני
חלה ובית כלא ולא פקדתוני

וענו גם הם לאמר
אדני
מתו ראינוך רעב וצמא
וגר ועירום וחלה ובית כלא
ולא שרתנו לך

וענה אליהם לאמר
אמן אמרתי אליכם
אשר לא עשיתם לאחד
אחי אלה הצעירים
גם לי לא עשיתם

והלכו אלה למוסר עולם
והצדיקים לחיי עולם

keḇō ben 'ādām bikḇōdō
wekōl hammal'ākīm 'immō
weyāsāḇ 'al kissē keḇōdō
wene'esḗū leḗānāw kol hā'ammīm
wehiprīdām 'īs mē'āhīw
keḥaprīd hārō'ē hakkēbāsīm
mēhā'attūdīm

wəhiṣṣṣb hakkəbāsīm 'al yəminó
wəhā'attūdm 'al səmóló

wə'amár hammélek la'əsér 'al yəminó
ləkú berúké 'abí
rešú hammamláká hannekóná lakém
mimmosəđófi tēbél
kí rā'ēb hāyīti watta'akilúni
šāmé hāyīti wattaškúni
gér hāyīti watta'assepúni
'eróm wattalbīšúni
ḥolé hāyīti wattipkəđúni
bēi kéle hāyīti wattābó'u 'eláy

wə'anú eláw haṣṣaddikim lēmór
'adónáy
māṭáy re'inúká rā'ēb wannis'adéka
'o šāmé wannasškéka
māṭáy re'inúká gér wanne'assepéka
'o 'eróm wannalbīšéka
māṭáy re'inúka ḥolé wannipkəđéka
'o bēi kéle wannābó 'eléka
wə'aná hammélek wə'amár 'alēhémm
'amén 'amarti 'alékém
'əsér 'asitém le'ahad
'ahhay 'elle haṣṣe'irim
gam lí 'asitém

'az yómár gam la'əsér 'al səmóló
ləkú mē'aláy ha'rurim
'el és 'olám
hannekóná lassātán ūlmal'akáw
kí rā'ēb hāyīti weló ha'akaltúni
šāmé hāyīti weló hiškiitúni
gér hāyīti weló 'issapitúni
'eróm weló hilbaštúni
ḥolé ūbēi kéle weló pəkađtúni

wə'anú gam hém lēmór
'adónáy
māṭáy re'inúká rā'ēb ūšámé
wəgér wə'eróm wəḥolé ūbēi kéle
weló šerátu lák

we'nāá 'alēhém lēmór
 'amén 'āmárti 'alēkém
 'asér lō 'asitēm le'áhād
 'ahhay élle haṣṣe'irím
 gam lí lō 'asitēm

 wehálekū élle lemūsár 'olám
 wehaṣṣaddikím lehayyé 'olám

When the Son of man shall come in His glory,
 And all the angels with Him,
 He shall sit on the throne of His glory.
 And all nations shall be gathered before Him,
 And He shall separate them one from another,
 As the shepherd doth separate the sheep
 from among the goats;
 And He shall set the sheep on His right hand,
 But the goats on His left hand.

Then the king shall say to those on His right hand,
 Come, ye blessed of My Father,
 Inherit the kingdom prepared for you
 From the foundation of the world.
 For hungry was I, and ye fed me;
 Thirsty was I, and ye relieved me;
 A stranger was I, and ye housed me;
 Naked, and ye clothed me;
 Sick was I, and ye visited me;
 In prison was I, and ye came to me.

Then shall the righteous make answer to Him, saying,
 Lord,
 When saw we Thee hungry, and sustained Thee,
 Or thirsty, and relieved Thee?
 When saw we Thee a stranger, and housed Thee,
 Or naked, and clothed Thee?
 When saw we Thee sick, and visited Thee,
 Or in prison, and came to Thee?

Then the king shall answer and say unto them,
 That which ye did unto one
 of these least of My brethren,
 To Me too ye did it.

Then He shall say to those also on His left hand,
 Depart from Me, ye accursed,
 Into fire everlasting,
 Prepared for the Devil and his angels.
 For hungry was I, and ye fed Me not ;
 Thirsty was I, and ye relieved Me not ;
 A stranger was I, and ye housed Me not ;
 Naked, and ye clothed Me not ;
 Sick and in prison, and ye visited Me not.

Then they too shall make answer, saying,
 Lord,
 When saw we Thee either hungry or thirsty
 Or stranger or naked or sick or in prison,
 And did not minister to Thee ?

And He shall make answer to them, saying,
 That which ye did not to one
 of these least of My brethren,
 To Me too ye did it not.

And these shall depart to chastisement everlasting,
 But the righteous to life everlasting.

It is important to remark (for the sake of those who are unacquainted with Hebrew) that I have not in the slightest degree exercised a *tour de force* in order to produce this rhythmical and rhyming effect in my translation. I have simply translated the Greek as it stands, as literally as possible and in the same order of words. Other scholars might conceivably have selected a different word in translation here and there ; but apart from this possibility the parable could scarcely have been translated otherwise. I append a few notes on the translation in cases in which it is possible that questions might be raised.

v. 32. ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρίφων might be מֵעֵימִים instead of מֵהַחֲזִיזִים. In this case we most probably get one stress merely, *mēhā'izzīm*, and the whole sentence forms a four-beat stichos :—

‘As the shepherd divideth the sheep from the goats.’

vv. 35, 36. ἐπέινασα . . . ἐδίψησα . . . ἡσθένησα may possibly represent רָעַבְתִּי, צָמָאֲתִי, חָלִיִּיתִי. This, however, would only make the difference of giving two-beat stichoi in place of three-beat, e. g.

kī ra'ābī wattā'ā'kīlūnī

as in the case of the line γυνός, καὶ περιβάλετέ με, 'ērōm wattalbišūnī.

E e 2

v. 35. In the case of the rendering *watt'asspūni*, 'and ye took me in', it may perhaps be doubted whether *habbayā*, 'into the house', can be dispensed with, since this occurs in Judges xix 15, 18, the only precise parallel. Cf., however, the use of the *Kal* form in Ps. xxvii 10, 'For my father and my mother have forsaken me, but Yahwe *shall gather me*', i. e. 'take me in', or, more generally, 'take care of me'. In the present passage Pesh. has ܠܝܕܠܝܬܝܢܐ simply, and the rendering of Pal. Syr. is similar.¹

v. 37-39. *wannis'ādēkā*, *wannaššēkā*, *wann'asspēkā*, *wannalbišēkā*, *wanniṣṣēkā* supply the object of the verbs, 'thee', which is understood in the Greek *καὶ ἐθρέψαμεν*, κτλ. This rendering is adopted because omission of the object appears somewhat unnatural in Hebrew. Such an omission, however, is within the range of possibility; and we might render *wannis'ād*, *wannaššē*, *wann'assēp*, *wannalbiš*, *wanniṣṣōd*. The rhythm would in no way be affected thereby, the only difference being the loss of the rhyming terminations to the lines produced by the suffix of the 2nd masc. sing. -*kā*.

v. 39. I have ventured to emend the text by the insertion of *wanniṣṣēkā*, καὶ ἐπεσκέψαμεν; after *πότε δέ σε εἶδομεν ἀσθενῇ* (cf. v. 36). This improves the movement and rhythm of the poem, and may be claimed as legitimate, the case being different from that of v. 44, where all forms of service are summed up under *δηκονήσαμεν*. A similar change should perhaps be made in v. 43. It may, however, be intentional that, whereas we have καὶ ἐπεσκέψασθέ με . . . καὶ ἔλθετε πρὸς με in v. 36, the one phrase is chosen in v. 39, and the other in v. 43.

v. 40. I render *ēp' ὅσον ἐποιήσατε* κτλ. by ܕܢܝܬܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ, and suppose that the original meaning of the Hebrew, 'That which, &c.', has been misunderstood in the Greek. It would be possible to understand ܕܥܝܢܐ as meaning *ēp' ὅσον*.

The question which immediately suggests itself is whether it is antecedently probable that our Lord should have used Hebrew in speaking the parable. Since we know that He commonly employed Aramaic, and since this was the language in which we naturally assume that the populace would most readily understand Him, we are bound to ask whether the facts which I have noticed with regard to the Hebrew rendering of the parable are not sufficiently explained by the supposition that it was originally spoken in Aramaic; since Aramaic and Hebrew are in many respects closely akin. In order to test this

¹ Cf. the extract at the end of the note.

possibility so far as I am able I have rendered *vv.* 31-36 into Aramaic of the style of the Targums. This rendering is added at the close of the note, and I have followed it by the Palestinian Syriac version of the same verses.¹ My Aramaic translation was made before I had seen the Palestinian Syriac version. As a result, it appears that the rhythmical structure is largely obliterated; and, moreover, so far as I am aware, there is no evidence for the existence of any form of rhythmical composition in the Aramaic of about this period, the strictly quantitative systems of Syriac metre, the invention of which is ascribed to Bardesanes, being much later in date.

But is it really unlikely that our Lord should have composed and uttered the parable in Hebrew of the Old Testament model? Judging from His close study of the Old Testament scriptures, and from the recorded fact of His reading the portion of scripture in the synagogue at Nazareth, we cannot doubt that, as Man, He possessed an intimate knowledge of Hebrew. Our increasing acquaintance with the Jewish literature of this period has revealed the fact that works were produced in the Hebrew language up to a date considerably subsequent to the commencement of the Christian era. Evidence for this fact is found in writings of an Apocalyptic character. Dr Charles has made out a strong case for an original Hebrew text of the Assumption of Moses, which he dates *circa* A. D. 7 to 30, and of the Apocalypse of Baruch, *circa* A. D. 80 to 120. Similarly, Dr Wellhausen has argued for the Hebrew origin of 4 Ezra (*Skizzen* vi pp. 234-239, 1899), and the case for this work has most recently been ably worked out by Mr Box (*The Ezra Apocalypse*, 1912), who dates the work A. D. 80-130. The same view has been maintained by Dr Gunkel, Dr Charles, and other scholars. Dr Charles informs me that his study of the New Testament Apocalypse convinces him that it presents problems which can only be solved by the supposition of an underlying Hebrew original in certain parts.

These instances are surely sufficient to establish the fact that during the first century A. D. there existed writers of Apocalyptic literature who were accustomed to employ the Hebrew language as their medium of thought and expression. And the existence of such writers implies, of course, a wide circle of readers for whom such a medium formed a natural and appropriate currency, and who may have expected, even if they did not demand, that such teaching with regard to the Last Things should be thus presented.

It has frequently been remarked that our Lord's parable of the Last Judgement contains evidence of His acquaintance with the Apocalyptic

¹ As edited by Lagarde, *Bibliothecae Syriacae*.

phraseology of earlier times¹; and it is surely fitting that a parable which must be classed among the most solemn and impressive of all His utterances should be cast in the sacred language.

There is a further point upon which it is perhaps worth while to add a few words. To some minds the idea that the parable is a *poetical composition* may come with something of a shock, as opposed to the ordinary conception of our Lord's method of teaching. Certainly the view which is here advocated, if correct, brings to light a new medium by which He chose to convey the truths which He had to teach; since it is obvious that, if He employed this method once, He probably employed it upon other occasions also. But such a method of teaching by poetry, while it implies art, does not imply artificiality, or lessen the spontaneity of the teacher. We know now that the same method was constantly employed by the Hebrew prophets, whose most burning words are cast in this mould. The very teaching by parable of necessity involves art and premeditation; and upon any view of the parable with which we are dealing, the regular recurrence of its carefully balanced phrases exhibits a feeling for art in composition which may legitimately form subject for reverent study.

An Aramaic rendering of vv. 31-36.

31 בְּדִ יְיָ בְּרִיָּה דְאִנְשָׁא¹ בְּשׁוּבְחָיָה
וְכָל מַלְאֲכֵי עִימָיָה
וְיָתֵב עַל פְּדִסֵּי שׁוּבְחָיָה

¹ We may, for example, compare *v.* 31 with Enoch xlv 3, 'Mine Elect One shall sit on the throne of glory'; lv 4, lxii 3, 'He sits on the throne of His glory'; lxii 5, 'When they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of His glory'; and similarly lxi 8, lxii 2, 3. With *v.* 41 compare Enoch liv 1-4, where 'iron chains of immeasurable weight' are said to be '*prepared for the hosts of Azazel* so that they may take them and cast them into the abyss of complete condemnation', which is described as '*a deep valley with burning fire*'. The phraseology of *vv.* 35 ff recalls Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, Joseph i 5, 6:—

'I was sold into slavery, and the Lord of all made me free:
I was taken into captivity, and His strong hand succoured me.
I was beset with hunger, and the Lord Himself nourished me.
I was alone, and God comforted me:
I was sick, and the Lord visited me:
I was in prison, and my God shewed favour unto me;
In bonds, and He released me.'

² Possibly we should render בר אדם, as in the Targum of Ezekiel.

- 32 וְהַתְּכַנְשׁוּן קְדָמוּהִי כָּל עֲמֻמָּא
 וְפָרִישׁ אֵינוֹן גְּבַר מֵאֲחֻזָּהִי
 בָּמָא דְּמִפְרִישׁ רַעִי אֲפֹרָא מִן גְּרִיָּא
 33 וְיָמִים אֲפֹרָא מִן יַפְיָגִיָּה
 וְגִרְיָא מִן סְמֵלִיָּה
 34 הִירִין יִימֵר סְלָבָא לְאֵינוֹן דְּמִן יַפְיָגִיָּה
 אֲתוּ בְּרִיכִין דְּאָבָא
 אַחְסִינוּ מְלִכְוֹתָא דְּעֵתִידָא לְכֹן
 מִן דְּאֲתִיפֹר עֲלָמָא
 35 אֲרִי כֶּפֶן הָרִית וְאוֹכְלָתָן לִי
 צָחִי הָרִית וְאַשְׁשִׁיתָן יְתִי
 דִּיר הָרִית וּבְנִשְׁתָּן יְתִי
 36 עֲרִמְלִי וְאַלְבִּישְׁתָּן יְתִי
 מָרַע הָרִית וְאַסְעָרְתָּן יְתִי
 בְּבֵית אֲסִירִי הָרִית וְאַתִּיתָן לְוִתִּי

The same in the Palestinian Syriac Version.

- 31 מִן יֵם מַלְאִיָּה כֹּהֵן חֲלָמְכִסְטִיָּה
 סִמְכִי מִלְּאִקְסִיָּה חֲכִמָּה
 חֲכִמָּה יֵם נִלְכִי חֲלָמְכִסְטִיָּה וְאַמְכִּסְטִיָּה
 32 סִמְכִי מִלְּאִקְסִיָּה חֲכִמָּה יֵם נִלְכִי חֲלָמְכִסְטִיָּה
 סִמְכִי מִלְּאִקְסִיָּה חֲכִמָּה יֵם נִלְכִי חֲלָמְכִסְטִיָּה
 סִמְכִי מִלְּאִקְסִיָּה חֲכִמָּה יֵם נִלְכִי חֲלָמְכִסְטִיָּה
 33 סִמְכִי מִלְּאִקְסִיָּה חֲכִמָּה יֵם נִלְכִי חֲלָמְכִסְטִיָּה
 סִמְכִי מִלְּאִקְסִיָּה חֲכִמָּה יֵם נִלְכִי חֲלָמְכִסְטִיָּה
 34 חֲכִמָּה יֵם נִלְכִי חֲלָמְכִסְטִיָּה
 חֲכִמָּה יֵם נִלְכִי חֲלָמְכִסְטִיָּה
 חֲכִמָּה יֵם נִלְכִי חֲלָמְכִסְטִיָּה
 חֲכִמָּה יֵם נִלְכִי חֲלָמְכִסְטִיָּה

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C. F. BURNEY.

SOME INDIAN PARALLELS TO HEBREW CULT.

DURING a residence of five years in India the writer, like other observers, could not but be often reminded of the Old Testament. Some of the things that seemed to illustrate the story of the external cult of the religion of Israel are set down in the following pages. They are intended rather to ask than to answer questions, but, as it is much easier to describe apparent parallels from a definite point of view, the view of the evolution of Hebrew cult here tentatively taken may be briefly indicated.

It supposes that the developement of image-worship in Israel proceeded for a long time by the same stages as in most other races, but that at a certain point, under the leadership of the Prophets, the Southern as distinct from the Northern Kingdom refused the normal evolution. Man's earliest known worship took place at spots where some natural object—tree, spring, stone—marked the haunt and guaranteed the presence of a living and moving god; the sacred stone and tree gradually took artificial form (though not at first that of images); as 'civilization' advanced there proceeded side by side an evolution of the ritual *instrumenta* and of the architectural environment of a shrine; frequently 'idols'—i. e. carved copies of plants, animals, or men—were first used not as objects of worship but to ornament the *entourage* of a sacred place; ultimately the tree and the stone became images proper, and so 'idolatry', in the strict sense of the worship of images, was not the first but a late stage in the developement of early cults. Israel practised the cult of natural objects, admitted the evolution of the stone both into the pillar (*mazzebah*) and the altar, and allowed the use even of carved figures in the environment of a shrine, but in the South it ultimately refused to

accept the image as an object of worship. Probably, the evolution named having proceeded further among the Canaanites than among the Hebrews, the latter adopted some of their neighbours' more 'advanced' practices, but against idolatry proper the better part of Israel was from the first protestant. In particular it seems likely that in Canaan the wooden 'Ashērāh', being of more manageable material than the stone 'Baal', became an image much earlier, and that the refusal at least of this idol form of 'Ashērāh' was always a distinctive trait of the Hebrew cult. This statement is very brief but will perhaps serve to shew the point of view from which the following questions are raised.

The most modern of the great religions of India is that of the Sikh. It was of course originally an attempt to combine Moslem rejection of idols (and of caste) with Hinduism. Its great shrine at Amritsar now, however, suggests at first sight to an 'ignorant outsider' only one more Hindu temple. It has accepted sculpture within certain limits—the walls of the shrine are decorated with flowers and trees. Another of its sacred temples, that at Tarn Taran—which, however, I have not seen¹—has paintings even of human forms on its *outside* walls. Murray's Handbook calls these *Sikh* decorations 'gods and goddesses'! Solomon's use of sculpture in the Temple at once suggests itself. Further, at Amritsar the devotees are not indeed worshipping an image but they are certainly worshipping something. This is the 'Granth' or sacred book. It lies on a cushion covered with a cloth, a fan waves over it, a constant stream of offerings of flowers and coin pours into a sheet spread on the floor before it, the low chant of its verses hums through the room, pilgrims bow down to it. At night it is taken across a bridge to another temple—'to sleep', say the ignorant. Here in an ark are the *instrumenta* of Sikh initiation, and Guru Govind's sword. Sikhism after three centuries has in some ways approximated to the Hinduism about it and in some ways protests against it still. There are competent observers who hold that it is degenerating into one more Hindu sect. *Mutatis mutandis*, it suggests how possible it is that Gideon's Ephod—though at first it were only a means of approach to Jahveh and though it were no image at all—might become an object of worship; how at Nob Goliath's sword might be kept behind an Ephod that was no idol; and how Solomon's Temple might in many things approximate to those of the Canaanites and yet retain at its centre only an ark that contained some simple *media* for the consultation of Jahveh.

The next youngest of great Indian religions is Islam. It is unnecessary to say that it rejects images. By the Koran it ought also to refuse to build tombs, still more to sanctify them, but the Muhammedan world has everywhere erected splendid shrines over the tombs of

¹ He has visited all other places in India that are named in this article.

its saints and everywhere goes on pilgrimage to them. Among the most piquant of historical inconsistencies was the request of Aurungzebe, the fanatic of Islam, concerning his own burial. His was to be no 'Taj Mahal', such as marked his fathers' graves, but a bare plot of earth under a bush, according to the Koran, yet near a saint's grave. So at Rauza the tourist is shewn the Emperor's simple resting-place under the shadow of the splendid mausoleum of the Muhammedan saint, Sayyad Hazrat Burhanudin, the apostle of the Deccan! Further, there is a great Muhammedan feast peculiar to India, the Muharram. Its central feature is a procession of 'Tabuts'. These are wood-and-tinsel erections, carried usually on many men's shoulders, supposed to represent the *tombs* of Muhammad's grandsons, Hassan and Hussain! Around them thousands of people chant, shout, and dance. One thinks of David's procession behind the Ark and sees that that too may have held no image. Another holy object, carried by a single man, is a representation of an outstretched hand. It is supposed to symbolize Five, the sacred number of Islam. The writer has seen dozens of raucous men lie face downwards on the road that the bearer of one of these might tread upon them! A Hindu could not do more for a god, yet this is of course not the 'worship' of an 'idol'; only it shews how closely the developements of a religion may approximate to idolatry under the influence of new surroundings. Moreover, many of the Hindu lower classes join in the merriment of the Muharram procession. One wonders how far one of these distinguishes the act from the idolatry of his own faith. If then, in contradiction to the Koran, the greatest of Indian Muhammedan festivals centres in the cult of tombs, it seems possible that at such a distant shrine as Dan the Israelite cult might admit an image under the influence of the ancient Canaanite associations of the spot, even though the holy book of its few learned men forbade the act. A closer parallel still could be found. At Bandara, close to Bombay, a Roman Church contains an image of the Virgin popularly supposed to possess miraculous powers. The writer has seen at its annual feast an endless procession, not only of Goanese Catholics but of Hindus, pass before the statue each with an offering either of coin or of a waxen image. If a woman have a sick arm she buys and brings a waxen arm, if a wounded foot a waxen foot, if a poorly child a waxen baby. The Hindus say that the statue was of old time a god in one of their own temples! It would not be reasonable, however, to judge Christianity by the practices of such distant spots. A friend in the Mysore told me that in a part of that province Hindus find it easy to join in worship at a Roman shrine since they have a goddess whose name is all but the same as 'Maria'. It is certain that both Canaanite and Hebrew called their God 'the Baal'. That at such a place as Dan they

frequented a common shrine, that its cult should combine features from both their uses, and that each race should have its own stories of the origin of the shrine, is perhaps to be expected rather than denied. Further, the universal cult of tombs in Islam in contradiction of the Koran shews that it would be possible that the Hebrews should accept the use of sculpture in their buildings even though their ancient Code forbade the making of 'graven images'. Islam itself admits the image of the tree in the decoration of mosques, and Akbar—in many ways an Indian Solomon—introduced animal forms in the ornament of some of his palaces. The religion of an invader may borrow from that of his conquered foe without at all losing its own identity.

Again, Modern Hinduism dates from the period of the Christian Middle Ages and its distinctive mark is the cult by some of Vishnu and by some of Śiva as supreme god. The history of the evolution of the Vaishnava and Śaiva worship from the older forms of the religion is obscure, but in both cults idolatry proper has long been rife. Indeed even in Vedic times images 'appear to have been occasionally employed' though not 'actually worshipped'.¹ Yet the two great sects differ in their use of images. The worship of Vishnu, in all his various forms, is everywhere principally through idols; that of Śiva, while it admits idols, is everywhere principally through a round stone called the 'linga'. There are said, for instance, to be more of these than people in Benares, while their number for all India is reckoned at thirty millions.² Nor is the worship of Śiva ever complete without a 'linga' though it is commonly practised without an image,³ and in the common worship, even when images occur, they are distinctly secondary to the 'linga'. For instance, at Nasik I visited a shrine of this god, reputed ancient, in which the small central *arcanum* was, as usual, a room built to shelter not an image but the 'linga'; on its roof, however, sat carved images of ascetics, and a particularly fine stone cobra hung in the midst of the courtyard wall. To such a cobra devotees would readily do obeisance without reckoning it the god of the shrine. So that it would seem that the presence of the Neḥushtan serpent in the Hebrews' Temple in Hezekiah's day need not imply that their worship had been on the whole idolatrous. Nor should the surmise be omitted—though it is only a surmise—that the Śaiva worship represents an ancient cult that did not at first use images at all but has adopted them from its environment. At any rate it is probable that the 'linga' is a more ancient *σέβασμα* than they. It may be mentioned too

¹ Monier Williams *Brahmanism and Hinduism* p. 11.

² *Ibid.* p. 78.

³ 'All the requisites for the worship of Śiva are a stone linga, bilva leaves, and water' (*ibid.* p. 69).

that this may be of almost any size,—small enough to carry in the pocket or too heavy for a man to lift. Some of these stones could easily, like Rachel's 'teraphim', be hidden beneath a woman's dress, while others, like Michal's, would serve well enough to suggest a human figure if covered with bed-clothes. So little does the description of her deceit of Saul's messengers really require a carven image! So again, the ancient 'household gods' of orthodox Brahman families in a land that now teems with images are still five different kinds of pebbles and a plant.¹

The most common image, however, in a Śaiva shrine is that of the bull Nandi. This is taken to represent the generative power of nature; it is always represented as crouching before the 'linga' in obeisance; it is therefore never the chief *σέβασμα* in a shrine and the separate worship of it is unknown. Yet it has become in Hinduism a secondary god and is regularly worshipped in the 'linga' shrines. In many Śaiva temples it is the principal object of sculpture,—the 'linga' being of too fixed and simple a form to admit of artistic skill,—and it may be either of tiny or of gigantic size. There are temples the glory of which is not their 'linga'—its uniformity excluding splendour—but their great Nandi. Moreover, a Hindu would certainly say that it represents Śiva, so much so that, for instance at the Golden Temple in Benares, living bulls are themselves *σέβασματα* and wander through the courts eating the pilgrims' offerings of flowers! It would seem then not impossible that the ancient Hebrew story that Aaron sought to add a golden Calf to the cult of an imageless God should contain a truth, that Solomon might have introduced the bull into the sculptured environment of the Ark, and that in the North under Jeroboam it should become itself a god. It seems possible also that in the Northern shrines of Israel the Calf may have been the most splendid but not the central or oldest *σέβασμα*. Even at Dan Micah's image may have been a Calf—there is no hint in the Bible of its *human* form—that waited upon an ancient sacred stone.

It would of course be easy to find many Hindu parallels to the more usual view that Northern Israel worshipped a Calf *simpliciter* as a representation or form of Jahveh. But some of the Hindu instances of the cult of animal idols, and perhaps all, have a rather significant history. Before the Aryans invaded India it was inhabited chiefly by races conveniently called Dravidian, and these still form the great majority of the population of South India. They had of course their own religion and it included the worship of certain animals. One of these was the monkey. In the story of the Ramayana the monkey-people of South India aid Rama in his attack on Lanka (Ceylon), and

¹ *Ibid.* p. 392.

in particular the monkey-hero Hanuman does doughty deeds for him. To-day Hanuman is one of the most popular gods in India. He has his own temples and cult, though in more or less loose relation to Vaishnavism. It is usually held therefore that his worship has three historical stages,—first, that he was a Dravidian god; next, that when what is now called ‘Hinduism’ overspread India it absorbed him into its pantheon, giving him a secondary place in the cult of Rama; last, that his separate popular worship was and is tolerated and even encouraged so long as its devotees admit Brahman supremacy and accept the Vaishnava tales. Religiously nowadays there is of course no such thing as ‘Dravidianism’; all are Hindus. It seems therefore not impossible that, if the Canaanites worshipped a Bull-god before the Hebrew irruption, this kind of image might at some places be admitted into the sculpture of Jahvistic shrines—as Hanuman commonly into Vaishnava—and that at others the mingled Canaanite-Israelite population might worship it separately as a form of Jahveh.

A step further back in Indian history than the two great modern Hindu sects lies Buddhism. The story of its founder and earliest days does not much concern the present subject. The earliest antiquarian remains in India, however, are Buddhist and date from about the days of Asoka, ‘the Buddhist Constantine’ (ca. 250 B.C.), onwards. By this time Buddhism had ceased to be a mere philosophy and had fully become a formal religion. At the centre of its shrines—whether these were in caves or on hill-tops—was a ‘Tope’. This was a rounded cone, in shape like the ‘linga’, and like it varying in size. The largest Topes, however, far surpass the largest ‘lingas’, for the latter always consist of a single stone while the former are piles of earth and masonry cased in stone-work. The Great Tope at Sanchi, for instance, is more than a hundred yards round and almost twenty high. Topes were at first reliquaries and small, and the most famous of them were always revered as covering a relic of some great teacher, but in the end the Tope itself became a sacred object. In the earliest cases it carried no carving at all; later, sculpture gained a subsidiary place in it, but to the eye its general shape was still a cone. Yet it was the central *σέβασμα* in all early Buddhist shrines. Round it the processions moved, to fence it from vulgar ground the famous Buddhist Rails were built, its top was honoured with the shade of an umbrella as though it were a living thing!¹ This again illustrates how elaborate a ritual may develop about a *σέβασμα* other than an image. Sculpture, however, soon began

¹ This still survives in the Cave at Karli, near Poona. This and the Sanchi Topes, for instance, are much better illustrations of the Buddhist cult than most of the remains at Buddh Gaya, since the shrine there, though far more ancient, has been frequently ‘restored’ and so altered.

to claim a place in the shrine, but at first only in a subsidiary way. The image of the Buddha of course became universal, and this particular image early began to compete with the Tope for the central place. Both at Sanchi and Karli, for instance, a seated Buddha has been set before the Tope. It is doubtful, however, whether or when this became an actual idol, and in any case it belongs to Buddhism on the side in which it contrasts with Hebraism—as a faith that has deified a man. Apart from this, at Karli within the Cave sculpture is all but confined to the pillars, while the most elaborate is found in the porch. Here too a great sentinel 'lion-pillar', whose twin has fallen, recalls Jachin and Boaz. On the Sanchi hill the Tope was once covered with plaster that may have been moulded in patterns such as adorn the Sarnath Tope, but even so such ornaments could never have become the 'idol' of Sanchi, and no contrast could be more complete than that between their restraint and the wild abandon of the famous carvings that adorn the Torans, or Entrance Gates, of its surrounding Rail. That is to say, the most wonderful of ancient Buddhist sculptures are but the ornaments of the latest additions to the fence that isolated the Tope. It may be doubted whether there is any idolatrous cult in the world in which images were not servants first and masters afterwards, but Indian Buddhism at any rate shews how an idolatrous environment may gradually subdue a new and imageless cult. At Karli, it may also be noted, the Hinduism that preceded Buddhism in India has now annexed the shrine. A little Śaiva temple has displaced the second 'lion-pillar' at the door, the Buddha's image has been baptized with the name of a Hindu god, and the Tope is worshipped as a giant 'linga'! Indeed, Hindus have made many Buddhist ruins in India into sacred spots of their own.¹

The most significant point, however, about the famous Sanchi sculptures remains. The disappearance of Buddhism from India was probably due to its own degradation as much as to Hindu opposition. Its degradation seems often to have been unto impurity. The sculptures named portray all kinds of scenes, sacred and secular, though the sacred predominate. The writer did not notice a single nude figure of a man, and the secular females are all clothed, but there are multitudes of sacred women all naked to the last detail. Almost all, too, stand or sit under a sculptured sacred tree. It is the 'kedeshah' in stone! Nor only so in Buddhism. There are both Vaishnava and Śaiva sects that sanctify immorality. Whence has this come? Not from the Buddha of course, nor from Vedic Hinduism. It almost certainly crept into both from the earlier 'Dravidian' religion of India, and it is

¹ e. g. at Buddh Gaya, Sarnath, Karli, Sanchi, Ellora. Even the great Jaganāth Temple at Puri was probably originally a Buddhist shrine.

in the great temples of South or 'Dravidian' India that the 'kedeshah' chiefly survives to-day.

Here is a case where the impure worship of earlier 'inhabitants of the land' has corrupted two greater and nobler faiths. The Dravidian cult disappeared as a distinct religion, but, so to speak, it disappeared *into* them. In defeat it conquered. It is certain that in name the Canaanite cult disappeared in Palestine, but did not the Canaanites when incorporated in Israel seek to worship Jahveh under their old forms? As one climbs the hill at Sanchi and gazes at its sculptures the text inevitably leaps to the mind, 'Upon every high hill and under every green tree thou didst bow thyself, playing the harlot.' Was there not literal ground for the Hebrew use of the phrase 'to go a whoring' as a synonym for apostasy from Jahveh?

In this connexion two other notes may be added. The impure worship of the Śaiva sects does not connect, as would seem natural, with the 'linga', but with the stories of the female counterpart of Śiva. These are told in the Tantras, the latest of Hindu scriptures, and almost certainly illustrate the compromise that Brahmanism made with the earlier 'Dravidianism'. In other words, immorality became a part of religion in India when sex became prominent in the concept of God. Now, the Old Testament records require that the Canaanites worshipped both the Baal and the 'Ashērāh', but, while there are hints that the first term was used also in Israel, the second is in the Bible always a term of peculiar abhorrence and always describes an alien thing. It is at least possible that what distinguished a Hebrew from a Canaanite shrine was the absence of the 'Ashērāh', at any rate in its later goddess-form, and that, when the Prophets opposed its inclusion in the cult of Jahveh, they were fighting the battle of morals as well as of religion.

But how should it come to pass at all that an impure act should be reckoned the final rite in worship? The answer may be suggested in a quotation from Prof. T. M. Lindsay,¹—'All paganism is at bottom a worship of nature in some form or other, and in all pagan religions the deepest and most awe-inspiring attribute of nature was its power of reproduction. . . . Two energies or agents, one an active and generative, the other a feminine, passive or susceptible one, were everywhere thought to combine for creative purpose. . . . In each and every form of polytheism we find the slime-track of the deification of sex.' Whether or not nature-worship is the original form of religion, it cannot be denied that all polytheisms have passed through the stage named, and that when polytheists of an early type began to ask the question, 'What was the origin of the world?' they found an answer in the sexual concept of god. Two of the five proper subjects of the Tantras

¹ Article 'Christianity', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th edition.

were the Creation and the Destruction of the world. Now, it is well known that when peoples at this stage of thought give their accounts of the two great problems of Life and Death, they often associate three things in their religious cult,—the Woman, the Tree, the Serpent. All three are in other respects weak before man, but the first two seem to have the secret of Life, the last of Death. For instance, as already seen, the Rail at Sanchi illustrates for Buddhism the cult of the Woman and the Tree, more recent but still ancient remains in Java and Siam that of the Serpent. But more striking still is the group of tutelary deities outside multitudes of villages in South India. Here two Trees grow that were 'married' when the village was founded, so it is said, to secure its prosperity. Beneath their shadow are sculptured stones which bear images in various forms of the Serpent and the Woman—the most common being perhaps the single Serpent, the interlaced or two-headed Serpent, and a composite figure with a Woman's bust but a Serpent's tail. All this illustrates the inclusion of 'Dravidian' or pre-Aryan elements in Hinduism,—that is, of the form of ethnic religion prevalent in India. And it all, of course, also suggests the combination of the Woman, the Serpent, and the Tree in the Garden of Eden. Perhaps the most ancient of Indian remains are the fragments of Asoka's Rail at Buddh Gaya ; one of the best preserved of its carvings pictures a man helping a woman to climb a tree that she may pluck its fruit ! And a question may be ventured about the story of Eden. It belongs to a document dated at the epoch when Hebrew and Canaanite were uniting in a single race. May it not be a case of the Hebrew adoption of a current myth with characteristic Hebrew differences ? First, it did not call the progenitors of mankind divine but human ; second, it said of the story that justified the impure rites of Canaan—'This is not the fount of religion but of sin.' So it would accord with the uniform Old Testament protest against the Ashērāh and the Kedēshāh, and illustrate already the distinction of the Hebrew race—its union of morality with religion. It need not be argued here that only among a people that had long refused to accept gods that were sexual could a true and pure doctrine of the Divine Fatherhood arise.

C. RYDER SMITH.

THE MONTE CASSINO PSALTER.¹

DOM AMELLI is indeed to be congratulated upon his interesting discovery, which is nothing less than a hitherto unknown revision of the Latin Psalter from Hexaplaric sources. It is a surprising 'find'. Cod. 557 of the ancient library at Monte Cassino is a twelfth-century Vulgate Bible written almost certainly at Monte Cassino itself by a monk named Ferro, who also wrote Cod. 264 in the same library. There are dozens of such codices in all the principal libraries of Western Europe, and a cursory inspection would hardly suggest that *Cass.* 557 contained anything of outstanding value. On examination, however, the Psalter is found to be given four times over: no. 1 is Jerome's new version from the Hebrew, no. 2 is the ordinary 'Gallican' text, no. 4 is the 'Roman'. No. 3, occupying pp. 217-238, is the version edited by Amelli.

A text like this, embedded in a mediaeval Latin Vulgate, has first of all to prove its claim to be derived from ancient sources. I shall therefore give a few examples where the evidence happens to be particularly clear.²

(1) Renderings derived from *Aquila*.

Ps. liv 4 נא

inutilia *Cass* = ἀνωφελές A'.

ἀνομίαν LXX Θ' (*iniquitatem, -tes*, Latt), ἀσέβειαν Σ'.

Ps. lxiv 2 לך דמיה תהלה

Tibi tacita laus *Cass* = [σοὶ σιωπῶσα αἰνεσις] A'.

σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος LXX (*Te decet hymnus, -num*, Latt). Note, that Jerome's Hebrew Psalter has *Tibi silens laus*, so that *Cass* is not derived from Jerome.

Ps. lxv 7 הסוררים

separantes se *Cass* = ἀφιστάμενοι A'.

παρὰπικραίνοντες LXX (*qui exacerbant, qui exasperant, qui in iram prouocant*, Latt).

¹ COLLECTANEA BIBLICA LATINA, cura et studio Monachorum S. Benedicti, vol. i. *Liber Psalmorum* . . . nunc primum ex Casinensi Cod. 557, curante D. AMBROSIO M. AMELLI, O.S.B., in lucem profertur (F. Pustet, Rome, 1912).

² The numeration of the Psalms here given is that of the Greek, as in Field's *Hexapla*. Field's Greek reconstructions of the Syro-Hexaplaric evidence are given in square brackets.

ἀπειθεῖς Σ' = *qui increduli sunt* Jerome.
ἐκκλίνοντες Θ'.

Ps. cxxxvi 6 עֲרֵךְ שִׁשְׁמִית וְשִׁשְׁמִית לְךָ

Super caput gaudii mei *Cass* = ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν εὐφροσύνης μου A
LXX Σ' Θ' E' all have ἐν ἀρχῇ..., the Latins have *in principio*.

This is all that is reported from Aquila in this verse by our Hexaplaric authorities, but as the words in *Cass* which immediately precede are *nisi non preordinauero cum hierusalem*, it is evident that Aquila is the source of this clause also. In this single Psalm there are actually five instances of Aquila's σύν=תא, *cum sion* (v. 1), *cantemus cum cantico* (v. 4), *cum hierusalem* (v. 6), *cum diem* (v. 7), *cum paruulis tuis* (v. 9).

Ps. cxxxviii 20 עֲרֵךְ שִׁשְׁמִית וְשִׁשְׁמִית לְךָ

Aemuli tui *Cass* = ἀντίζηλοί σου A'.

τὰς πόλεις σου LXX (Θ' vid), *ciuitates tuas (suas)* Lattrell
οἱ ἐναντίοι σου Σ' = *aduersarii tui* Jerome.

(2) Renderings derived from **Symmachus**.

Ps. xxvi 11 הוֹדִינִי

Reuela michi *Cass* = ὑπόδειξόν μοι Σ'.

νομοθέτησόν με LXX Latt

φώτισόν με A' Θ'

Jerome has *ostende mihi*.

Ps. lxvii 28b בְּנִמְחָם

ante pugnant *Cass* = [προμαχοῦντες αὐτῶν] Σ'.

ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν LXX Latt

in purpura sua Jerome.

(Note, that in 28^a *Cass* has *breuior obtinens eos* = A'.)

Ps. cxli 8 יִכְתְּרוּ צְדִיקִים

coronabuntur iusti *Cass* = στεφανώσονται δίκαιοι Σ' (and Jerome).

ὑπομένουσι δίκαιοι LXX, περιμενοῦσι δ. A'.

(3) Renderings derived from **Theodotion**.

Ps. xxiv 14 סֹדֵר

Arcanum *Cass* = μυστήριον Θ' E', *secretum* Jerome

κραταίωμα LXX Latt

ἀπόρρητον A'

ὁμιλία Σ'.

Ps. xliii 13 לֹא רַבִּית בְּמַחֲרִיהֶם

et non erat incrementum in commutatione eorum *Cass* = καὶ οὐκ ἦν
πλέονασμα ἐν τῷ ἀλαλάγματι ἡμῶν (leg. αὐτῶν) Θ'.

καὶ οὐκ ἦν πλῆθος ἐν τοῖς ἀλαλάγμασιν αὐτῶν LXX Latt (*et non fuit multitudo*)

καὶ οὐ πολλὴν ἐποίησας τὴν τιμὴν αὐτῶν Σ' Jerome.

Ps. lxiii 7 שׁוֹמֵר קַסֵּס

sensus uiri Cass = διάνοια ἀνδρὸς Θ'.

προσελεύσεται ἄνθρωπος LXX Latt

ἐγκατον ἀνδρὸς Α'

ἐξ ἐγκάτων [αὐτοῦ] ἕκαστος Σ' Jerome.

Ps. lxiii 8 שׁוֹמֵר

comburemus Cass = ἐμπυρίσωμεν Θ' (*sic ap. Hieron.*)

καταπαύσωμεν LXX Latt

ἐνέπρησαν Α'

ἐνεπύρισαν Σ'.¹

Ps. lxxv 5 נֹאֵר תִּירָא

Timendus es tu Cass = φοβερὸς εἶ Θ'.

φωτίζεις σὺ LXX Latt (*illuminans tu*)

φωτισμὸς σὺ Α' Jerome

ἐπιφανῆς εἶ Σ'.

(Note that Cass retains the LXX 'eternal mountains' for הַרֵי טָרִי at the end of the clause, where Θ' has ὁρέων καρπίμων.)

Ps. cxviii 118 כָּל שׁוֹנִים

Nullificasti omnes errantes Cass = ἐξουδένωσας πάντας τοὺς πλανωμένους Θ' Ε'.

ἐξουδένωσας πάντας τοὺς ἀποστατοῦντας LXX Latt (*sprenuisti . . .*)

ἀπεσκολόπισας π. τ. ἀποστρεφόμενους Α' Jerome

ἀπήλεξας π. τ. ῥεμβομένους Σ'.

The above series of examples are surely enough to shew that the compiler of the Monte Cassino Psalter made use of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion in turn, and that his work is quite independent of Jerome's 'Hebrew' version of the Psalms. A couple of peculiar renderings of another kind now claim attention. It frequently happens that the rendering of Cass, while differing from that of the Latin Psalters, yet implies no difference in the underlying Greek. The first explanation that presents itself is that we have here an untouched reading of an 'Old Latin' Psalter, perhaps of an African text, as Amelli seems to suggest. But as a matter of fact, these readings do not agree to any marked extent with Cyprian's or Tertullian's quotations; indeed the cast of language strikes me as distinctly unbiblical, e.g. *egregius*

¹ At the end of Field's Note to Ps. lxiii 8 'Σ' is a slip for 'S', i.e. *Sexta*. Jerome's words are *Sexta κατακαύσωμεν, id est comburamus, quod et LXX iuxta Hexaplorum ueritatem transtulisse perspicuum est.*

for κράτιστος (xv 6, xxii 6), and *amaricare* for *exacerbare* (civ 28). We must therefore refer them to the compiler rather than to the Old Latin base which he was revising. This is clearly the case in the following:

Ps. xxxi 4 ('my moisture is like the drought in summer')

conuersasti in miseria in punctione spinarum *Cass*

ἐστράφην εἰς τάλαιπωρίαν ἐν τῷ ἐμπαγήναι ἀκανθῶν LXX

conuersus sum in aerumna [mea] dum configitur spina Latt (some Latin texts omit *mea*, others have *confringitur*, *configeretur*, *infigitur*, *infixa est*, but all have *aerumna* and the construction with *dum*)

Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, Quinta, and Sexta are all extant and all differ entirely from LXX, interpreting קצף 'summer' or 'harvest'. Jerome's Hebrew Psalter is *uersatus sum in miseria mea cum exardesceret messis*.

Other instances are Ps. lxxvi 5 *anteuenerunt custodiam oculi mei*, and Ps. cxviii 100 *inuestigauī* (= ἐξεζήτησα LXX), where the other Latins have *intellexi*. In Ps. lxxiii 15^b, lxxix 16^b, clauses absent from the true Old Latin have been added in *Cass*, though of course it would be possible in these cases to put down the addition to the use of Theodotion.

But in any case the example from Ps. xxxi 4 shews that the Greek Bible itself was occasionally used by the compiler of the Monte Cassino text as well as Aquila and his companions. The discoveries of the last twenty years let us see that this was not quite so difficult a work as it might once have seemed, for fragments of two copies of Origen's Hexapla Psalter have come to light, one among the Genizah Fragments at Cambridge,¹ the other in a palimpsest at Milan.² In both these MSS the texts were arranged in six narrow parallel columns, as in the original Hexapla itself: any one with a knowledge of Greek, with such a codex before him, could make an eclectic revision of a Latin Psalter with the utmost ease, and the result would be just such a mixture as that of the Monte Cassino Psalter. As a specimen of the actual texts before the eyes of such a reviser I give the actual words of the Milan Palimpsest (O. 39 *sup.* ff. 68, 75, 74, 69) for Psalm xlv 2-4: in the original the texts are arranged in five narrow columns, making a synoptic comparison still more easy.

(a) HEBREW TEXT IN GREEK LETTERS:

² ἑλωεῖμ λανου | μασε· ονοζ | ἐζρ βσαρὼθ | νεμσα· μωδ | ³ αλ·χεν |
λω·νιρα | βααμip | ααρσ | οὐβαμωτ | αριμ | βλεβ | ιαμιμ | ⁴ ισεμου (*sic*)³ |
ιέμρου | μημαν | ιεράσουι | αριμ | βγηοναθω | σελ

¹ C. Taylor *Hebrew-Greek Cairo Genizah Palimpsests*, Camb. 1900.

² Ceriani (and G. Mercati) in *Rendiconti del r. Ist. Lomb. di sc. e lett.*, Serie ii, vol. xxix, 1896.

³ Read ιεεμου.

(δ) AQUILA:

² [ὁ θς ἡμῖν] ἐλπὶς καὶ κράτος βοήθεια ἐν θλίψεσιν εὐρέθη[ς] σφόδρα
³ ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὐ φοβηθησόμεθα ἐν τῷ ἀνταλλάσσεσθαι γῆν καὶ ἐν τῷ
 σφάλλῃσθαι ὄρη ἐν καρδίᾳ θαλασσῶν ⁴ ὁχλάσουσιν ἀντικρ[ονο]θήσονται
 ὕδατα αὐτοῦ σεισθήσεται ὄρη ἐν τῇ υπερηφανίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀ[σμα]¹

(ε) SYMMACHUS:

² ὁ θς ἡμῖν πεποιθήσῃς καὶ ἰσχύς βοήθεια ἐν θλίψεσιν εὐρισκόμενος
 σφόδρα ³ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ φοβηθησόμεθα ἐν ταῖς (σίς) συγχείσθαι γῆν καὶ
 κλίνεσθαι ὄρη ἐν καρδίᾳ θαλασσῶν ⁴ ἡχούντων καὶ θολουμένων τῶν ὑδάτων
 καὶ σειομένων ὁρέων ἐν τῷ ἐνδοξασμῷ αὐτοῦ διάψαλμα

(δ) LXX:

² ὁ θς ἡμῶν καταφυγὴ καὶ δύναμις βοηθὸς ἐν θλίψει ταῖς εὐρούσαις ἡμᾶς
 εὐρεθήσεται ἡμῖν
 σφόδρα ³ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ φοβηθησόμεθα ἐν τῷ ταράσσεσθαι τὴν γῆν καὶ
 μετατίθεσθαι ὄρη ἐν καρδίᾳ θαλασσῶν ⁴ ἡχῆσαν καὶ ἐταράχθησαν τὰ
 ὕδατα αὐτῶν ἐταράχθησαν τὰ ὄρη ἐν τῇ κραταύτῃ αὐτοῦ διάψαλμα

(ε) THEODOTION:

² ὁ θς ἡμῶν καταφυγὴ καὶ δύναμις βοηθὸς ἐν θλίψεσιν εὐρέθῃ σφόδρα
 ταῖς εὐρούσαις ἡμᾶς
³ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ φοβηθησόμεθα ἐν τῷ ταράσσεσθαι τὴν γῆν καὶ σαλευέσθαι
 μετατίθεσθαι
 ὄρη ἐν καρδίᾳ θαλασσῶν ⁴ ἡχῆσουσι καὶ ταραχθήσονται τὰ ὕδατα αὐτοῦ
 ἐταράχθησαν αὐτῶν
 σεισθήσονται ὄρη ἐν τῇ υπερηφανίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀεὶ
 ἐταράχθησαν κραταύτῃ αὐτοῦ

(f) MONTE CASSINO PSALTER:

² Deus noster nobis refugium et uirtus adiutor in angustiis quae
 inuenerunt nos. ³ Propterea non timebimus in turbatione terrae et
 commotione montium in cordibus maris. ⁴ Sonabunt et turbabuntur
 aquae eorum moueantur montes in soliditate eius [*Blank, for 'Selah'*]

(g) GALLICAN PSALTER:

² Deus noster refugium et uirtus; adiutor in tribulationibus quae
 inuenerunt nos nimis. ³ Propterea non timebimus dum turbabitur
 terra, et transferentur montes in cor maris. ⁴ Sonuerunt et turbatae
 sunt aquae eorum; conturbati sunt montes in fortitudine eius.

I have quoted this passage in full, because it is the only one in the whole Psalter where the continuous parallel texts of Aquila, Symmachus

¹ For ἄσμα, see Field on Ps. xxxviii 12: Mercati here gives ἀε(ῖ).

² I give Theodotion in full, according to the MS. It is usually the fate of Theodotion's Psalm-text to be passed over in silence, or with the phrase *ὁμοίως τοῖς* O', a phrase which may not be always quite trustworthy. The principle on which the alternative readings are given in the MS is not clear.

³ *ea non* is written twice over.

and Theodotion are all extant for three verses together. It may be fortuitous, but the feature that emerges most strongly is the preponderating influence of Theodotion upon the Monte Cassino text. Unfortunately the readings of Theodotion are very imperfectly represented in our Hexaplar authorities, but with the example of Ps. xlv 2-4 before us we may well infer that many of the unique readings of the Monte Cassino text, many of them blundering renderings of the Hebrew which Eusebius and Jerome might well think not worth mention, are directly taken from Theodotion.

In Ps. xlv 2-4 the future tenses in *v.* 4, also *moueantur* for *σεισθήσονται*, come from Θ'. In *v.* 3 *in . . . commotione montium* is a rendering of *ἐν τῷ . . . σαλεύεσθαι ὄρη* (Θ'): cp. *sine commotione* Ps. xcvi 10. To these must be added the places where *Cass* alters the Latin in cases where Θ' and LXX agree, i. e. *in angustiiis*¹ = *ἐν θλίψεσι*, *in . . . -atione* = *ἐν τῷ w. inf.*, *soliditas* = *κραταιότης* (as in Ps. lxxix 16 *quem solidasti tibimetipso*). Naturally the revision of a Latin Psalter from a MS of the Hexapla would include cases where the reviser would prefer a fresh Latin rendering of the LXX itself: a clear example has been given above from Ps. xxxi 4. But here, and in most other similar cases, it is likely that the reviser was following the Greek as given in Theodotion's column.

It remains now to point out that the use of a MS of the Hexapla, such as the Milan fragment is, explains the most curious feature of *Cass*, viz. the presence of some Hebrew words embedded in the Latin text and of some renderings which appear to be taken direct from the Hebrew. It should be clearly stated at the outset that the evidence which demonstrates a use of the Hebrew text also demonstrates the extreme incompetence of the compiler, whoever he may have been. When in Ps. lxxvi 4^b we find *ipsi facti sunt nomen* for *hi fuerunt illic*, where the LXX has *οὗτοι ἐγεννήθησαν ἐκεῖ*, it is evident that there has been a confusion between *shēm* 'a name' and *shām* 'there'. In this instance it is possible that Theodotion may have been the original blunderer, for his rendering of this verse is not extant.² But in Ps. xxxi 5^b this explanation will not hold. Here LXX, Aquila and Theodotion have *καὶ σὺ . . .*, Symmachus *ὡς σὺ . . .*, the Hebrew being *וְאַתָּה*. But *Cass* has *et nunc*, i. e. *הַעַתָּה*. Obviously our compiler saw *οὐαθθα* in the column of the Hexapla containing the Hebrew text in Greek letters and ventured on an original translation. It suggests that

¹ *Angustia* for *θλίψις* is a favourite word in the Monte Cassino text: it is rare in the Latin Bible, where it is used for *στενοχωρία*.

² How little regularity existed in the use of *a* and *e* in transliterations may be seen from Isa. xlvii 2, where for *הַחֲמִשָּׁה* Aquila has *σεμμαθέχ*, but Theodotion *σαμβίχ*.

he did not know even the letters of the Hebrew Alphabet.¹ Further it is noteworthy that the lists of 'readings derived from the Hebrew text', which Amelli has collected in his Appendix viii (pp. 138-141), do not contain a single instance of confusion between ד and ד': this is inconceivable if the compiler were working from a Hebrew MS. I therefore suggest that he only used the Greek transliteration found in MSS of the Hexapla.

Some of these schoolboy attempts at Hebrew are very odd. For instance, in Ps. xxi 6 and lv 4 אֱלֹהִים, i. e. 'unto thee', is rendered 'thy Deity'. From the latter verse it appears that our compiler got this queer blunder neither from Aquila, nor from Symmachus, nor from Theodotion, so that it must have been his own rendering of ΗΑΑΙΧ.² Possibly also it was he, rather than Theodotion, who is responsible for rendering PAAB (i. e. רָחַב) by *famem* (i. e. רָעַב) in lxxxvi 4. In any case it was doubtless the same person who emended the traditional *spatiosum* of ciii 25 into *avidum manibus* (i. e. רָעַב for רָחַב). Naturally all gutturals are interchangeable when they are not represented at all in writing!

To sum up, the Monte Cassino Psalter contains an eclectic text which seems to have been produced by emending an ordinary fourth-century Latin Psalter by readings taken indiscriminately from Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, together with a few new renderings of the Greek LXX and a few renderings taken from the Hebrew. This can best be explained by the use of a single MS of the Hexapla itself, a MS such as the fragments now at Milan and at Cambridge once formed part of. The chief value of the new text, therefore, is as an addition to our Hexaplar authorities: where the Monte Cassino text differs from the Latin Psalters in diction, we may be reasonably certain that we have before us a direct translation into Latin of the text of Aquila, or of Symmachus, or of Theodotion, or (in a few cases) of the LXX, the Hebrew or the 'Quinta'. It is unfortunate that the parentage of the readings should so often remain indeterminate; it might be worth while to furnish the Psalter with a full Commentary and see what can be done to identify the passages one by one.

In any case we lie under a debt of gratitude to Dom Amelli for the admirable manner in which he has set this new text before scholars. He has given us the text as it stands in the MS, and accompanied it with a dozen Appendices in which the various peculiarities of the text

¹ See Amelli, p. vii, for the proof that the barbarously executed Hebrew Alphabet at the end of the MS came from another source than the body of the book.

² Ps. lxxxiii 11 *a generatione* only attests מְדִוֵּר in place of the ordinary *magis quam habitarē* which corresponds to מְדִוֵּר: either of these words might be transliterated ΜΙΔΔΟΥΡ or ΜΙΔΔΩΡ.

³ For this transliteration, combine Isaiah ix 6 with Micah vi 8 6'.

are collected together and illustrated. Appendix vi (*Ambrosii testimonia*) and Appendix vii (*Hieronymi testimonia*) are especially interesting. Amelli himself (Introd. pp. xxviii-xxxi) is inclined to claim Rufinus as the compiler, but so far as I have noticed Rufinus's own quotations from the Psalter have no points of contact with the Monte Cassino text. One difficulty, however, which Amelli brings forward (p. xxxii), does not, I confess, weigh much with me. Jerome said to Rufinus *Et me trilinguem bilinguis ipse ridebis?* There is surely no difficulty here! I cannot think that any Hebrew scholar would concede the honourable title of *trilinguis* to the unknown compiler of the Monte Cassino Psalter.

F. C. BURKITT.

ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ OR ΙΩΑΝΝΑ?—A NOTE ON PAPIAS

ap. EUSEB. *H. E.* iii 39.

CONJECTURAL emendation is excusable only when exegesis fails to remove all reasonable difficulty and when any previous conjectures have failed to win assent. These conditions hold in our fragment. The problems still remain: Why, if Papias desires to distinguish the Johns, does he expressly describe them in the same terms? Why, if he desires to refer again to the John already mentioned, does he not say so? Or why do we leap from Andrew and Peter to two apostles of the second four, postponing John to Philip, Thomas, and James? And who is this James? Papias seems to speak of an aftermath period of reminiscence and retrospect, ill fitting the turbulent years during which James the son of Zebedee still survived. Then why couple John with the wrong James, without a word of comment? For whether this be James the son of Alphaeus or James of Jerusalem the pairing (and Papias certainly is grouping his list in pairs) is very harsh, when we realize how stereotyped 'James and John', meaning the brothers, had become. Some inkling of a corrupted text is given (as Zahn notices) by the isolation of the final $\tau\acute{\iota}$. I suggest that we should read (omitting $\tau\acute{\iota}$)

... ἡ ἢ Ἰακώβου ἢ Ἰωάννα ἡ . . .

a natural and proper pair (Lk xxiv 10) to whom enquirers after authentic records would always resort.

The inclusive masculines give no difficulty (cf. *Pistis Sophia* p. 231, Schwartze-Petermann, Latin version p. 146 'Maria Magdalene et Iohannes

παρθένος erunt praestantissimi inter meos μαθητὰς omnes'; and see Acts vi 1, 2, 7 al.). *πρεσβύτεροι* in its non-technical sense is as applicable to women as to men.¹ The insertion of women in the list is capable of explanation. Papias was collecting authentic *λόγοι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων* with his eye on current Gnostic prolixities (τοῖς τὰ πολλὰ λέγουσιν). We may suppose that Gnosticism had already selected its *dramatis personae*. In later Gnostic writings the women are prominent. In the *Pistis Sophia* their persistent interruptions are reproved (see also *Apostolic Church Order* § 26) by the Apostles, among whom Philip, Thomas, and Matthew are an inner triad (Lat. vers. Schwartze-Petermann pp. 47, 48, 'Tres testes sunt P. et T. et M.').² Papias writes, 'I vouch for the truth of *my* λόγοι. They come from the very sources—Andrew, Peter, Philip, Thomas, Mary the (mother) of James, Joanna, Matthew—to which my opponents attribute *their* prolixities. I investigated all I could collect from these sources, as well as the more recent statements of Aristion and John'.

It need not be pointed out how swift and easy corruption of the text would be in unskilled hands; and lame explanations, such as that of Eusebius, would become imperative.

E. ILIFF ROBSON.

THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF THE ODES OF SOLOMON.

(i) STUDENTS of the Odes of Solomon should be grateful to Dom Connolly for calling attention in your last issue (p. 315) to an expression that appears to him to supply 'almost conclusive evidence that our present Syriac text is a translation from Greek'. In the other 'several cases' in which, he says, 'the Syriac seems obviously to be turning Greek expressions', the evidence appears to me futile (as I have endeavoured to shew)³; but there is no futility in his observations

¹ Perhaps even in the technical sense also, as βασιλεῖς (in later Greek, at least) includes king and queen.

² Joanna does not occur in *Pistis Sophia* itself, but I strongly suspect her presence, p. 202, Lat. vers. p. 129, in place of John. The apology and hesitation of the speaker, as if speaking for the first time, are alien to John, but especially natural in a woman and after the recent rebuke by St Peter. The context would be altered to fit the error once committed.

³ See my *Light on the Gospel from an Ancient Poet* pp. 189–190, 223–224.

on Ode xli 16, which he renders 'The Christ in truth is one: *and He was known from before the constitution of the world*'. I condense his argument as follows.

'From [before] the *constitution* of the world' is the Peshitta rendering of ἀπὸ (or πρὸ) καταβολῆς κόσμου in seven out of ten cases in the New Testament. But *syr. vet.* avoids the italicized word, which is comparatively rare outside the Peshitta New Testament. Syriac has other words, corresponding to the Hebrew ones, to express 'foundation'. Moreover, Hebrew and Old Testament Syriac regularly speak of the foundation of the *earth*, or *habitable world* (which is not the word used here). Hence in Hebrew, and in Syriac translations of Hebrew, 'we never find "constitution of the world"', the phrase used here. 'How then', asks Dom Connolly, 'does it come into the Odes? Obviously as a Syriac translation of πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου by one who was familiar with the usual Peshitta version of this phrase'.

In reply to this, in the first place I am not sure whether the coincidence of a single phrase in some writer (date unknown) and in the Authorized Version of the Bible, should be accepted as proving 'obviously' that he was 'familiar with the usual English version'. Nevertheless the argument seems to me strong. If it cannot be answered, and if two or three more such instances could be alleged, the conclusion might become irresistible. But at present it seems to me that judgement should be suspended for the following reasons bearing on this particular passage.

(1) The word used by the Peshitta is a literal rendering of καταβολή, 'laying down' or 'casting down'. The Greek has very various meanings in various contexts, and has led Origen and Chrysostom into strange interpretations. Neither the Greek nor the Syriac means exactly 'constitution'. Jerome (on Eph. i 4) says rightly 'Non id ipsum autem καταβολή quod *constitutio* sonat', where see context. Origen took καταβολή, in the phrase 'foundation of the world', as meaning 'casting down', and the Syriac has a kindred meaning in Heb. xi 11 V.H.¹

(2) Of the two Scriptural passages that describe in poetic detail the Creation of the World, one, in Job, expressly mentions God as '*casting down*'² the corner-stone' just before He 'shut up the sea with doors'. The other, in Proverbs, mentioning 'the sea' first (Prov. viii 29 'when he gave to the sea its bound . . . when he marked out the foundations

¹ The word used here is 'world' in the sense of time, as 'the world to come', 'the ancient world', &c.

² See Payne Smith *Thesaurus Syriacus* col. 3928.

³ Job xxxviii 6 R.V. '*laid*', but Heb. '*shot*' or '*threw*', and so Targ. and Syr. Comp. *Joma* 54b 'The Holy One, blessed be He, *threw a stone into the sea, and on this was the world founded* (Job xxxviii 6)'.

of the earth') justifies us in supposing that the meaning in Job may be illustrated by the Horatian 'caementa *demittit* redemptor'. There is a great deal in Midrash in support of this view.

(3) Are there not other passages in the Odes which are akin, and perhaps allusive, to Job? And may not the poet be here thinking, not of 'the earth', or of 'the habitable world', but of the world of souls, the world to come, and of the 'foundation' of this, as being from the first 'sent down' from above, to be realized at the last in the New Jerusalem, the city that hath the foundations, 'coming down out of heaven from God' (Rev. xxi 2)?

I trust this passage of the Odes may be discussed by others whose knowledge of Syriac is more adequate than mine to the discussion.

(ii) Dom Connolly adds: 'In Ode xxx 6 there is another phrase which, I think, is hardly of Semitic origin, viz. "and until it was *set* [*lit. given*] *in the midst*, they did not know it". This is surely *ἐς τὸ μέσον τιθέναι*, *in medio ponere*.'

But (1) is it fair to substitute a common Greek phrase, like *εἰς τὸ μέσον τιθέναι*, for an uncommon or non-existent one, like *ἐν τῷ μέσῳ δίδοναι*—of which I find no instance in Stephen's *Thesaurus* under *μέσος*—and then to say 'this is surely' from Greek? This Syriac phrase for '*in the middle*' is used by the Syriac translator (as also by Onkelos) in Numb. xxxv 5 corresponding to a Hebrew '*in the middle*'. (2) 'Give', for 'set' or 'appoint', is also a frequent Hebraism. May we not then justly say 'This is surely *in medio dare*—and points to a Hebrew original'?

EDWIN A. ABBOTT.

'THE NUMBER OF THE BEAST.'

SOME readers of the JOURNAL, who have not time or opportunity to ransack the pages of foreign periodicals, may be glad to have their attention drawn to particular articles of interest or importance.

The December number of the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* pp. 293-305, contains an article by Dr G. A. van den Bergh on 'The Gnosis combated in the Apocalypse', in which he makes an unusually interesting suggestion for the solution of Apoc. xiii 18. ὧδε ἡ σοφία ἐστίν may mean 'Here is wisdom necessary', expressing much the same thought as ὁ ἔχων νοῦν ψηφισάτω τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ θηρίου. But it may have quite a different meaning. The ἀριθμὸς ἀνθρώπου (cf. μέτρον ἀνθρώπου xxi 17) means 'ordinary human reckoning',

and in no way suggests that the 'number of the Beast' conceals a man's name. 666 is, in Pythagorean language, an ἀριθμὸς τρίγωνος. Philo treats of the number 10 as being the sum of the numbers $1 + 2 + 3 + 4$ (δεκάς δὲ καὶ τετράς "πᾶς" ἐν ἀριθμοῖς εἶναι λέγεται, ἀλλὰ δεκάς μὲν ἀποτελέσματος, τετράς δὲ ἐν δυνάμει); so that, from this point of view, $10 = 4$. And the Valentinian Marcus (ap. Iren. I xv 2) speaks of the first τετράς as the source of the δεκάς, and $10 = 1$, the initial letter of Ἰησοῦς. Similarly Philo says that the Tabernacle had 55 visible pillars, because 55 is the sum of the numbers from 1 to 10 (i.e. $55 = 10$), and 10 represents the highest completeness. The school of Marcus also obtained the number 12 by adding $2 + 4 + 6$, and 30 by $2 + 4 + 6 + 8 + 10$; and 30 also by $1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 7 + 8$, omitting the ἐπίσημος (5' = 6). A graffito from Pompeii (A.D. 79) speaks of a lady named Harmonia: 'the number of her beautiful name is 45'; but Harmonia suggests the Muses, and $45 = 1 + 2 + 3 \dots + 9$.

Dr van den Bergh thinks that the close connexion of Gnostic thought with this Pythagorean treatment of numbers explains the 'number of the Beast'. $666 = 1 + 2 + 3 \dots + 36$. But 36 is also an ἀριθμὸς τρίγωνος: $36 = 1 + 2 + 3 \dots + 8$. That is to say $666 = 36 = 8$. The beast is the 'Ogdoas', who in the Gnostic system is Σοφία; and in Hebrew, 8 is represented by ח, the initial letter of חָכְמָה; and the prototype of the Beast (= Ogdoas = Σοφία) is the heavenly mother-goddess of Western Asia (see Bousset *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* pp. 26, 58 ff). When, therefore, the seer writes ὦδε ἡ σοφία ἐστίν, he cryptically supplies the very solution of the riddle.

Dr van den Bergh sketches several lines of thought in the Apocalypse which result from this, or are in keeping with it; but enough has been said to indicate the nature of his argument.

A. H. McNEILE.

REVIEWS

CHURCH HISTORY.

THE three works of Fr Fedele Savio, *Fede e Scienza: La Questione di Papa Liberio* (F. Pustel, Roma, 1907), *Nuovi Studi sulla questione di Papa Liberio* (1909), and *Punti controversi nella questione del Papa Liberio* (1911), written at different times, say all that is to be said for one side in the argument about Liberius. The author has a thorough knowledge of the whole literature, and the case for the defence will probably never be put better than by an advocate so fully equipped with learning and enthusiasm. But the evidence against him is very strong, and a case which depends upon some rejection of documents and much special pleading fails to convince its readers. (A short review by G. Ficker in *ZKG*. Bd. xxxiii p. 481 may be referred to.) But the three works are useful and considerable contributions to the question.

The fertility of German scholars in bringing forth new manuals of Church history would surprise us if we did not know their superior organization of study, and their long-continued study of bibliography. In these respects they have much to teach us in England. And when we turn to the admirable work of Moeller, which is so well brought up to date by the best scholars, and to Funk's *Manual of Church History* (translated by Cappadelta, Kegan Paul, 1910—a work which gives an excellent though, of course, summary history of thought as distinct from mere narrative), our shame is even deeper than before. But to the new *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte für Studierende*, edited by G. Krüger in combination with G. Ficker, H. Hermelink, and E. Preuschen, one is inclined to give the palm. We are concerned here only with the first part (*Das Altertum, bearbeitet von Dr E. Preuschen und Dr G. Krüger*, Tübingen, Mohr, 1911), which in some 290 closely printed pages comes down to the beginning of the eighth century. This choice of date is a great advantage. Any one who has had to teach early and later Church history upon the same principles but, owing to the tyranny of examinations, in separate courses, will at once appreciate this advantage. It is hard enough in any case to impress upon beginners the continuity of history, and when they are taught to make 325 or 451 or 461 an abrupt barrier, they have a ready excuse for their 'invincible ignorance'. It is therefore refreshing to have a history

which begins with 'Hellenismus' and 'Judentum' and ends (since parts and divisions are a necessity for books) with the 'fränkische Reichskirche' and the missions to and by the Anglo-Saxons, although Boniface falls, of course, outside the limits of this volume.

There never was a day when the old was not passing into the new, or the new growing out of the old. The study of Christian history in England has suffered greatly because our writers have worked with much diligence at the early period up to 381 A.D.: then with some slackening of interest and a growing poverty of detail they have possibly gone on to 461 A.D.: after that they have left a gap, and have been content to start more modern history somewhere about 1000 A.D. A division of labour on quite wrong principles has often been attempted by which fullness of knowledge has been mostly aimed at in the earlier period, and accuracy of method in the later. Owing to this, when a living continuous knowledge of Church history was wanted, those seeking it have had to be sent to Gibbon and Hodgkin. Things are now improving a little it may be, and the innovation in the choice of limits for this new text-book ought to help on the improvement.

But the work has other merits which make it indispensable. The references to literature are peculiarly full, and on any disputed point the writers are arranged in schools or according to views: hence we have not mere bibliographical lists, but a really excellent bibliographical guide. Thus, for instance, we have sections, all with full lists of works, on 'the Problem of the Life of Jesus' (§ 4'), 'the Stoa' (§ 2'), 'the philosophic Propaganda' (§ 2¹⁰), 'the Church constitution' (§ 8, with sub-section 9 on the Monarchic Episcopate), and so on. It is at once a narrative history in its inner and outward relations, and a history of doctrine; in each case the work compares favourably with earlier books which have made a speciality of only one of them. Then after the foundations have been well laid we come (§§ 39-40) to Christianity outside the Empire; Mesopotamia, Persia and Armenia, the Germans and the Celts. The second part of the work has sections on Byzantium and its Church, on the dogmatic disputes, on the separated Churches, on Italy and its separation from Byzantium, one (very full and useful) on Church life during the period, Church and State among the Arian Germans, and lastly the two sections, mentioned before, on the Frankish Church, and the Churches in the British Isles. The completeness of view is not less to be praised than the excellence of workmanship in the details. The later volumes—on the Middle Ages, on the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, and on Modern Times—have already appeared and, if not so distinguished as this volume, are marked by many merits, including fullness.

The fourth volume of the *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à l'invasion arabe* by Prof. P. Monceaux (Leroux, Paris, 1912) is on Donatism, and supersedes by its completeness all previous works on the subject. It has a very full chronological list of documents in an Appendix of 23 pages; the first chapter of some 190 pages is on the origin and history of the schism (which remained from beginning to end a schism rather than anything else). Chapter ii (of 127 pages) deals with the documents, chapter iii (of 116 pages) with the Acts of the Councils for and against the Donatists, and chapter iv (of 50 pages) with the Donatist Epigraphy. All the chapters are thorough and full of information, but the fourth chapter is peculiarly new and striking, and also abreast of recent discovery: its account of Donatist memorials, discriminated by their use of the party battle-cry of 'Deo Laudes' (more dreaded, said St Augustine, than the trumpet of war) from those of the Christians with their 'Deo Gratias', is most interesting. As we read it the whole schism lives before our very eyes, and we can understand its effect upon African life. And there also lives before us that sad story of the persecution into which Augustine was dragged against his better judgement. The whole volume deals adequately with a significant chapter in the varied story of the African Church. African Christianity had its time of rich promise and fierce enthusiasm: Tertullian did not stand alone. The Donatist schism is not to be explained as due simply to the aberration of some and the mismanagement of others: we miss a great deal by the difficulty many find in getting behind the massive figure of Augustine. For a full explanation of the schism, with its unhappy results in a weakened Africa ready to perish, we have to go to the daily life and the inner history of African Christianity, and in this volume we have that whole story told with a singular completeness.

Dr Raoul Heurtevent's *Durand de Troarn et les origines de l'hérésie bérengarienne* (Beauchesne, Paris, 1912) is one of those local and special studies which are so useful. The introduction gives a short sketch of the religious Renaissance of the eleventh century (which is beginning now to receive its proper share of study on the theological and the legal sides alike): it brings out specially the share of the Dukes of Normandy in encouraging it (the political bearings of the Berengarian dispute have long been understood), and of the diocesan schools, rivals of the monastic schools. The first part gives the history of Durand of Troarn, a monk, trained first at the monastery of St Catharine (originally of the Holy Trinity) at Rouen, and then at Fécamp. At the first place he came under the influence of the German Isembert, its abbot, and a well-known teacher, celebrated as a musician (of his work in this way we have an interesting account); he also took a part in the struggle of Lanfranc and

Bec against Berengar of Tours. In these earlier years (1050-1058) of the strife Durand wrote, in prose with a preface in verse, his work *De corpore et sanguine Domini*: the work was intended, by an appeal to tradition, Scriptural and patristic, to defend for the unlearned a theology which more learned men were attacking. In 1059 William of Normandy made the poet-theologian Abbot of St Martin of Troarn, the inner life of which monastery is sketched in detail. Chapter ii brings us to Berengar (see pp. 120-121 for his answer about the case in which a bishop had excommunicated a married deacon): the part played by scholastic rivalry with Lanfranc in leading Berengar to his great dispute should not perhaps be defined as surely as our author defines it (pp. 124-125). The chapter ends with the intervention of Durand in the controversy. The second part of the work is a discussion of the Berengarian heresy in all its bearings. It is not so satisfactory, it is in some ways less new, than the first part: we have here to deal with the definitions of a doctrine made in terms of a science which had not yet made its elementary definitions or elaborated its method. It seems to me as if a recognition of this immaturity of the process had something to do with the hesitation of Gregory VII in his action against Berengar. Our author deals with the question a little freshly on the liturgic side: here we come more into touch with simpler Church life. The literary genealogy of the controversy is clearly sketched and illustrated by ample notes. B.'s doctrine is taken (1) as being a denial of transubstantiation (pp. 202-206): then comes (2) his argument from Augustine's definition of a sacrament (*sacramentum est invisibilis gratiae visibilis forma*). The author, as it seems to me, makes his point that Berengar used older definitions in a sense not meant by the original phrasers, and hence got himself into difficulties of thought. Durand's reply was more on the mystic and theological side than on the dialectic. He deals with the mixed material of patristic tradition and of ordinary Christian life. The study of an old controversy from this special side brings out some aspects otherwise likely to be forgotten. To the work there are added two appendices; the former discusses the connexion between Erigena and a treatise *De corpore et sanguine Domini*; it rejects M. Astier's attribution to Erigena of the work *De corpore et sanguine Domini* sometimes assigned to Gerbert: Dr Heurtevent considers this work to be by neither, but by Heriger; he concludes that the other better-known work of the same name was by Ratramnus, not by Erigena: the whole appendix seems very well reasoned and its conclusions just. The second appendix reprints a letter of Adelmann of Liège to Berengar. Berengar still awaits full treatment, but this work is a valuable contribution to the future work.

Prof. Albert Dufourcq's *Histoire de l'Église du X^e au XVIII^e siècle*,

vol. vi, 1049-1300 (Troisième édition refondue, Paris, 1911), should not be judged by the text alone, but also by its extensive notes. It states the problem of the revival, economic, political, and religious, in the period very clearly (p. 15), and the history is traced in much detail. The result is a concentration of much information not easily found elsewhere within the same compass. But this is mostly to be found in the notes, which are often also excellent bibliographies upon special points. The history of Christian thought, and of the reaction against dialectic (p. 279 sq.), of episcopal elections and officers (pp. 236-237), of brotherhoods (p. 265 sq. and p. 391 sq.), of monasticism (p. 125 sq.), of rural parishes (p. 99 and p. 109), of the Cardinalate (p. 61—an excellent note), of the influence of Aristotle (pp. 289, 341 sq. and 358), of the struggle against abuses (p. 425 sq.), are all instances of useful notes with many references. The general 'orientation' of the history is, subject to individual criticisms and different views, mainly correct. But criticism offers itself here and there: much that is useful is said about Investitures, but the form in which it is given is a little confusing: the treatment of the decree of Nicholas II (1059) is rather insufficient: was Hildebrand its real author (the papers of Pflugk-Harttung in *ZKG.* (1906-1907) should be referred to)? the judgement upon Canossa is very sound, but the principles underlying the Concordat of Worms, and also those involved in the struggle of Becket, might be brought out more clearly. Kulot's dissertation on the *Dictatus* might be referred to, and now with Peitz and others additions must be made. But the notes as they stand are often excellent guides to the literature upon isolated parts of a large field. French works have indeed given us excellent helps in this direction: the additional notes to Leclercq's new edition of Delarc's translation of Hefele's *Conciliengeschichte* are often invaluable: the bibliographies in Gougaud's *Les Chrétientés celtiques* and Mollat's *Les Papes d'Avignon* are most complete, and the latter in particular is the best guide to the study of papal organization that we know. The merits of the work here noticed are of the same kind; the volume itself is part of a larger study (see preface).

J. P. WHITNEY.

Studies in Early Church History. By C. H. TURNER. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1912.)

SCHOLARS owe a debt of gratitude to Mr C. H. Turner for republishing his early essays, and are glad to accept them as a jubilee gift. The

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preface is specially interesting as a fragment of autobiography of an indefatigable worker. Mr Turner shews us how he was led to devote himself to the study of Church History, which he has pursued with such conspicuous success. He dedicates this volume to three great Cambridge workers in his own field, J. M. Neale, Archbishop Benson, and Bishop Lightfoot, and tells us how as a boy of twelve he was gripped by the first named's *Victories of the Saints*, how as a school-fellow of Martin Benson he used to turn over the pages of Dr Mason's *Persecution of Diocletian*, and how at the time of his taking his degree 'I don't think I ever looked forward to the appearance of any book with such feverish expectation as Lightfoot's *Ignatius*'.

Passing from the preface to the essays themselves one feels oneself taken back to days which our younger scholars can scarcely be expected to recollect. The first on the Early Christian Ministry and the Didache published in 1887 takes us almost to the time of the discovery of the last-named by Bryennios in 1883. Mr Turner was at the time of writing in conflict with Dr Hatch, whose Bampton Lectures caused so great a stir, and the second essay on Ancient and Modern Church Organization deals with Hatch's *Growth of Church Institutions and Organization of the Early Christian Churches*. Perhaps the most interesting part of this essay is the discussion of the passage in Epiphanius, *adv. haer.* lxxviii 7, 'Alexandria never had two bishops as other churches had', in relation to the Meletian schism. The third, *Metropolitans and their Jurisdictions in Primitive Canon Law*, transports us to 1889 after Archbishop Benson had delivered his famous Lincoln Judgement. Mr Turner demonstrates pretty clearly that in early times no metropolitan judged a suffragan, but that an assembly of bishops was necessary to pronounce one of their order guilty of heresy. But as Dr King was not condemned but only points of ritual settled which made for the peace of the Church, no very great harm was done by the alleged illegal action of the Primate. Mr Turner is more at home and more interesting when he drops the controversialist and deals with St Cyprian, or with *The Early Chronicles of the Western Church*, both of which papers were well worth reprinting and will be of permanent value in book form. Indeed, the latter part of the volume is all of great interest to the modern student, especially *St John in Asia Minor*; *the Apocalypse*, no. vii, and no. viii *St Clement's Epistle and the Early Roman Church*. Mr Turner has taken pains to correct and modify his early essays by the light of his matured views and increasing learning, and every reader of the volume must thank him for giving us so much interesting matter which might have been overlooked, or, at any rate, not be recognized as the work of his pen.

F. J. FOAKES JACKSON.

Saint Gregory the Great. By SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH. (John Murray, London, 1912.)

WHILST one is inclined to wonder why this volume was written so soon after the publication of Dr Holmes Dudden's exhaustive work on Gregory, it is impossible not to be grateful to Sir Henry Howorth for making it necessary to renew one's acquaintance with one of the most interesting figures in the long history of the Church. The author has evidently a first-hand knowledge of his subject; but although he differs in a few details from Dr Dudden, he follows him closely—not slavishly—and repeatedly acknowledges his obligation to his predecessor.

The Introduction gives a clear and well-ordered account of the history of the sources of the Gregorian letters and literature, and of the later 'Lives' and editions of the works of St Gregory, ending with a just and most needful encomium on the work of Milman, whose *History of Latin Christianity* 'is a book much too little read and appreciated in our day'. On page 16 we are given a map of 'Italy in the Time of St Gregory' which is hardly as satisfactory as the Introduction. Towns like Luna, which are perhaps not mentioned in the book, to say nothing of Civita Vecchia, of which Gregory had never heard, are marked; but one looks in vain for Monte Cassino or Subiaco, places hallowed by association with the pope's ascetic master, St Benedict of Nursia. The book is interesting throughout and eminently readable, but there are a few points which may give rise to discussion. On page 3, for example, does *clarissima femina* mean a 'charming woman'? Is not the adjective a title of honour due to the lady's rank? It is true that a boy in a contemporary inscription in the same church is called *dulcissimus*, but *clarissimus* is a title of honour in the *Notitia* and also in the Justinian code. On page 43 the 'Byzantine Primate (Clementius)' is mentioned without the slightest hint as to who he was. Again, is it fair to say, bearing in mind that Pachomius and Basil both insist on the necessity of monks working, that Benedict introduced a 'new notion' into his rule? On page 126 there is apparently a misprint in the date 601 'two years before Gregory's death' in 604. Is it, again, conclusive that the 'Athanasian' Creed was not in existence because it was not quoted at Toledo in 589, as is stated on page 134? Some explanation should surely accompany the sentence on page 303, 'His (Gregory's) epitaph cited by Bede' (*died* 735) 'has been attributed to Peter Oldradus, Archbishop

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of Milan, and Secretary to Pope Hadrian the First' (*died* 795)? Leo XI on page 216 should be Leo XIII. Finally the title the *Birth of the English Church* on the cover is a little disappointing, as Gregory's missionary labours are promised in another volume which has now, I am glad to see, made its appearance.

The above suggestions are made in no carping spirit, for Sir Henry Howorth's book is both scholarly and able. It is always a pleasure to read of the great pope, who was both a man of his age and a man for all time. The obscurity of the papacy before and after his pontificate is in itself a testimony to Gregory's ability. Who, but a professed student, could tell one anything about almost any pope of the sixth or seventh century except Gregory? For the fourteen years of his rule Rome, impoverished and ruined as it was, was conspicuous throughout the world. For generations after his death the influence of Gregory was felt in the West. In Biblical interpretation, in education, in music, in Church order his authority remained triumphant for centuries. As an ascetic, a man of affairs, a diplomatist, an organizer of missions he was unrivalled. Yet for all his undoubted genius he was a true child of his age, sharing its faults, its superstitions, its narrowness. Yet one cannot but feel that if Gregory had been seated on the throne of St Peter at any other time in history the world would have recognized in him one of the world's true leaders.

F. J. FOAKES JACKSON.

The Churches in Britain before A.D. 1200. By ALFRED PLUMMER, D.D.
2 vols. (Robert Scott, London, 1911, 1912.)

DR PLUMMER has not written for the readers of this JOURNAL. His two volumes are in great part reprinted from a popular Church magazine, and tell a familiar story in a pleasant and clear manner. They are sometimes discursive and sometimes a little homiletical; but the author no doubt knows the needs and tastes of his audience, which includes readers for whom an elaborate refutation of Lightfoot's error concerning the relative importance of the northern and southern contributions to the conversion of England is still necessary. It is a pity that the book, which has had the great advantage of revision by the editor of Bede and the Chronicle, is compiled in part from old-fashioned and even obsolete sources. Recent literature is almost ignored. For Asser we are referred to the Ford Lectures of 1902, an excellent work; but Asser was edited by Mr Stevenson in 1904. The work suffers most on the institutional side. Maitland and Stutz, to mention two great names, are ignored, and the conversion is treated as an isolated phenomenon, without regard to the analogies of early Teutonic Christianity elsewhere. In

fact, the book is best where the most familiar ground is being trodden, and it is always well that our people should be reminded of the beginnings of their Church.

E. W. WATSON.

Life in the Medieval University. By ROBERT S. RAIT, M.A. (Cambridge University Press, 1912.)

IT is now rather more than a quarter of a century ago, that two eminent Continental scholars published the results of lengthened independent research in university history which have since led to much of what had previously been regarded as authoritative in relation to the subject—as contained in the works of such writers as Savigny, Du Boulay, and von Raumer—being practically put aside. It was in the same year, 1885, that Denifle, Assistant Keeper of the Records at the Vatican, published in Berlin his *Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400*; and Friedrich Paulsen, in Leipzig, his *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten vom Ausgang des Mittelalters*, the former embodying much illustrative matter with regard to that fifteenth century which the other, owing to his sudden death, left comparatively untouched. Ten years later, Dr Rashdall, in his *Universities of the Middle Ages*, not only performed the task of making the conclusions embodied in the two foregoing works intelligible to English readers and rewriting a large amount of university history, but also himself contributed an excellent account of the *Universities of Europe* in the fifteenth century—a period which his two predecessors had dealt with only incidentally. At the same time, his own sense of the dignity of his subject was attested by his assertion that ‘the subsequent developement of each of these institutions was determined by, and reveals to us, the whole bent and spiritual character of the age to whose life it became organic’ (*Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* i 5). In the latter portion of his labours, however, he was fain to admit that ‘the condensed treatment of seventy-three universities in 316 pages’ had resulted in rendering his narrative ‘of little interest except for purposes of reference’ (Preface, p. viii), an admission which certainly tends to elicit our sympathy with Mr Rait in the necessity under which he has laboured of still further condensing what was already such highly condensed material. But, notwithstanding, he has succeeded in giving his readers a clear, although necessarily very concise, account of the two ‘great archetypal universities’, as Dr Rashdall designates them, Bologna and Paris. The former of these was largely composed of foreigners, who again were mainly adults intent

on the study of law (to which the Arts course was merely preparatory) and whose first endeavour was to form themselves, for mutual protection, into 'Universitates', which, although originally determined chiefly by considerations of nationality, became absorbed ultimately in the two great divisions of Citramontani and Ultramontani. It is interesting to note that no inconsiderable proportion of these intending lawyers also studied Medicine, a branch of scientific attainment which, as Sir Clifford Allbutt has shewn, was generally comprised in the training of the secular clergy in those days. As the study of the Canon Law advanced, the support which the university afforded to the growing claims of the Papacy was not unrecognized by the Supreme Pontiff, who evinced his gratitude by discouraging the creation of any other 'studium' of law not only in the Papal States but throughout Italy; while the famous 'College of Spain' at Bologna became to a great extent the model for collegiate discipline not only in Italy but also in France and in England. The 'foreigner', again, was dealt with in a singularly sagacious manner. He was in the first instance conciliated by finding that, so long as he continued to be a member of the University, he was regarded as a citizen and possessed a legal status which, when organized plans of self-defence failed, enabled him to claim the protection of the law-courts. When, however, his seven years study as an Artist had been complemented by the requisite course of study in Law, if he aspired to become himself a teacher, it was necessary for him to leave Bologna, inasmuch as, before he could be admitted to the doctorate, he was required to take a solemn oath that he would never seek 'to teach, or attempt to perform any of the functions of a doctor' in Bologna itself (pp. 30-31). In this manner, probably, although Mr Rait does not draw the inference, the formation of an alien national party (whether Lombardic or Roman) within the University itself was effectually held in check.

At Paris the conditions were widely different. The 'Universitas' was a guild, not of students (of whom many were mere boys) but of masters; while all alike were clerics, distinguishable by the tonsure and the clerical garb, and ruled with a rod of iron by the chancellor of the cathedral. It was here, again, that logic first asserted its supremacy in conjunction with Theology, and that Abelard achieved his victory over William of Champeaux. The claim of Oxford to rank as the 'third great archetypal university' is put forward by Dr Rashdall, although he can hardly cite the authority of Denifle in support of the claim. Oxford modelled itself on Paris, and, not being a cathedral city, was fain to elect its own chancellor, while the Roman pontiff designated the bishop of Lincoln as competent to hold a court of appeal should the necessity arise. At Cambridge the bishop of Ely wielded a similar authority; but both in the one case and in the other,

the Pope was held to be the final arbiter of all questions of doctrine or religious discipline, and Mr Rait when stating (p. 47) that 'in the fifteenth century the university of Cambridge freed itself from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction' of the bishop, should have explained that this was only done in order to bring the academic body more into touch with Ultramontane policy. Not less germane to the subject of the Arts course of study is the fact, so clearly pointed out by Dr Rashdall, that a student in that faculty 'would have been as little likely to read the Bible as he would be to dip into Justinian or Hippocrates', and even when in priest's orders he 'was not supposed to know anything of the Bible but what was contained in his Missal and his Breviary' (*Universities of Europe* ii 701). Even a doctor of divinity might be 'grossly ignorant of the New Testament' (*ibid.* 701 n. 3). Such a feature might well have been noticed in Mr Rait's final chapter, 'Subjects of Study', where, however, it is not even mentioned.

On the other hand, the devotion of a whole chapter, entitled 'The Jocund Advent', to the process of initiation at the universities—an occasion on which the newly-arrived freshman, or 'bajan' as he was termed, was not only elaborately bullied but was required to entertain his torturers in return for his maltreatment—seems rather in excess of what was here to be looked for, especially when we consider that the ceremony itself was in no way peculiar to academic life, but was customary in most trades and professions, and in some instances made the occasion for an amount of savage horseplay which proved fatal to the unfortunate neophyte. The Index is somewhat meagre, and should certainly have included such general headings as 'Canon Law', 'Examinations', 'French', 'Lectures', &c. The proceedings of the Rector's Court at Leipzig from 1524 to 1588 seem hardly to belong to mediaeval times, for the repudiation of the Papal jurisdiction, and the Reformation, ushering in new teachers such as Melancthon and Martin Bucer, had, by that time, brought about a marked change both in Germany and in England not only in thought and feeling but also in ceremonial and usage.

J. B. MULLINGER.

Bellarmin avant son Cardinalat, 1542-1598. Correspondance et Documents. Par le R. P. XAVIER-MARIE LE BACHELET, S.J., Professeur de Théologie au Scholasticat d'Ore (Hastings). (Beauchesne, Paris, 1911.)

THIS is a book to make the heart of the historical student rejoice. It contains an admirably edited collection of letters and other documents

illustrative of Bellarmine's life. The letters are 255 in number. They begin with one addressed to Vincent Bellarmine, the father of Robert Bellarmine, by his brother Cardinal Cervini, afterwards Pope Marcellus II, on November 11, 1542, on hearing of the birth of Robert Bellarmine. They end with one from Robert Bellarmine dated March 3, 1599, written immediately after his elevation to the cardinalate to his brother Thomas. Each letter is given in its original language, Italian, French, or Latin. A short summary in French is prefixed to each; and there are excellent notes supplying biographical and other details. Some of the letters are purely personal. Others are of great theological importance, as, for instance, those on matters relating to Holy Scripture and to the doctrine of grace. Many of them have not been published before. An appendix contains many valuable documents, notably Bellarmine's Autobiography printed from the copy written by himself. Altogether, the book is a storehouse of information concerning the years of Bellarmine's life to the time of his becoming Cardinal in 1599. There is an excellent bibliography.

DARWELL STONE.

The Patriarchs of Constantinople. By C. D. COBHAM. (Cambridge University Press, 1911.)

THIS is an interesting, if sad, little book, giving a list, notes, and indices of the 328 patriarchs of Constantinople. Only 137 of them have closed their term of office by natural death, though we must now add to the number Joachim III who, once before deposed, has thus escaped the final 'inevitable deposition' anticipated for him by Mr Fortescue.

The book is fortunately timed. Two introductions, filling three-fourths of it, by the Revs. A. Fortescue and H. T. F. Duckworth, are mainly devoted to a sketch of the patriarchate under the Turks. The management of the chief Christian can have caused them little but a contemptuous smile; they need do nothing but assent to the endless depositions demanded by factious Greeks, and pocket one more investiture fee. Mr Fortescue's bright sketch mentions that the see has had but two great patriarchs—St John Chrysostom and Photius. Must not Gregory of Nazianzus be added, in spite of the extreme brevity of his tenure of the see?

E. MILNER-WHITE.

Puritanism in England. By H. HENSLEY HENSON, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton, 1912.)

THE book which Dr Hensley Henson has published under the above title consists of six lectures, delivered in Westminster Abbey, with the addition of three sermons bearing on the same subject. It would not, of course, have been possible in so short a course to give anything approaching a complete account of the rise and development of a thing so complex as the Puritan Movement, and Dr Henson has wisely confined himself to the discussion of some of the more noticeable phases and aspects of its history, concluding with an account of the Restoration Settlement. It is a method which is apt to invite criticism, for in a rapid survey much is necessarily omitted, conclusions must be boldly stated, and points upon which a difference of opinion exists may appear to receive too summary a treatment. One point, for example, which the author does not seem to me to emphasize sufficiently is the variety of opinion which was commonly embraced under the name of Puritan, for we are sometimes left in doubt as to whether he is using the term of the general attitude of mind with regard to social and religious life, or whether he is using it as distinctive of one particular creed or system. Thus we read that 'it is impossible to understand the later Puritanism, unless the aggressiveness of foreign vice be borne in mind' (p. 51), and again that 'Richard Baxter's feeling with respect to the military sectaries was thoroughly representative of the Puritans' (p. 136). As a general view of Puritanism in its main characteristics, however, the lectures provide a most interesting study, informed by wide reading and reflexion and illuminated with not a few penetrating judgements. The three sermons, to which allusion has been made, are not the least interesting part of the book, and of these the last, in which Dr Henson points the moral of the Puritan history, in relation to some modern tendencies of thought and action, will be found especially suggestive.

G. B. TATHAM.

Methodism. By H. B. WORKMAN. (Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature, University Press, Cambridge, 1912.)

To condense the story of Methodism into the compass of a shilling manual is not easy, and Mr Workman is to be congratulated on his success. The first chapter describes the general conditions of the Eighteenth Century which gave Methodism its opportunity, and here attention is rightly focused on the colonial expansion of Great Britain as accounting for the diffusion of Methodism, which forms, if not 'the largest Protestant Church in the world, certainly the largest Church of the English race, Protestant or otherwise'. After this brief account

of the intellectual and political background, there follows a brilliant sketch of the personal activity of John Wesley and his co-workers. Mr Workman detects 'a curious lack of historical perspective' in the fact that 'Whitefield . . . was for a long time regarded as the head of the revival, compared with whom Wesley was but of secondary importance'. This want of justice in first impressions is neither unparalleled nor unnatural. James Naylor, who fell into fanaticism at Bristol, was at first regarded as the great figure of the Quaker movement, while the significance of George Fox was overlooked. Perhaps, somewhat similarly, John the Baptist for a time overshadowed the prophet of Nazareth in the minds of many. The three remaining chapters deal with the growth of Methodism; with the episcopal form of church-government adopted in America; with the divisions and reunions of Methodist bodies; and with leading characteristics in belief and polity. The sketch as a whole forms a valuable addition to a valuable series.

The Story of the Cambridge Baptists. By B. NUTTER, M.A. (Heffer, Cambridge, 1912.)

THE most valuable section of this readable little book is that devoted to Robert Robinson. It was quite worth while to collect together some of the more striking reminiscences of that truly remarkable man. His encounters with rowdy undergraduates are full of entertainment, and both his courage and independence as a thinker, and his diligence as a farmer, reveal a most interesting character. With the exception of Robert Hall, Robinson is the greatest figure among Cambridge Baptists, and his ministry alone would make their story worthy of record.

H. G. Wood.

HISTORY OF DOCTRINE.

The Heavenly Session of our Lord: an Introduction to the history of the doctrine. By A. J. TAIT, D.D. (Robert Scott, London, 1912.)

THE Principal of Ridley Hall deserves our thanks for his book and the attention he has drawn to a neglected article of the Creed. Perhaps there is not much in his book which has not been already discussed in previous works on the Ascension and Heavenly Life of our Lord: but he raises and considers in detail some points which have been, I believe, almost untouched in recent literature (e.g. whether the Session is to be regarded as the exaltation of our Lord's Manhood or the acknowledgement of His Divinity: or again, whether the present sovereignty of the Ascended Lord, to which

1 Cor. xv 24-28 refers, is dispensational or eternal), and in regard to the subject in general he brings together in forcible manner and orderly array the general facts in support of his main positions, and does so in a spirit of consideration for other points of view and with an absence of controversial tone which many writers both of his own and of the contrary way of thinking would do well to imitate.

The book is divided into two parts: Pt. i on the doctrine of the Session in Holy Scripture, Creeds and Formularies; Pt. ii on the history of the interpretation of the doctrine. The second part consists largely of catenae of passages from the Fathers and later authorities bearing upon various points related to the doctrine of the Session. They need supplementing in several directions. Thus, e. g., passages from Irenaeus and Origen might have been included in the chapter on 'Propitiation' (ch. iii), and the quotations from St Chrysostom balanced by others of an opposite tendency. The same is true also with regard to Oecumenius. (It is interesting to compare Dr Tait's selection of passages with those quoted by Dr Stone, *History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, vol. i chs. ii and iv.) Coming to later periods we find no reference to St Thomas Aquinas (who is mentioned once only and on an extraneous subject); and Dr G. Milligan, whose work on *The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews* is probably the most serious contribution to recent literature in opposition to Dr Tait's main contention, is unnoticed except in a single passing reference.

The chief object of the book, as the author tells us in his Preface, is to bring out the bearing of the Session upon the time and place of our Lord's sacrificial offering. Dr Tait's position, as I understand it, is clear and definite. The Session denotes symbolically that the work of offering is completed: the offering Priest *stands* before the altar, the Royal Priest *sits* upon His Throne because His work of offering for sin is over. Its merits and redeeming power last for ever and are inexhaustible; but the offering itself was 'once for all' completed on Calvary. The Priestly work of our Lord in Heaven consists in His Intercession, which is not to be identified with the act of offering. He pleads by a sacrifice made once for all upon the Cross. So the Session is mentioned in the Epistle to the Hebrews (i 3 and x 12) in direct connexion with the idea of a 'cessation of propitiatory offering' which is involved in it. I hope this rightly represents Dr Tait's position. It has for its corner-stones the two assertions (1) that our Lord's propitiatory offering was made and completed upon the Cross, and (2) that His Priestly work in Heaven is not that of offering for sin but of interceding. In this connexion the question whether the Session represents the exaltation of our Lord's Manhood or the acknowledgement of His Godhead is not without its importance; if it is as God that He sits at

the right hand of the Father, under what forms or figures does the New Testament represent the exercise of the essentially human office of the Priesthood in Heaven?

Objection has sometimes been taken both to Dr Tait's view of the relation between the Cross and the Priestly Offering and to other views on the ground that we have no warrant for introducing into the sacrifice of Christ a time-series, a 'before' and an 'after'. He is 'the Lamb that hath been slain from the foundation of the world' and His Priestly Offering is an eternal offering, a timeless act, not made at any one time to the exclusion of other times. But is not such an objection foreign to the New Testament mind? To speak of the Sacrifice of the Lamb as eternal in the purposes of God, who foreordained it from the foundation of the world, is congenial to Hebrew thought and expression (cf. Micah v 2, Isaiah xxxvii 26). Biblical also is the idea that the redemptive power of the sacrifice extends to all time both before and after: it 'taketh away the sin of the world'. But in what other way can the offering of a sacrifice in which the Crucifixion is a central and essential feature be described as eternal in the sense of being dissociated from any fixed finite limits of time? An *eternal fact* it may be, but not a *timeless act*. The events of Calvary belong to a definite moment in the world's history; the Priestly work in that Sacrifice is linked to the Crucifixion, and therefore enters into the stream of time. The Epistle to the Hebrews repeatedly speaks of it in terms of time (i 3, vii 27, ix 12, 26, x 12). Dr Tait is justified in regarding the Offering as an act that stands in a relation of time to the Cross.

But what is that relation? Was the Priestly Offering concurrent with the laying down of the Life? Are the two identical? Was the Priestly Offering an act for ever finished at the moment when our Lord resigned His spirit into the hands of His Father? Dr Tait would answer 'Yes: the sacrifice must be limited entirely to the Cross: it is there that the Priestly Offering was consummated: there is no Priestly Offering in Heaven' (see e.g. pp. 108, 145). He appeals to the Epistle to the Hebrews in confirmation of this. But in his appeal he leaves out of sight a most important consideration. The Epistle certainly contemplates our Lord as the great High Priest in Heaven: but does it regard Him as such during His earthly life? Does it contemplate a certain time at which He was 'glorified to be made a High Priest'? Students of the Epistle will realize the importance of the answer to this question in its bearing upon the time of the Priestly Offering. That Dr Tait has not so much as once referred to it in the course of his book seems to me to be the gravest defect in his work; in fact, a radical defect. He is confident that according to the Epistle the sacrificial work of our Lord's Priesthood was completed upon

the Cross: but he asserts this without reference to the opinion—and students of the Epistle know what authority there is behind that opinion—that our Lord is said to enter upon His Melchizedekian Priesthood at His entrance into Heaven, viz. at the Ascension. What has Dr Tait to say with regard to this opinion? It is fundamental to his position, and should surely have been dealt with at some length, especially in his chapter on 'Propitiation'. Does he regard the office of the Melchizedekian Priesthood as exercised in its fullness upon the Cross? Or does he believe that our Lord was a Priest after two orders of Priesthood, an Aaronic during His earthly life and a Melchizedekian in Heaven, of which it belonged to the Aaronic to offer the sacrifice for sin, and to the eternal Melchizedekian Priesthood to make intercession in Heaven?

Let us take another point. Dr Tait tells us that the present Priestly ministry in Heaven consists in the Intercession. But where the Epistle to the Hebrews speaks of the work and office of a priest it defines it as 'to offer gifts and sacrifices for sin' (v 1, viii 3). Is there nothing to correspond with this, the only distinctively Priestly work mentioned in the Epistle, in the present work of the Great High Priest for ever?

These considerations will make us pause before accepting the statement that since a Priest 'stands' to offer, the Session excludes the idea of offering. We see, moreover, that in direct connexion with the Session Heb. viii 2 describes our Lord as a *λειτουργός* in the heavenly sanctuary: if this and the Intercession are consistent with the Session, why should not the same be true of 'offering'? It is noticeable that besides the two well-known passages which speak of our Lord as 'standing' in heaven (Acts vii 55, Rev. v 6), St Paul in Rom. viii 34 seems to avoid the ordinary word 'sitteth' in connexion with the Intercession, and says 'who *is* at the right hand of God'. Why should not the ideas symbolized by the postures of session and of standing be both true of the Lord in Heaven: that as He 'sits' to reign and to judge so He 'stands' to succour (Acts vii 55) or to intercede (? Rom. viii 34) or to offer (cf. Rev. v 6)? Or there is another alternative. May it not be true of the Priest-King in contrast with the Jewish Priests, that as 'a Priest upon His throne' (Zech. vi 13) He *sits* both to intercede and to offer?

We can hardly be confident on the ground of the Session alone that the work of offering forms no part of the Heavenly Ministry of our Lord: and Dr Tait does not rely only upon this. He has entrenched himself in a stronger position in the two passages (Heb. i 3, x 12) upon which (in conjunction with his inference from the Session) he bases his case. By way of preface to these two texts let us try to realize the mental associations which the allusion to an 'offering for sin' would awaken in

a Hebrew Christian such as the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews and his readers were. He would be familiar with it from the Levitical regulations in force in the Temple worship at the time. In those sacrifices there were three agents—an offerer, a victim, and a priest. The offerer slew the victim, whose blood was brought to the priest, and it was the priest who ‘made atonement’ by ‘putting’ the blood upon the horns of the altar. Two points emerge: *first*, that the priest *as priest* was not charged with the work of slaying the victim (the apparent exceptions are cases in which the priest was either offerer or represented the offerer); and *secondly*, that the presenting of the blood upon the altar, by which the priest made the atonement, could not be performed until *after* the death of the victim had taken place. The sacrifice was, as it were, a drama in two successive acts. In the first act, the two actors are the offerer and the victim: in the second, the priest and the victim (whose life-blood was its still-living ‘soul’ which had become available for the purpose by death). And it is in the second of these acts that the atonement was made. The first was, indeed, essential to the sacrifice; but the death was not made available for atonement until the priest presented the life-blood upon the altar. Further (and it is here that the Epistle to the Hebrews, and especially ch. ix, links on the New Covenant to the Old), our Hebrew Christian would know that on the Day of Atonement the High Priest made atonement by offering the blood upon the Mercy Seat in the Holy of Holies (Heb. ix 7, cf. Lev. xvi 14–17), where the Presence of God shewed that man could draw nearer to Him than anywhere else on earth. There is no foundation for the idea that the priest came under cover, as it were, of the blood in order to enter the Presence: it was the incense-smoke that served as a veil behind which he might approach (Lev. xvi 13). He entered in order that he might offer: he did not offer in order that he might enter (the ‘through’ blood of Heb. ix 12 must be interpreted by the ‘without’ and the ‘with’ blood to offer in *vv.* 7, 25). And Heb. ix 11 ff, 24 ff draws the closest parallel between this ceremonial and our Lord’s Priestly work. Christ the Priest entered not annually, but once and for all (for the repeated entry would involve the repeated death, as each year the High Priest entered with the blood of a fresh victim) into the tabernacle not made with hands, that is into heaven itself, where is the heavenly reality of the Shekinah, the Face of God (*v.* 24): there not to offer Himself often (*v.* 25) but ‘now (i. e. at this present time) to appear . . . for us’. Is it not clear from this that the Epistle sees in the ‘appearing’ (which it identifies in the next verse with ‘to offer Himself’) the Christian antitype to the Jewish High Priest’s sprinkling of the blood upon the Mercy-Seat, and that he regards the ‘appearing’ as the Priestly Offering in the sacrifice? Dr Tait quotes with approval Dr Westcott’s

saying that 'the conception of Christ pleading in Heaven His Passion, "offering his Blood" . . . has no foundation in this Epistle'. It is true that as far as the language goes the writer avoids the actual expression 'offer His Blood'; and with good reason since there was such obvious danger that his readers would take the words in their literal physical sense. Yet in *vv.* 12-14 he all but uses the very words. So *v.* 12 'nor yet through the blood of goats and calves (i. e. which the High Priest entered the Holy of Holies in order to offer) but through His own blood [Christ] entered . . . into the Holy place' (i. e. in order to offer it): and *vv.* 13, 14 'if the blood of goats and bulls (i. e. offered upon the Mercy Seat if, as is generally agreed, the reference is to the Day of Atonement) . . . sanctify . . . how much more shall the blood of Christ (i. e. offered in the Heavenly Sanctuary) cleanse'. And in *v.* 24 the Christian equivalent to the Jewish sprinkling of the blood upon the Mercy Seat is described in language which is a translation into spiritual terms of the expression 'to offer His Blood', viz. 'to appear before the face of God for us'. The Presence of our Lord before the Father is there described not merely as a 'being present' (*παρεῖναι*), but as an action, a being made manifest, a presenting Himself (*ἐμφανισθῆναι*). The Jewish Priest presented the blood (= the life, the soul or self) of another: this Priest 'appears', i. e. presents or offers Himself as it is described in so many words in *vv.* 14 and 25. In this Sacrifice, the Victim, who *was* also the Offerer upon the Cross, *is* also now the 'Priest for ever' presenting Himself in the Heavenly Holy of Holies. When seen in this light the Session itself, the Presence on the Father's Throne of the Priest-King who is also the Lamb slain but alive for evermore, is in very truth the antitype to the Priestly sprinkling of the blood upon the Mercy Seat, which was called the Throne or footstool of God (*Isa.* vi 1, 2, cf. with *Exod.* xxv 22, 1 *Chron.* xxviii 2, *Ps.* lxxx 1; see Kennedy in *Hastings D. B.* iv p. 665).

It is probable that these thoughts supply the key to the interpretation of certain other passages in the Epistle. For instance, to what does the 'blood of sprinkling' refer in xii 24? The strict Hebrew equivalent for 'to sprinkle' (*זָרַק*), with reference to the atonement made by blood, is rigidly confined in Hebrew sacrificial terminology to the 'sprinkling' of the blood upon the Mercy Seat on the Day of Atonement.¹ The English R. V. frequently but incorrectly translates זָרַק (the ordinary

¹ The only other instances are (1) the 'sprinkling' upon the altar in the offering of a pigeon for a sin-offering (*Lev.* v 9: an abnormal offering); (2) the 'sprinkling' of persons in consecration of the unclean (the restored leper or leprous house *Lev.* xiv 17, 51) or consecration to Priesthood (*Lev.* viii 30, *Ex.* xxix 21); (3) the 'sprinkling' towards the curtain in an ordinary sin-offering for priest or people (*Lev.* iv 6, 17; cf. *Num.* xix 4). Of these only the first applies to the application of blood to the altar with the object of making atonement.

word for 'pouring' the blood against the altar in burnt-, peace-, and trespass-offerings) by 'sprinkle', but in so doing it obliterates a very important distinction which is carefully observed in the Hebrew and also in the LXX version. Heb. ix 19 translates the P^L of Exod. xxiv 6, 8 by ἐπαύριον (as against the LXX προσέχειν and κατασκεύασεν), and so it is possible that the 'sprinkling' in xii 24 refers to the blood sprinkled upon us (cf. also x 22). It is not certain, therefore, that the sprinkling implied is that upon the Heavenly Mercy Seat. But we notice that the 'blood' in xii 24 is the blood as offered in a sacrifice (i. e. presented upon the altar), for the comparison is drawn between Abel's sacrifice by the faith of which 'he being dead yet speaketh' (see xi 4), and the blood of sprinkling which speaketh better than Abel (not 'than that of Abel', i. e. Abel's blood, as R. V.). And if this is so, the sprinkling upon the Mercy Seat is regarded as a *present* reality in the heavenly Jerusalem.

Again, to take another instance. What is the meaning of the 'altar' in xiii 10? It is an altar from which we are fed 'by grace, not by meats' (v. 9): an altar from which the Jewish priests have no right to eat, for when the High Priest offered the sin-offering for himself and the people on the Day of Atonement he was forbidden to eat of the body of bullock or goat (v. 11) as the priest was permitted to do when he offered an ordinary sin-offering for another. But in the Christian sin-offering we Christians, by a right reserved for priests under the Law and forbidden even to them in their chief sin-offering, are fed continually from the altar. Have we not here a present Heavenly Altar and a continual offering upon It from which we are ever being fed?

To take another passage. When we read Heb. x 19-25 in the light of Jewish ideas and particularly of the ceremonial on the Day of Atonement, can we resist the conclusion that the picture before the writer's mind is that of the veil of the Temple drawn back, the Holy of Holies opened for our admission, the 'Great Priest over the House of God' engaged in His Priestly work of 'offering gifts and sacrifices' and of ourselves as priests prepared for their ministry (v. 22; cf. with Ex. xxix 4, Lev. xvi 4) 'drawing near' behind Him to unite with His offering by the offering of ourselves in daily life (v. 24) and corporate worship (v. 25)?

I venture to plead that these thoughts should be the context by the light of which we ought to approach the two passages, Heb. i 3 and x 12. It would be ideas such as these that the Jewish writer and his Jewish readers would have in the background of their minds—the Priest whose work began when the offerer's work (i. e. the death) was finished (why should the person of the offerer as distinct from that of the priest be omitted from our ideas of Christ's sacrifice?), the Priest by whose work (and not by the offerer's, although the death was absolutely essential as the basis of the Priest's work) the atonement was made, the High Priest

who once each year *after* the death of the victims entered the Holy Place in order to offer their blood and so made atonement, the Jewish Priest between whose work and that of the 'High Priest of the good things to come' the parallel is drawn so closely in order that its great contrasts may be shewn forth. If it was with these associations that the writer and his first readers would approach the consideration of the Christian sacrifice, scientific principles of interpretation demand that we should try to do the same if we would understand his meaning. But Dr Tait shews no sign of having taken this Jewish background of the Epistle into consideration. He approaches the passages in question not merely in detachment from their original Jewish context, but with a context supplied by the theological controversies of a later date.

What then are we to understand to be the relation between the Cross and the Priestly Offering implied in Heb. i 3, x 12? Other passages quoted by Dr Tait from the Epistle (e. g. vii 27) are not difficult to interpret in the light of the perpetual Heavenly Offering. But Dr Tait is right in regard to these two texts: the case is different here. True, it is possible as far as grammar is concerned to see in the ποιησάμενος . . . ἐκάθισεν of i 3 another instance (such as Westcott notices in ii 10, ix 12 and several other places in the New Testament) of an aorist participle used to describe an action that synchronizes with the main verb. In this case the Vulgate *faciens* is not a mistranslation. The verse would then be an expression of the Heavenly Offering as concurrent with the Session. But although this is possible, I think that only a partisan commentator would care to press it without more support from the general sense of the passage. And then he would have to face the other passage (x 12), where the aorist participle προσενέγκας with ἐκάθισεν stands in too strong a contrast with the present participle λειτουργῶν with ἕστηκε in the previous verse to be translated in the same way. It is not the case, however, that i 3, x 12 necessarily limit the Priestly work to the Cross. On the contrary, these verses would be naturally taken by a Jew to mean that the offering was made by the High Priest immediately upon His entrance into the Heavenly Sanctuary, and then being completed was followed by His Session. This would bring these verses into line with ch. ix, where the order of Sacrifice contemplated in both Covenants is undoubtedly (1) the Death, (2) the Entrance, (3) the Priestly Offering. There is nothing in i 3, x 12 which is inconsistent with the idea that the scene of the Priestly Offering was Heaven and its time the Ascension. When once we have been able to rid our minds of the clinging assumption—an assumption foreign to the Jewish mind—that the offering of a sacrifice began and ended with the death of the victim, and to realize that to a Jew the priest's offering of

the blood was just as integral to the sacrifice as the death of the victim through which the blood was obtained and made available for offering; when, that is, we have put ourselves into the position of the Hebrew Christian with whose mental presuppositions we are here concerned, this interpretation of i 3, x 12 over and above its consistency with other parts of the Epistle becomes natural and, indeed, inevitable. It does not detract from the preciousness or the power of the Death upon the Cross: on the contrary, it involves and demands the all-sufficiency of the work of Calvary. The Blood of Jesus is what it is and can effect what it effects only because it is the Blood of the Lamb who died.¹

The difference then between the two passages i 3, x 12 and the other passages mentioned above is not that the former contemplate a Priesthood (in the sense of a sacrificing Priesthood) exercised upon the Cross only to the exclusion of a Priesthood exercised in Heaven contemplated by the latter. It is rather that they contemplate two different ideas of the Priestly Offering in the Heavenly Sanctuary. Heb. i 3, x 12 regard the Offering as a momentary act accomplished at the High Priest's Entrance and followed by the Session. Other passages in the Epistle regard the Offering as beginning from the Entrance and continuing for ever. This is the idea which underlies the doctrine of the eternal Priesthood with the terms of the Priest's commission 'to offer gifts and sacrifices for sin', and which is stated in passages such as viii 2 ('a minister of the sanctuary'), ix 24, and also in the most natural and probable (though not undisputed) interpretation of viii 3 which supplies ἐστὶ with the ἀναγκαῖον 'it is necessary that this High Priest also have somewhat to offer' (so with the R. V.: the aorist subj. προσενέγκῃ is not inconsistent with this meaning).² And, further, it is clear that in

¹ Dr W. Milligan (*Resurrection of our Lord* pp. 290-304) reminds us that to a Jew the very word 'blood', in its sacrificial connexion, suggested the altar-transaction (i.e. the priestly work subsequent to the victim's death) rather than the moment and act of slaughter. At the same time the consummation of the death was the basis and condition of the presentation of the blood. Dr Milligan applies this idea to the passages which speak of man as cleansed or saved or redeemed by the Blood of Jesus, shewing how to the Jewish mind this would naturally fall into line with the conception of the Heavenly Offering.

² A further argument in favour of the continual offering is derived from the consideration of the permanence of our Lord's Humanity. The duty of self-oblation belongs to the essence of man's relation to God. It is not limited to that relationship as it exists under the conditions of earthly life. Although the form of the offering may be different in Heaven from the form it takes during the time of earthly probation, yet to offer himself, soul and body, to the Creator is the essential acknowledgement of the creatureliness of the creature. If our Lord in Heaven wears our human nature, it befits that nature that He should offer Himself in it continually to the Father. Some kind of continual offering is involved in the

the Epistle this perpetual Offering by the Heavenly High Priest is an integral part of His 'sacrifice for sin'. It is the offering of the Blood which was shed on Calvary. And the same truth holds also with regard to the other idea, the offering completed with the entrance into the Heavenly Sanctuary. In both cases the Death upon the Cross is succeeded by the Priestly Offering in Heaven. In the One Sacrifice are included the Cross, the Entrance, and the Priestly Offering. Together they compose the One Sacrifice of Christ in contrast with the many deaths, the many entrances, and the many offerings of the repeated sacrifices under the Old Covenant. From the point of view of the completed Offering this Sacrifice is one in the sense of a finished act belonging to a time past and gone; not, however, in the sense in which Dr Tait might use the same words, for it includes the Heavenly Offering as well as the Cross. From the point of view of the Perpetual Offering the Sacrifice is one in the sense that in it the Priestly Offering is not a series of repeated acts but one unceasing action. The Presence of our Lord before the Father is in Itself the act of offering, for It is not merely a being present but an active work, a presenting of Himself. There is a difference between the two points of view. To what does it amount? Does not either view represent an essential truth: the completed Offering that the Sacrifice is perfect and never needs at any further time or in any further way an as yet unfulfilled perfection, and the perpetual Offering that the Priest is indeed the 'Priest for ever', whose Priesthood ceases not until the end of the world, when He shall leave the Sanctuary and 'appear a second time' to the waiting faithful without the veil? And is there any essential contradiction between the two? or in either any derogation from the work of the Cross and the saving Blood?

S. C. GAYFORD.

Études de critique et d'histoire religieuses, 3^{ème} série. By E. VACANDARD.
(Lecoffre, Paris, 1912.)

THIS volume is a collection of essays which have appeared in the *Revue du clergé français*. They have been edited and enlarged for the present edition, and one chapter on 'The cult of the images of the Saints' has been added. The subjects dealt with are four in number,

Humanity of the Ascended Lord. It may be an offering which is not conditioned by human sin, a self-dedication such as man might have offered had he never sinned. But though not necessarily a propitiatory offering, yet it would be in a true sense an offering. Dr Tait does not, as far as I have observed, allude to any besides a propitiatory offering. But with the belief in a perpetual offering in Heaven of a sinless Humanity, an offering not propitiatory, but dedicatory, such as seems to be suggested in Heb. x 5, he would perhaps agree.

H h 2

'The festivals of Christmas and the Epiphany', 'The sources of the cult of the saints', 'The sources of the feast and the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception', 'The question of ritual murder among the Jews'. In dealing with these subjects M. Vacandard shews the same qualities which characterize his earlier volumes of 'Studies'. His method is that of careful examination of texts and authorities and clear and exact statement of the evidence. On the history of the festivals of Christmas and Epiphany he says little that is new. He discusses the various suggestions which have been made to explain the dates assigned to these festivals, and describes the later observances associated with them. He rejects the passage in Hippolytus's *Commentary on Daniel*, which fixes the date of the birth of Christ as December 25, as a later interpolation, and he accepts, though without discussion, the view which assigns the *Peregrinatio* of 'Silvia' (or Etheria) to the sixth century.

The chapters of the book which will probably be read with greatest interest are those which deal with the Cult of the Saints. M. Vacandard has largely drawn upon the admirable work of P. Delehaye (*Les légendes hagiographiques*, Bruxelles, 1905), but he has also brought together much interesting information from other sources. Liturgical students will find in it much useful matter that bears on the history of the Kalendar, while students of comparative religion will be helped, with these facts before them, to estimate the amount of truth there is in the contention of M. Saintyves and other writers that 'the saints are successors of the gods'.

In the third essay M. Vacandard has sifted the evidence for the history of the festival and the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. His discussion of the passages in Augustine and Anselm is specially deserving of attention for its judicious and impartial interpretation of the texts.

The concluding essay on 'The question of ritual murder among the Jews' has a topical interest in view of the recent revival in Russia of the charge of ritual murder. It traces the history of the question through the Middle Ages to the present time, and shews how Kings and Popes have constantly examined and refuted such charges. The essay deserves to be more widely known and circulated at the present time.

Die Sakramentenlehre des Wilhelm von Auvergne. By Dr Ziesché.
(Ambr. Opitz, Vienna, 1911.)

THIS work scarcely calls for notice as a contribution to the historical study of doctrine, nor do I think that the writer's somewhat dry and

formal method of treatment will commend it to the reader. Dr Ziesché keeps closely to the text of his author, and makes no attempt to shew the relation of his teaching to that of other schoolmen, or to estimate exactly the contributions which he made to the doctrine of the Sacraments. A book with the latter aim would render useful service, as William of Auvergne has a real interest for the student of scholastic doctrine. As a book of reference, however, the present work may prove of use to future students.

J. H. SRAWLEY.

La Théologie de Bellarmin. Par J. DE LA SERVIÈRE, S.J., Professeur d'histoire ecclésiastique au Scholasticat d'Ore. (Beauchesne, Paris, 1908.)

THIS book is one of the volumes in the useful series entitled *Bibliothèque de Théologie Historique*, published under the direction of the theological professors at the Institut Catholique. It is a very good example of the careful elaborate work which has been produced in recent years by French ecclesiastics. As a full and accurate account of the theological and ecclesiastical tenets of Bellarmine it leaves little to desire, and may be heartily commended to those who need a guide to Bellarmine's own writings, or wish for information about them in French. Some attempt is made to place the system of Bellarmine in relation to the events and thought current in the sixteenth century; but in appreciating these the book is distinctly weaker than as an exposition of Bellarmine himself.

D. STONE.

THE DECRETUM GELASIANUM.

Das Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis in kritischem Text herausgegeben und untersucht von ERNST VON DOBSCHÜTZ (T. & U. vol. xxxviii). (J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1912.)

SCHOLARS often refer to the Gelasian Decretal and they sometimes quote it. But it may be questioned whether many have ever read it as a whole. They are content to know (I quote from Westcott *On the Canon*, 5th ed., p. 453) that 'Credner has examined at great length the triple recension of the famous decretal *On Ecclesiastical Books*. His conclusion briefly is that (1) In its original form it was drawn up in the time of Gelasius, c. 500 A.D. (2) It was then enlarged in Spain, c. 500-700 A.D. (3) Next published as a decretal of Hormisdas (Pope 514-523 A.D.) in Spain, with additions. (4) And lastly variously altered at later times'.

The *Decretum Gelasianum* consists of five chapters :

- I. About Christ and the Spirit.
- II. List of Canonical Books.
- III. About the three chief Sees : Rome, Alexandria, Antioch.
- IV. List of Books to be received.
- V. List of Apocryphal Books.

In 1794 F. Arevalo, the editor of Sedulius, started the theory that the first three of these five chapters were really the decrees of a Roman Council held a century earlier than Gelasius, under Damasus, in 382 A.D. Certain MSS seemed to give this earlier document separately, and Arevalo's conclusions have been widely accepted, notably by Maassen and Zahn. Readers of this JOURNAL will remember that in vol. i pp. 554-560, Mr C. H. Turner edited from four MSS of the eighth and ninth centuries the text of these first three chapters with the title of 'The Roman Council under Damasus'. On this theory the 'Damasine' List is the earliest Conciliar Western List of the Canonical Books, a List, in fact, two years earlier than the publication of the first instalment of the Latin Vulgate. It had been Professor v. Dobschütz's intention to publish the Damasine and Gelasian forms side by side (i.e. I, II, III and III, IV, V, c. III being common to both), but in the course of his investigation he came to very different conclusions. According to v. Dobschütz all five chapters belong to the same original work, which is no genuine decree or letter either of Damasus or Gelasius, but a pseudonymous literary production of the first half of the sixth century (between 519 and 553).

There can, I think, be little doubt that v. Dobschütz has made out his case. The really decisive point is that in I 3, in the part most directly associated with Damasus, there is a quotation of some length from Augustine in *Joh. ix 7* (*Migne*, xxxv 1461).¹ As Augustine was writing about 416, it is evident that the Title *Incipit Concilium Urbis Romae sub Damaso Papa de Explanatione Fidei* is of no historical value.

The proof that the document is not a real Decretal of Gelasius or any other Pope is almost as decisive, if not quite so startling. In the first place v. Dobschütz makes it clear (p. 213) that the shorter form I-III implies the longer form,² and therefore is derived from it. Further, the short form III-V, which was supposed to contain the genuine decree of Gelasius, turns out to be a recension of the whole work, in which the phrases which refer back to I and II have been carefully suppressed or altered (p. 214). This recension appears to

¹ The passage is printed *J. T. S.* i 556 f, ll. 23²-27 : v. Dobschütz, p. 245 f.

² Chap. II, title, *post haec quid vitare debeat* implies a list of rejected Books, such as chap. V.

have been made in Gaul in the seventh century (p. 399): that known as Hormisdas, containing II-V, is a Spanish recension, but the Spaniard Isidor used chap. I, in fact he is the earliest witness to the work. Had it been an official decree of Gelasius it would have been known and used by Dionysius Exiguus and Cassiodorus.

Thus these famous Lists represent no Papal ordinance, but are the production of an anonymous scholar of the sixth century. He must have been a fairly well-read man for that time and shews a good acquaintance with the writings of St Jerome, but v. Dobschütz does not believe that he had read, or even seen, most of the 'Apocryphal' books which he condemns (pp. 333-334). For various reasons the work can hardly have been compiled in Africa or Spain, and Gaul is on the whole unlikely: 'es bleibt für den Ursprung des Dokuments nur Italien übrig' (p. 350). Certainly the description of the last book in the N. T. as *Judae Zelotis apostoli epistula una* makes for N. Italy or Gaul, the only evidence for the apostle Judas Zelotes coming from those regions. In Matt. x 3, in the place of Thaddaeus, *Judas Zelotes* is found in *a b g h q ga^{corr} mm*, and the Mosaics of the great Baptistry at Ravenna (fifth century).¹ So far as I know there is no evidence for this name from Africa, Spain, or the British Isles.

A word should be said in conclusion upon the amazing mass of detail collected by Prof. v. Dobschütz and the clearness with which he has presented it. He has used eighty-six manuscripts, besides six (class *D'*) which contain the text in a second recension. To make this vast quantity of material intelligible he has first printed the full original text with only the real variants of the 'Gelasian' recension at the foot of the page. This leaves room for a clear indication of Biblical references and for the *incipits* and *explicitis* of the several recensions. After this he repeats the text line for line with full apparatus, excluding only the spelling of the Proper Names, which are given separately in alphabetical order. Praise is often bestowed on our German fellow-workers for industry and fault found with their style, but very few Frenchmen or Englishmen would have marshalled the vast and unwieldy army of authorities so skilfully as is done in this book. It is a work that should be studied by all editors of much-copied texts.

F. C. BURKITT.

¹ A relic of this confusion no doubt survives in the coupling together of St Simon and St Jude for purposes of commemoration.

BELLARMINE AND THE VULGATE.

Bellarmin et la Bible Sixto-Clémentine: Étude et documents inédits ;
par le R. P. XAVIER-MARIE LE BACHELET, S.J., Professeur de
Théologie à Ore Place, Hastings. (G. Beauchesne & Cie, Editeurs,
Paris, 1911.)

THE claims and the fate of the Sixtine edition of the Vulgate form one of the most puzzling chapters in the history of literature. The Latin Bible published in 1590, under the auspices of Pope Sixtus V, was prepared with extreme care, and printed at the special Press established in the Vatican ; it was accompanied by the famous Bull 'Aeternus ille', which declared it to be the very edition authorized by the Council of Trent, and enjoined its use, both in public and in private, upon all members of the Catholic Church ; no word or particle in it was to be altered, and the severest penalties were threatened on those who bought or sold copies varying from this standard edition. On the 27th of August, 1590, Sixtus died ; Urban VII, Gregory XIV, and Innocent IX followed in rapid succession, but by the beginning of 1592 Clement VIII was seated on the throne, to reign for thirteen years. By the end of his first year as many copies as possible of the Sixtine Bible had been recalled and destroyed, and a new edition issued. This was accompanied by a *Praefatio ad Lectorem*, written by Bellarmine, and asserting that Sixtus himself had detected many inaccuracies in the printing of his Bible, and had determined to bring out a new edition ; he had been prevented by death, and thus it had fallen to his successor, Clement, to complete his work. And, indeed, the new edition was for some years boldly printed as a Sixtine Bible ; the name of Clement does not appear upon the title-page till the next century.

It must be confessed, however, that we have no additional testimony to this change in Sixtus's mind ; in no other document is there any sign of his having felt qualms as to the accuracy of his edition. Nor does Bellarmine's explanation agree with the facts ; the Clementine Bible is less carefully printed than the Sixtine, and the difference between them is really one of *text* ; the later edition represents a revised text based upon different manuscripts. Scholars, therefore, have been somewhat sceptical as to the truth of Bellarmine's statements ; but in any case there is a difficulty ; for either the Cardinal penned a falsehood, or the Pope publicly made the most lofty claims and then, when he found they were unjustified, withdrew them so secretly that the world never knew of it till after his death.

An explanation was soon put forward : it was alleged that, as a matter of fact, the Bull 'Aeternus ille' was never formally published. Bellar-

mine himself asserted this on the authority of certain Cardinals, who assured him of it on his return from Paris in November 1591; others repeated the assertion; and the awkward fact that the Bull was attested by the regular signatures of the *cursores* was got over, by a certain Father Azor, on the ground that these had been printed 'in anticipation' by Pope Sixtus's orders.

This apology is now revived by M. le Bachelet, and supported by a number of contemporary documents, some of them published here for the first time, and of the highest interest. The Pope, he believes, in his impatience to get the Bible out, actually ordered the certificate of publication to be affixed to it six weeks before the earliest date at which it could appear; then ensued the discovery of misprints and other faults, the correction of which took up time; and then Sixtus was seized by an illness which terminated fatally before the Bible and its accompanying Bull had been formally published. It is still somewhat suspicious that in his autobiography Bellarmine describes the circumstances of the Clementine edition at some length, but says not a word as to Pope Sixtus's intended action. Yet M. le Bachelet is convinced that Bellarmine's account in the *Praefatio* is correct; mainly, however, because he regards it as inconceivable that a man of such high character should have uttered such a deliberate untruth, and that two successive Popes should have given their sanction to it.

M. le Bachelet's book had seen the light for about six months when a very vigorous and racy monograph on the same subject appeared from the pen of a German scholar, Mgr Baumgarten.¹ He takes the other side and, we are bound to say, completely demolishes the case which M. le Bachelet has so laboriously built up. It is to Mgr Baumgarten that the honour belongs of having discovered the original copy of the Sixtine Bull, and of having fixed its date to March 1, 1590; he gives us a careful reprint of it, line for line, in his book. But he does more: he, too, has printed a mass of contemporary evidence, and shewn that Sixtus never dreamt of recalling the Bible at which he had worked so hard and so long, and that it was Bellarmine who was persuaded of the necessity for a new edition, and fabricated the excuse that he was acting under the last directions of Sixtus in bringing it out. He maintains that the very passages from the autobiography cited by le Bachelet prove that Bellarmine knew that the Pope had really published the Bible, and that the faults in it were due not to the printers but to Sixtus's own critical mistakes; he has even given us a special excursus on the methods of publishing Papal Bulls, from which it is clear that to affix the signatures of the *cursores* to a Bull which was not straightway

¹ Die *Vulgata Sixtina* von 1590, und ihre Einführungsbulle: Aktenstücke und Untersuchungen: von Paul Maria Baumgarten. (Münster i. W., 1911.)

promulgated, let alone never promulgated at all, would be an offence of the gravest order against Roman discipline.

We shall look with interest to the answer which M. le Bachelet may make to Mgr Baumgarten ; at present the honours rest with the latter.

H. J. WHITE.

SYRIAC FORMS OF PROPER NAMES.

The Syriac Forms of New Testament Proper Names (from *The Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. v). By F. C. BURKITT, Fellow of the Academy.

THE purpose of Professor Burkitt's valuable paper is stated on p. 5 : 'When Westcott and Hort discuss the breathings to be assigned to New Testament Proper Names such as Ἀλφᾱῖος, they talk about "the authority of the Syriac (*Introd.*, § 408)". It is one of the chief objects of this Paper to find out in what exactly the "authority" of the Syriac consists.'

For obvious reasons the forms of Greek and Latin names do not enter into the enquiry. Where we naturally turn to the Syriac for help is in those cases in which 'the proper name in Greek is itself only a transliteration or adaptation of a Semitic word'. How far can we trust the Syriac to restore the original Semitic form of such names?

A second category is eliminated from the discussion by the following observation : the Peshiṭta revision of the early fifth century left unaltered, for the most part, those forms of Semitic names which were found in the Old Syriac version, and probably in the Diatessaron ; so that where *syr. vet.* fails we may with general safety rely on *Pesh.* to give us the original Syriac forms. Now these authorities (*syr. vet.* and *Pesh.*) shew us that 'the general practice of the translator of the New Testament into Syriac . . . was to give the Old Testament equivalent for the Proper Names, as far as this could be done' (p. 4) : a fact which forces us to regard the O. T. Peshiṭta as older than the earliest N. T. Syriac version.

'What needs investigation are the rarer names, names of persons that do not appear to have been familiar to Syriac-speaking folk, and names of places for which we can hardly suppose that the natives of Edessa, or even of Antioch, could have had special appellations' (pp. 4-5). In dealing with these names the Syriac translator had two courses open to him : (1) to transliterate the Greek form as he found it ; (2) to decide on some appropriate equivalent. Thus Καϊάφας, or

Kaíphas, is transliterated, and has the initial *qōph* which regularly stands for Greek *kappa*; but *Kῆφᾱς* is 'translated' into the Syriac word for *stone* (because it was understood that 'St Peter's name was *Simon Stone*'), and so has initial *kāph*. Similarly 'Bēth Phaggē' ('Place of Unripe Figs') for Bethphage, and 'Bēth Šayyādhā' ('Fisherman's Town') for Bethsaida, are retranslations, though they may also involve local identification.

Some of these local identifications are to be explained 'by the rise of local Palestinian Christian traditions, fostered by the rise of Christian pilgrimage' (p. 24): such are 'Gergesenes' and (at Joh. vi 40) 'Bethabara'. In the case of these and other names, it is not to be assumed that the Syriac translator derived them from Origen: Origen's etymologies differ from those presupposed by the Syriac; and both alike rely on local tradition.

An example of a Syriac identification which never influenced non-Syriac tradition is 'Kātnē' for Cana.

In the case of Jairus, the Syriac translator has not recognized that the Greek form is the same as that of a name in Esth. ii 5, where the Hebrew is Jair, and he wrongly turns the name into 'Yoārāsh'.

The cases of 'Nazareth', 'Nazarene', and 'Bethesda' offer special difficulties, and are examined at length. Professor Burkitt argues with force that the Syriac 'Nāṣreth' and 'Nāṣrāyā' could not stand for the Semitic originals of *Naṣarēt* and *Naṣarḗnōs* (with their variant forms), since Semitic *ṣ* is invariably represented by Greek *σ*, not by *ζ*. The Syriac form Nāṣreth is due to mistaken identification with a town of that name, and Nāṣrāyā is its adjective. As for the Greek form of the name, Professor Burkitt suggests with hesitation that like 'Dalmanutha' and 'Boanerges', it may have arisen from a literary error, and that 'we ought to consider the possibility that the city of Joseph and Mary, the *πατρίς* of Jesus, was *Chorazin*'. Not that 'Nazarene' is to be regarded as an adjective derived from 'Chorazin': it was probably connected with the Semitic root *NZR*, and with the Nazarite vow. It is suggested (but as 'a desperate conjecture') that the term was applied to our Lord and His followers as a nickname—'this odd sort of Nazarite', who drank wine and touched the dead.

The difficulty I feel about accepting Professor Burkitt's explanations here is this: If from the fact that 'no such place as Nazareth is mentioned in the Old Testament, in Josephus, or in the Talmud' (Cheyne, quoted p. 17), we conclude that there *was* no such place, and conjecture that the home of our Lord may have borne a name so different as 'Chorazin': then it strikes me as a very remarkable coincidence that, somewhere about the end of the second century, the Syriac translator of the Gospels was able to find a town in Galilee the name of

which differed from the corrupt 'Nazareth' only by the quality of a single letter. Suppose that in our Gospels the name was spelt *Naṣarépēth*: should we then find any such difficulty in accepting the identification supplied by a second-century topographer? And is it after all impossible that the name was originally spelt *Naṣarépēth* (or the like) in the Gospels, and that at Mt. ii 23 it was precisely the Semitic spelling of the name that gave the prophecy its fulfilment—our Lord being not a Nazarite, but the 'Branch (*neṣer*) from the root of Jesse' spoken of by Isaiah in one of the most suggestively messianic passages of the Old Testament? In Mt. ii 23 'Nazarene' is apparently connected with the name of the town 'Nazareth'; and Professor Burkitt points out, that our Lord was in no sense a legal Nazarite; nor is there any attempt on the part of the Evangelists to represent Him as such. I find it difficult either to disconnect 'Nazarene' from 'Nazareth' or to make *Naṣarépēth* entirely independent of 'Nāṣreth'.

Ephraim Syrus, who knew the town as 'Nāṣreth', was able to find out that our Lord's abode there proved Him to be the 'Neṣer'. But so soon as the written Gospels came among those who were ignorant alike of Palestinian topography and of the Hebrew tongue, and could know nothing of any connexion between *Naṣarépēth* and the 'neṣer' of Is. xi 1, was it not inevitable that Mt. ii 23 should be interpreted by reference to such a passage as Jud. xiii 5, and that the Dweller of *Naṣarépēth* should become the 'Nazarene' (in the sense of Nazarite), and the name of the town itself became by consequence 'Nazareth'? Such a 'correction' of the mere spelling of the names would, it appears to me, result very naturally from the only interpretation which a Greek-speaking Christian could possibly find for Mt. ii 23; and its extension to other passages would follow as a matter of course. With diffidence, and subject to correction from those more competent to pronounce on such a matter, I would suggest that the spelling 'Nazareth' is an early error of *transmission*, due to the cause just specified. Not, of course, that the Syriac translator found the spelling *Naṣarépēth*: but that he rightly identified the *place* originally so called.

Professor Burkitt is on much surer ground, it seems to me, in identifying Bethesda with the quarter of Jerusalem which Josephus calls *Βεζεθά*, and explains as τὸ νεόκτιστον μέρος: which points to the Aramaic *Biz'ēthā*, 'The Bit cut off'.

This important study ends with three Appendices, (i) on 'Alphaeus, Agabus, Hebrew', (ii) on 'Capernaum, Capharnaum', (iii) on 'Greek Z for Hebrew ṣ'.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, January 1913 (Vol. lxxv, No. 150 : Spottiswoode & Co.). The Royal Commission on Divorce—ACADEMICUS The position and future of the Church of England—J. S. PRINGLE Japanese Buddhism in relation to Christianity—C. C. J. WEBB Benjamin Webb—H. KELLY The rise and course of Scholasticism—L. W. KING Israel, Greece, and Babylon—E. HOLTHOUSE Dante and Ben Sira—FOSTER CUNLIFFE The Welsh Disestablishment Bill—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, January 1913 (Vol. xi, No. 2 : Williams & Norgate). VISCOUNT HALDANE The Civic University—BISHOP OF CARLISLE Marriage and Divorce—A. M. INNES Love and the law in the East—E. THORPE Joseph Priestley—P. T. FORSYTH Intellectualism and faith—G. COORE Modernism and the Catholic consciousness—H. WALKER Are 'the brains behind the labour revolt' all wrong?—C. G. MONTEFIORE Modern Judaism and the Messianic hope—D. F. HARRIS Consciousness as a cause of neural activity—H. A. OVERSTREET The democratic conception of God—R. S. NOLAN Social service. No. 6 : The needs of discharged prisoners—Discussions—Survey of recent literature—Reviews.

The Expositor, January 1913 (Eighth Series, No. 25 : Hodder & Stoughton). G. A. SMITH The experience of Balaam as symbolic of the origins of prophecy—J. DENNEY Christianity and the historical Christ—V. BARTLET The historic setting of the Pastoral Epistles—A. E. GARVIE The religious aspects of the Doctrine of the Trinity as presented in the New Testament—A. S. LEWIS Dr Vogels on the Old Syriac Gospels—H. A. A. KENNEDY St Paul and the mystery-religions : 8. Sacramental meals—E. C. SELWYN The oracles of the discourse at Jacob's well—J. MOFFATT Exegetica.

February 1913 (Eighth Series, No. 26). C. LATTEY Alexander the God—H. A. A. KENNEDY St Paul and the mystery-religions: 9. Conclusions—W. M. RAMSAY Suggestions on the history and letters of St Paul—M. H. F. COLLIS An analysis of the Sermon on the Mount as given in the first Gospel—V. BARTLET The historic setting of the Pastoral Epistles—E. C. SELWYN The oracle of the Lord in Isaiah xxxii—J. R. CAMERON The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

March 1913 (Eighth Series, No. 27). W. B. SELBIE The Christian spirit and the modern world—J. R. CAMERON The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ—E. W. WINSTANLEY Did Jesus speak of Himself as Judge?—M. JONES The Apostolic Decrees in Acts xv: a compromise or a triumph?—V. BARTLET The historic setting of the Pastoral Epistles—W. M. RAMSAY Suggestions on the history and letters of St Paul—J. MOFFATT Exegetica.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, January 1913 (Vol. xvii, No. 1: Chicago University Press). E. TROELTSCH The dogmatics of the 'Religionsgeschichtliche Schule'—E. C. MOORE The Liberal movement and missions—H. P. SMITH The laying-on of hands—S. J. CASE The nature of primitive Christianity—Critical Notes—Recent theological literature—Brief mention—Books received.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, January 1913 (Vol. xxx, No. 1: Abbaye de Maredsous). G. MORIN Un ouvrage restitué à Julien d'Eclanum: le commentaire du Pseudo-Rufin sur les prophètes Osée, Joël et Amos—A. WILMART *Le Comes* de Murbach—P. LIEBAERT Règlement d'avouerie en faveur de l'abbaye de St-Denys en France—U. BERLIÈRE Les évêques auxiliaires de Liège (*suite*)—G. MORIN De quelques publications liturgiques récentes (*Liber mozarabicus Sacramentorum* par D. M. Férotin; *L'Eucharistie* par D. P. Cagin; *Aegyptische Abendmahls-liturgien* par Th. Schermann; *La prière 'pro Iudaeis'* et *Quelques remarques sur d'anciens sacramentaires* par L. Canet)—A. WILMART Nouvelles remarques sur le feuillet de Besançon: Description du ms 184—Comptes rendus—Notes bibliographiques.

Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses, January–February 1913 (N. S. Vol. iv, No. 1: Paris, 62 Rue des Écoles). A. LOISY Les

mystères païens et le mystère chrétien—L. COULANGE Le Christ et Paul—A. LOISY Sociologie et religion—*Chronique bibliographique*: I Philosophie de la religion; II Psychologie religieuse; III Histoire des religions: ouvrages généraux—*Faits et documents contemporains*.

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, January 1913 (Vol. xiv, No. 1: Louvain, 40 Rue de Namur). G. KURTH Étude critique sur la vie de sainte Geneviève—E. VYKOUKAL Les examens du clergé paroissial à l'époque carolingienne—E. LESNE La dîme des biens ecclésiastiques aux IX^e et X^e siècles (*suite, à suivre*)—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, October 1912 (N. S. Vol. vii, No. 4: Paris, 20 Rue du Regard). S. GRÉBAUT Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine: III Traduction du Qalémentos (*suite*)—F. NAU La version syriaque de l'histoire de Jean le Petit (texte syriaque et traduction française)—L. DELAPORTE Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits coptes de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris (*suite*)—M. CHAÎNE Une homélie de saint Grégoire de Nysse traduite du copte, attribuée à saint Grégoire de Nazianze—J. BABAKHAN Essai de vulgarisation des *Homélies métriques* de Jacques de Sarong—S. GRÉBAUT Un miracle de Notre-Seigneur—Bibliographie—Courtes notices.

Analecta Bollandiana, January 1913 (Vol. xxxii, No. 1: Brussels, 22 Boulevard Saint-Michel). G. KURTH Un poème en l'honneur de saint Edmond de Cantorbéry—M. ESPOSITO La vie de sainte Vulfhilde par Goscelin de Cantorbéry—C. VAN DE VORST La translation de S. Théodore Studite et de S. Joseph de Thessalonique—H. DELEHAYE Le culte des Quatre Couronnés à Rome—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques—Appendice: U. CHEVALIER *Repertorium hymnologicum*: addenda et corrigenda fol. 3-5 (pp. 33-80).

(4) GERMAN.

Theologische Quartalschrift (Vol. xcv, No. 1: Tübingen, H. Laupp). BELSER Der Opfercharakter der Eucharistie—GAUGUSCH Staat und Kirche nach Dantes Schrift 'de Monarchia'—SÄGMÜLLER Eine Decretale des Papstes Paschalis II über das Verbot der Ehe innerhalb des siebennten Grades—GSPANN Der Mensch als Abbild des inkarnierten Logos—WEBER Zweierlei Apostelverhandlungen über die Stellung der Heidenchristen zum Mosesgesetz—Rezensionen—Analekten.

Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte (Vol. xxxiv, No. 1: Gotha, F. A. Perthes). STOCKS Quellen zur Rekonstruktion des Petrusevangeliums

—PAHNCKE Ein Grundgedanke der deutschen Predigt Meister Eckeharts
—BÜNGER Ein Dominikaner-Provinzialkapitel in Luckau (1400)—
LEHRMANN Die Erstveröffentlichung von Bedas Psalmen-Gedichten—
CLEMEN Beiträge zur Lutherforschung—MENTZ Ein unbekannter
deutscher Brief Leo Judäs—SOMMERFELDT Übertragung des Pietismus
von Halle a. S. nach Löbenicht-Königsberg—HASENCLEVER Eine öster-
reichische Denkschrift über Friedrich Wilhelm IV und seine Kirchen-
politik (Juni 1840)—Nachrichten.

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DOCUMENTS

THE COMMONITORIUM OF FULGENTIUS OF RUSPE ON THE HOLY SPIRIT.

THE tractate printed below was found by me in the same Paris manuscript, B. N. lat. 653 (written at the very beginning of the ninth century in Northern Italy), from which I have already printed various fragments, some of them at least by Pelagius.¹ The copy below is taken from photographs of the MS, the cost of which was defrayed by the Revision Surplus Fund at Oxford. My MS was then revised with the original by Mr John Fraser of Aberdeen University. The MS contains a very considerably expanded recension of the commentary of Pelagius on the Epistles of St Paul. The compiler seems to have desired to preserve various pieces that were in his possession by incorporating them at more or less appropriate points. After giving the genuine Pelagian comment on 1 Thess. v 23 *Ipse autem deus pacis sanctificet uos*, which is *qui omnes sustinet etiam blasphemantes*, our tractate is introduced with no other introduction than the word *aliter*.

I have called it a tractate, because the use of the word *lector*, as the person addressed (p. 487), shews that the work is not a sermon. It consists of a very able collection of proof texts on the divinity of the Holy Spirit, carefully arranged and connected with one another by clauses or sentences shewing their bearing on the subject. The style is very simple and plain. Students of the history of Christian doctrine will, I think, agree with me that it is the lost 'commonitorium parvisimum' on the Holy Spirit by Fulgentius of Ruspe (about A.D. 518: cf. the *Vita* c. 48).

¹ *Proceedings of the British Academy* vol. ii pp. 435-439 (= 27-31); *Journal of Theological Studies* vol. xii (1910-1911) pp. 34 f. Prof. Friedrich Loofs, of Halle, kindly communicated to me that the latter is an extract from the third book of Pelagius's *De Libero Arbitrio*: see now his article 'Pelagius' in the second *Ergänzungsband* of Herzog-Hauck's *Real-Encyclopädie* (1913).

The language harmonizes with that of the known works of Fulgentius : so does the biblical text. It will not be without interest to shew this fact at some length. Certain New Testament quotations agree with the Vulgate, but others are quite different. It would seem that the author used an Old Latin Bible, and not the Vulgate. The illustrative material could be increased by any one who has a suitable library at hand.

Matt. xii 28 (p. 484) **daemonia** = *k b ff² g¹*

xxviii 19 (p. 486) **ite baptizate omnes gentes** in nomine etc.

It is interesting to see this free quotation repeated in the identical words. So also twice at least in Fulgentius (Migne *PL*. lxxv 500 B, 714 D). The *ite* belongs to the Old-Latin as a whole.

Luc. i 15 (p. 484) **om.** adhuc = *b*

i 35 (p. 484) **—** sanctus spiritus : unique? **te** = *e b (ff²)*

xi 20 (p. 484) **autem** = O.L. *versus* Vulgate porro (a clear instance).
autem = *a c d*, *sed* = *b ff²* **ego** = *c d*

Ioh. iii 5 (p. 485) **add.** **sancto** = *a ff² m*

6 (p. 485) **de** (1^o) } *a b e ff² m q* **add.** **quia deus spiritus**
de (2^o) } *est ff² m*

viii 18 (p. 483) **dicit** = (*a*)

xv 26 (p. 483) **de** : Nouat. Hier.

xvi 27 (p. 483) **de** patre **prodiui** : unique?

xvii 17 (p. 483) **add.** **pater** : Victorin. (?) Ambr. **add.** **tua** :
unique, in this position, among Old-Latins?

Act. v 4 (p. 485) **—** hominibus mentitus = Fulgent. 309 A, Ambst.

vi 3 (p. 484) **testimonium habentes** = (*p t*)

xx 28 (p. 483) **constituit** = Vigilius, Fulgentius **ad regen-**
dam (cf. *m*) **domini** = *d e gig p* Lucif. Ambst. Hier.

Rom. viii 9 **add.** **fratres** : unique?

i Cor. i 30 (p. 483) **—** nobis sapientia = only late Latin evidence,
e. g. *Z₂* (ed. Buchanan)

vi 11 (p. 483) **om.** **quidam** = many, which however read *quidem*.
om. sed iustificati estis = *m* Iren. $\frac{2}{3}$ Tert. Cypr. $\frac{1}{2}$ codd. etc.
om. **nostri** = *d* Iren. $\frac{2}{3}$ Tert. Cypr.

xii 3-8 (p. 485) **om.** **loquens** = *d g* etc. **dominum Iesum** =
d g m etc. **autem** = Iren. **uero** = ? *om.* **quidem** = ?
— datur per spiritum = Ambst. Ps-Hier. *om.* **autem** = ?

Eph. iv 5 (p. 486) **—** unum baptisma una fides : unique?

i Ioh. ii 1 (p. 483) **peccauerimus** = Didymus, Vigil.-Thaps. *ter*
Fulgent. *om.* **Christum** = ?

Quod autem eiusdem sit sanctus spiritus cuius pater et filius substantiae, ex hoc absolutissime perdocetur quod quaecumque pater uel

filius, eadem etiam facere spiritus sanctus ostenditur. Sanctificat sine
 dubio pater secundum illud apostoli: IPSE AUTEM DEUS PACIS SANCTI-
 FICET UOS PER OMNIA; et dominus in euangelio: PATER SANCTIFICA
 EOS IN TUA UERITATE. Hoc etiam filius facere perhibetur: QUI
 FACTUS EST INQUIT NOBIS apostolus SAPIENTIA A DEO ET IUSTITIA ET 5
 SANCTIFICATIO ET REDEMPTIO. Idem et sanctus spiritus agere declara-
 tur: ET HAEC INQUIT apostolus FUISTIS, SED ABLUTI ESTIS, SED SANCTI-
 FICATI ESTIS IN NOMINE DOMINI IESU CHRISTI ET IN SPIRITU DEI
 NOSTRI. Constituit dominus ad praedicandum apostolos. Hoc etiam
 sanctus spiritus fecisse monstratur, quod ab apostolo dicitur: ATTENDITE 10
 UOBIS ET UNIUSO GREGI, IN QUO UOS SPIRITUS SANCTUS CONSTITUIT
 EPISCOPOS AD REGENDAM ECCLESIAM DOMINI. Habitare dicitur in suis
 deus pater, ut apud Esaiam: ET HABITABO IN ILLIS ET INTER EOS
 AMBULABO. Hoc etiam filius: HABITARE INQUIT apostolus CHRISTUM
 PER FIDEM IN CORDIBUS UESTRIS. Idem etiam de sancto spiritu 15
 indicatur. NESCITIS, ait apostolus, QUIA TEMPLUM DEI ESTIS ET
 SPIRITUS DEI HABITAT IN UOBIS? De patre prodisse filius dicitur:
 EGO DE PATRE PRODIUI. Hoc et spiritus sanctus: SPIRITUS, INQUIT,
 QUI DE PATRE PROCEDIT. Pater de filio testimonium apud homines
 perhibet. Ipse filius ait: TESTIMONIUM DICIT DE ME QUI MISIT ME 20
 PATER. Hoc et sanctum spiritum facere indicat dicens: CUM AUTEM
 UENERIT PARACLYTUS QUEM EGO MITTAM UOBIS A PATRE, SPIRITUM
 UERITATIS QUI A PATRE PROCEDIT, ILLE TESTIMONIUM PERHIBEbit DE
 ME. Aduocatus noster filius dicitur: SED ET SI PECCAVERIMUS, INQUIT
 sanctus Iohannes apostolus, ADUOCATUM HABEMUS APUD PATREM IESUM. 25
 Hoc et de sancto spiritu indicatur: NAM QUID OREMUS, ait apostolus
 Paulus, SICUT OPORTET NESCIMUS, SED IPSE SPIRITUS POSTULAT PRO
 NOBIS. In ueritate pater dirigit secundum illud Dauiticum; DIRIGE
 ME IN UERITATE TUA, QUIA DEUS MEUS ES TU. Hoc etiam sanctus
 spiritus facere perhibetur: CUM AUTEM UENERIT, INQUIT dominus, ILLE 30
 SPIRITUS UERITATIS, DOCEBIT UOS [IN] OMNEM UERITATEM. Pater
 bonus dicitur: CONFITEMINI DOMINO QUONIAM BONUS. Hoc et filius:
 EGO SUM, INQUIT, PASTOR BONUS. Idem etiam spiritus sanctus: SPIRITUS
 TUUS BONUS, ait Dauid, DEDUCE ME IN UIAM RECTAM.

Iam sufficere quidem poterant quae de sancto spiritu dicta sunt, 35

- | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|-----------|-----------------|------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. sanctificat] | sanctificati | cod. | 2. apostuli | cod. | 1 Thess. v 23 | 3. Ioh. |
| xvii 17 | 4. 1 Cor. i 30 | | 7. 1 Cor. vi 11 | | 9. n̄ ex ūi, ut uid., cod. | |
| apostulus | cod. (corr.) | | 10. quod] | quam | cod. an quum | legendum? |
| cod. | Act. xx 28 | 13. Esai. | inter] | in | cod. (i exp.) | 14. Eph. iii 17 |
| iii 16 | 18. Ioh. xvi 27 | | et ex | est | cod. | Ioh. xv 26 |
| cod. | Ioh. viii 18 | m̄isit | cod. | | | 20. perhibetur |
| 24. 1 Ioh. ii 1 | 26. Rom. viii 26 | | 28. Ps. xxiv 5 | | | 30. Ioh. xvi 13 |
| 31. uos] | uob | cod.* | 32. Ps. cv 1 | | est | cod.* |
| cxlii 10 | | | | | | Ioh. x 14 |
| | | | | | | 33. Ps. |

quandoquidem et esse eum et idem quod pater et filius efficere posse monstrauiamus; sed propter eos qui illum creaturam potius quam substantiam dei esse pertinaci mente contendunt, adhuc pauca dicenda sunt.

- 5 Primum quidem quaerendum ab his est qui sanctum spiritum esse creaturam uolunt, si qua creatura, cum una eademque sit, multos possit indiuisa complere, sicut de sancto spiritu scriptum esse non dubium est, ut de beati Iohannis baptistae† in euangelio Lucae: ET SPIRITU, inquit, SANCTO REPLEBITUR EX UTERO MATRIS SUAE, et Elisabeth repleta est
10 spiritu sancto, et spiritu sancto repletus est Zacharias, et apostolus INPLEMINI inquit SPIRITU. Item in Actibus Apostolorum: CONSIDERATE ERGO FRATRES UIROS EX UOBIS TESTIMONIUM HABENTES SEPTEM PLENOS SPIRITU, et multa his similia sunt, quibus sanctus spiritus uno eodemque tempore multos replese monstratur. Quod
15 si facere nulli creaturae possibile est, non ergo est sanctus spiritus creatura.

Quaerendum nihilo minus est si qua creatura digitus dei dicatur, quo† si spiritum sanctum digitum dei dici scriptura testatur, unde consubstantialis esse dinoscitur. Nam cum in euangelio Matthei
20 dominus dixisse referatur: SI AUTEM EGO IN SPIRITU DEI EICIO DAEMONIA, et in alio dixisse de hoc ipso referatur: SI AUTEM EGO IN DIGITO DEI EICIO DAEMONIA, dei spiritum digitum dei esse non dubium est. Quod si de nulla dici conuenit creatura, nec consubstantialis deo esse intellegatur. Non igitur est sanctus dei spiritus creatura.

- 25 Creatorem quoque sanctum spiritum legimus, ut ad beatam Mariam angelus, cum ab eo qualitatem suae pollicitationis exigeret, id est quonam modo posset cum esset uirgo generare: SANCTUS inquit SPIRITUS SUPERUENIET IN TE, ET VIRTUS ALTISSIMI OBUMBRABIT TE, ostendere uolens in creatione assumti hominis efficientiam etiam sancti
30 spiritus adfuturam. Simile est et illud quod in psalmo continetur: AUFERES SPIRITUM TUUM AB EIS ET DEFICIENT ET IN TERRAM SUAM REVERTENTUR. EMITTIS SPIRITUM TUUM ET CREABUNTUR ET INNOUABIS FACIEM TERRAE. Qua de re, etiam si creator esse sanctus spiritus comprobatur, quod nulla creatura esse cognoscitur, non est
35 sanctus spiritus creatura.

Inmensus quoque esse sanctus spiritus exinde monstratur, quo etiam DEI PROFUNDA SCRUTARI refertur. Certe inmensus esse deus creditur, inmensus procul dubio et ille est qui eius scrutatur arcana. Quod

8. *nix puto* beato Iohanne baptista *esse legendum*: *inmo credo aliquod uocabulum excidisse* Luc. i 15 9. cf. Luc. i 41 10. cf. Luc. i 67 11. Eph. v 18 apostolorum *cod.* Act. vi 3 20. Matt. xii 28 21. Luc. xi 20 27 possit *cod.* essit *cod.* Luc. i 35 inquit *cod.* 29. sanctus *cod.* 31. Ps. ciii 30 37. cf. i Cor. ii 10

si nullae hoc competit creaturae, id est ut immensa esse existimetur, non igitur est dei spiritus creatura.

Deum quoque eum esse certissimum est dicente domino ad Nicodemum: QUOD NATUM EST DE CARNE CARO EST, ET QUOD NATUM EST DE SPIRITU SPIRITUS EST, QUIA DEUS SPIRITUS EST. Sed ne quis hoc 5 de patre uel filio et non de sancto spiritu proprie dictum esse contendat, diligenter quam ob causam hoc ipsum dicatur inspiciat. Cum Nicodemo dominus disputabat, qui nasci hominem denuo non posse dicebat; cui dominus: NISI QUIS RENATUS FUERIT INQUIT EX AQUA ET SPIRITU SANCTO NON POTEST INTROIRE IN REGNUM DEI, et subiunxit: QUOD 10 NATUM EST DE CARNE CARO EST, ET QUOD NATUM EST DE SPIRITU SPIRITUS EST, QUIA DEUS SPIRITUS EST. Illum procul dubi(o) deum dixit, de quo superius hominem nasci oportere dixerat. Hoc etiam in Apostolorum Actibus non obscure depromitur, ubi ad Ananiam dicitur: QUUR TEMPTAUIT SATANAS COR TUUM MENTIRI TE SPIRITU 15 SANCTO? et subsequitur: NON ES HOMINIBUS MENTITUS SED DEO. Quem hic alium deum dixisse existimabitur, nisi cui ante dictus primum perhibetur esse mentitus?

Dominum quoque et deum eum dici non dubium est, apostolo contestante, ubi ait: NEMO IN SPIRITU DEI DICIT ANATHEMA IESU ET 20 NEMO POTEST DICERE DOMINUM IESUM NISI IN SPIRITU SANCTO. DIUISIONES AUTEM GRATIARUM SUNT, IDEM UERO SPIRITUS, ET DIUISIONES MINISTRATIONUM SUNT, IDEM AUTEM DOMINUS, ET DIUISIONES OPERATIONUM SUNT, IDEM UERO DEUS, QUI OPERATUR OMNIA IN OMNIBUS. UNI CUIQUE AUTEM DATUR MANIFESTATIO SPIRITUS AD 25 UTILITATEM: ALII DATUR PER SPIRITUM SERMO SAPIENTIAE, ALII SERMO SCIENTIAE SECUNDUM EUNDEM SPIRITUM, et cetera usque ad eum locum quo ait: HAEC AUTEM OMNIA OPERATUR UNUS ATQUE IDEM SPIRITUS DIUIDENS SINGULIS PROUT VULT. Cum idem totiens repetit, de uno eodemque omnia se dixisse, ut claret, ostendit, et tam deum 30 quam dominum sanctum spiritum nuncupasse.

Et ut magis ac magis eluceat eum (cum) patre ac filio unius esse substantiae, ille de sancto Esaia promendus est locus quo ait: UIDI DOMINUM SABAOth OCULIS MEIS. Quod de patre dictum esse plerique existimant: Iohannes tamen euangelista de filio id fecit 35 intellegi, ubi de Iudaeis ait: PROPTEREA NON POTERANT CREDERE QUIA ITERUM DIXIT ESAIAS: EXCAECAUIT OCULOS EORUM ET INDURAUIT EORUM COR UT NON UIDEANT OCULIS, et cetera usque ad eum locum

4. Ioh. iii 6	8. cf. Ioh. iii 4	9. Ioh. iii 5	10. subiunxit <i>cod.*</i>
Ioh. iii 6	12. dubi <i>cod.</i> cf. Ioh. iii 5	15. Act. v 3	<i>ueri simile est</i> spiritui
<i>esse legendum</i>	16. Act. v 4	19. apostulo <i>cod.</i>	20. I Cor. xii 3-8
28. I Cor. xii 11	32. cum <i>om. cod.</i>	34. Esai. vi 5	36. Ioh. xii 39

quo ait: HAEC DIXIT ESAIAS, QUANDO UIDIT GLORIAM EIUS ET LOCUTUS EST DE EO. Quod tunc factum esse non dubium est, cum se dominum sabaoth uidisse testatus est, et hoc quod sanctus Iohannes ad filium rettulit, beatus apostolus de spiritu sancto intellegendum esse significat
 5 in Actibus Apostolorum ita dicens: BENE SPIRITUS SANCTUS LOCUTUS EST PER ESAIAM PROPHETAM AD PATRES NOSTROS DICENS: UADE AD POPULUM ISTUM ET DIC: AURE AUDIETIS ET NON INTELLEGETIS ET UIDENTES UIDEBITIS ET NON PERSPICIETIS, et reliqua.

Numquidnam sibi scriptura sancta contraria est? Minime. Sed
 10 quia patris et filii et sancti spiritus uoluntas una est una deitas una substantia, de tribus personis intellegi in commune potest etiam quod ab una dicatur effectum. Quod euidentius illo euangelico testimonio conprobatur quod dominus ait: ITE BAPTIZATE OMNES GENTES IN NOMINE PATRIS ET FILII ET SPIRITUS SANCTI. Et in Actibus Apostolo-
 15 rum in nomine tantum filii apostolos baptizasse non dubium est. Quid ergo? inmemoresne aut transgressores praecepti dominici extitisse credendi sunt? absit; sed quia sciebant patris et filii et sancti spiritus unam esse substantiam, et quia nouellis ac rudibus filii nomen insinuari crebrius oportebat, absque aliquo fidei damno et dominicum praeceptum
 20 custodiunt, dum in uno trinitatem esse substantiae unitate confidunt, et solum filium nominando quod illius ratio temporis exigebat efficiunt.

Illud uero diligentius peruidendum est, quid causae fuerit ut in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti baptismi mysterium praeciperetur impleri, si patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum non eiusdem intellegi-
 25 mus esse naturae. Dicit namque apostolus: UNUM BAPTISMA UNA FIDES. Quo modo 'unum baptisma', si hae personae, in quarum nomine celebrari iubetur, unum non sunt, cum necesse sit illud tam diuersum esse quam ipsarum personarum, per quas consummari creditur, diuersae uidebuntur esse substantiae, uel quo modo 'una fides' est, si
 30 non uni deo debetur? Quo modo autem uni debetur, si non una deitatis substantia dicitur esse, sed plures? Haec namque fides nostra est, quam de diuinarum scripturarum fontibus atque apostolicis traditionibus manasse non dubium est, qua confitemur patrem et filium et sanctum spiritum unius esse deitatis, unius aeternitatis, unius omni-
 35 potentiae, unius essentiae (et) unitam indiscretamque substantiam personarum tantum proprietate distingui. Nam et pater semper pater est, et filius semper filius est, et spiritus sanctus semper spiritus sanctus est. Numquam pater filius nec filius umquam pater, nec spiritus sanctus aliquando aut filius aut pater, sed semper patris ac filii spiritus,

1. Ioh. xii 41 3. uidisset *cod.** 5. apostolorum *cod.* Act. xxviii
 25 7. intellegitis *cod.* 9. Num quinnam *cod.* 13. cf. Matt. xxviii 19
 14. apostolorum *cod.* cf. Act. ii 38 etc. 16. inmemoresine*aut *cod.* 25.
 apostulus *cod.* cf. Eph. iv 5 31. prures *cod.** 35. et *om. cod.*

iuxta illud apostoli : UOS AUTEM FRATRES IN CARNE NON ESTIS SED IN SPIRITU, SI TAMEN SPIRITUS DEI HABITAT IN UOBIS : SI QUIS AUTEM SPIRITUM CHRISTI NON HABET, HIC NON EST EIUS.

Diligenter, quaeso te, lector, attende quod quem superius dei, id est patris, spiritum dixerat, eundem inferius esse dicat et Christi. Quod hac ratione eum dixisse non dubium est, ut tam substantiam patris et filii unitatem, ex hoc etiam quo eundem spiritum eam habere doceret exprimeret, quam etiam ipsum sanctum spiritum, cum patris ac filii esse asserit, nec patrem nec filium esse monstraret, neque alterius substantiae quam patris ac filii, dum patris ac filii spiritus esse indicatur, ostenderet. 10

Neque enim nos ut Sabellius unam eandemque personam tribus nominibus designamus, sed secundum nominum proprietatem etiam personas accipimus. Quod ita se habere multis licet scripturarum testimoniis declaratur, tamen illud praecipue quod iam superius usi sumus ostenditur : ITE BAPTIZATE OMNES GENTES IN NOMINE PATRIS ET FILII ET SPIRITUS SANCTI. Non enim dixit 'in nomine patris filii spiritus sancti', quod eum dixisse conuenerat, si non tam tres personas tria nomina quam tria nomina unam nouerat optinere personam. Coniunctione uero 'et' post 'patris' nomen tam filii quam sancti spiritus interponendo, satis aperte haec nomina non unius sed trium personarum esse monstrauit. 15

Hoc etiam illo ostenditur loco quo dominus baptizatus esse legitur ac super eum post baptismum in columbae specie spiritus sanctus descendisse perhibetur, et ueram uocem sonuisse de caelo HIC EST FILIUS MEUS. Agnosce in uoce patrem, agnosce in eo qui baptismum consecutus est filium, agnosce et spiritum sanctum per columbam ut nequaquam iam unam trium nominum personam sed unam trium personarum credas esse substantiam. 25

Sed dicit aliquis : 'Quo modo unum deum habere te dicis, cum tres personas te non neges confiteri? Quidni confitear non secundum diuersitatem substantiae sed secundum personarum distinctionem? Et quo modo, inquires, quamuis in eadem substantia, unum possunt esse, si tres sunt, quod sint secundum auctoritatem scripturarum credere mihi necesse est? Quo modo autem uel qualiter id ipsum sint nefas est quidem quaerere : quae scripta sunt credere debeo, non quae sunt scripta discutere. Scriptum enim mihi est unum deum esse et praeter eum alium non habendum, et solum illum adorandum, solique ab omnibus seruiendum. Et scriptura illa quae mihi unum deum praedicat eadem tam filium quam spiritum sanctum in suis proprietati-

1. apostuli *cod.* Rom. viii 9 4. quod quem] quodque *cod.* 14. declara-
tur *cod.* 15. cf. Matt. xxviii 19 18. coniunctionem *cod.* 19. sancto
spiritu *cod.* 24. descendisse *cod.* Matt. iii 17 25. ac nosce *cod.* 30.
quinni *cod.*

bus ut patrem honorandum, et eiusdem cuius pater est esse substantiae secundum iam superius edita probamenta demonstrat. Quid aliud agere me conuenit quam secundum substantiam unitatem credere, quia secundum personas distinctionem non audeo denegare. Lego patrem deum, lego dominum, lego creatorem: hoc et filium, hoc etiam et spiritum sanctum: nusquam alterius esse substantiae quam pater est lego, nusquam creaturas. Quid inueniri iniquius potest quam simpliciter me credere nolle quod lego, et praesumptiue credere uelle quod non lego?

A. SOUTER.

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE TESTIMONY OF IGNATIUS AND POLYCARP
TO THE APOSTLESHIP OF 'ST JOHN'.

I SHALL assume in this article that there died about the end of the first century a great leader of the Asian Churches of the name of John ; that the theology which finds its expression in the Johannine Gospel and Epistles was formulated by him ; and that he exercised a profound influence upon the mind of Ignatius. This influence I illustrated in the January number of this JOURNAL.¹ The point which I now set out to prove is that Ignatius and Polycarp imply that this John was the son of Zebedee. I maintain that these two witnesses whom Schmiedel examines briefly in *Enc. Bib.* 2511 when cross-examined give evidence against the view for which he and others claim their support.

My first point is suggested by a criticism on my previous article. If Ignatius was acquainted with St John's writings, how was it that he does not refer to him in letters addressed to the Johannine Churches? The objection was stated in a more definite form by Pfleiderer, who held that if Ignatius had known St John's Epistles he must have used them in his conflict with Docetism.

I might reply that the objection disproves too much ; for, if it is valid, it disproves the great influence of St John on the mind of Ignatius, and this is a *reductio ad absurdum*. But though this reply is sufficient, the difficulty is a real one. One might have expected Ignatius to appeal to the great protagonist, and to cite his condemnation of docetic error. If, then, in the course of this article I can adduce grounds for thinking that Ignatius was probably understood by his readers to be appealing to a pronouncement of St John on this subject, there will be a presumption, indeed a strong presumption, in favour of my reasoning.

I. We now turn to the thesis that John of Asia was the apostle, and we notice in the first place the authority which the theology of St John possessed for Ignatius, and also the fact that Polycarp accepts St John as a trustworthy witness for promises of Christ which are not recorded by the Synoptists, and quotes him as he would quote the apostles and their companions. Ignatius, who had a profound respect for apostolic authority, reveals himself to us as having a no less profound respect for St John's teaching. In the opinion of the two bishops he was a teacher of the very highest authority, and ranked in their minds with

¹ *Journal of Theological Studies* vol. xiv No. 54 p. 207.

St Peter and St Paul. It is not easy to believe that he was no more than an older contemporary whom they greatly venerated.

II. On p. 207 we examined the special motive which suggested the allusions to St Peter and St Paul, and I pointed out that Ignatius made just such a reference to St John as we might have anticipated in a letter addressed to the Church of Ephesus. In *Eph.* 11 he desires 'to be found in the company of those Christians of Ephesus who moreover were at all times of one mind with the apostles'. Here the words 'at all times' prohibit a limitation of the reference to St Paul. Again, it is inconsistent with the context to suppose that the agreement of the Ephesians was with the apostolic doctrines and ordinances. Ignatius is not praying that he may remain like the Ephesians orthodox; for it would never occur to him to utter such a prayer. His prayer is that he may remain like them steadfast under persecution (cf. *Apoc.* ii 3). This is more explicitly expressed in the words which follow: 'Ye are associates with St Paul in whose footsteps I fain would be found treading.' With what other apostles were the Ephesians associated? The answer is suggested by *Rev.* i 9. St John was a 'fellow-sufferer' with the Asian churches. We may add that the word *συνήνεσαν* (or *συνῆσαν*) suggests personal intercourse rather than loyalty to apostolic decrees.

III. Our letters form, with the non-Pauline Asian documents contained in the Canon, a single group which were occasioned by the same controversy and are closely related. We have already discovered that the thought of St John, whose influence dominates the earlier and canonical documents of this group, dominates Ignatius and influences Polycarp. Any contrasts, therefore, that we observe between the earlier and the later documents demand careful consideration. We observe, then, three points, which are prominent in the polemic of Polycarp and Ignatius, but are absent from the Johannine Epistles. (1) The latter say nothing of the Eucharist as a bond of unity. We must go to St Paul and not to St John, for the doctrine of the 'one loaf'. (2) The attack on the faith had become an attack on its discipline, but 1 and 2 John are silent as to the authority of the ministry which St John was reorganizing (cf. 3 John and *Ap. Const.* vii 46, *Eus. H. E.* iii 23 § 6). (3) There is no appeal in the epistles to the tradition as apostolic, and the letters of the Apocalypse which reflect his handling of the Nicolaitan uprising are also silent on this point.

These contrasts become much more impressive when we examine our evidence carefully. The apostles are to Ignatius 'a college' (*Trall.* 3), which is the Christian 'Sanhedrin' (*Trall.* 3, *Mag.* 6, *Philad.* 8) and legislates for the Christian dispersion (cf. 1 Pet. ii 11, James i 1). This college is 'the presbytery of the church' (*Philad.* 5), i. e. the body which stands in the same relation to the whole Church as the local

presbytery to the local church. The position of Ignatius is that of Clement, who insists upon the apostolic origin of the ministry whose authority he is sustaining, and, like Ignatius, emphasizes the position that the apostles were sent by Christ as Christ by God (1 Clem. 42-4). Polycarp ranks the injunctions of the apostles with those of the Lord and the prophets. We shall find below a reason why we must not press this passage, but when every deduction is made it is still significant.

When we turn to the Johannine books we find that, as we have seen, the position of these fathers was derived from St John. The Gospel narrates the great commission, *As the Father hath sent me so send I you*; in a section of the Apocalypse which is saturated with St John's teaching the New Jerusalem is built upon the foundation of the apostles (xxi 14). We turn, then, to the Epistles in which St John opposes himself, at one of its most critical moments, to the Nicolaitan revolt against the apostolic code, and on the assumption that he was not an apostle we expect him to make explicit and apply his doctrine of apostolic authority as the leaders of the Church who followed him applied it. If we hold that the son of Zebedee had visited Asia, or that his teaching lies in some way behind the Gospel, the confidence of our expectation is increased. We are astonished, then, to find that in the Epistles there is not a solitary allusion to the apostles. St John says nothing about the sacrament of unity, nothing about the Christian ministry, nothing about the apostolic tradition. How can we account for this threefold silence? The hypothesis that St John was a mystic, to whom matters ecclesiastical were indifferent, is quite impossible.

One hypothesis will explain the three silences. Throughout the epistles, and especially in the exordium of the first, St John is asserting his own apostolic authority. The apostolic commission and testimony, *that which was from the beginning*, is represented in his own person. In his person the Asians are linked with the first days. He knows that he is in communion with the historic and risen Christ, and with parental tenderness and authority he bids his children be in communion with him. The persistent note of authority which is overheard, rather than heard, in the Epistles is the more impressive because it is only implicit. St John assumes that his authority is unquestioned and unquestionable by those Asians who are loyal to the Christian tradition. When we compare his letters with those of his younger contemporaries we conclude that it was unquestionable because he was an apostle.

Our inference is confirmed when we compare the exordium of 1 John with its parallels. In the Epistle St John writes, 'That which we have seen . . . declare we also unto you that ye also may have fellowship with us, and truly our fellowship is with the Father and His Son Jesus Christ'.

The words bear a close resemblance to the great commission (John xx 21) where, as Christ is the speaker, the order descends. Our inference that St John is asserting his official position is confirmed by Ign. *Eph.* 5, 'I congratulate you that ye are so closely attached (to your bishop) as the Church to Jesus Christ and as Jesus Christ to the Father, that all things may be in unity'. The parallel with 1 John is even more clear when we observe that 'unity' is the Ignatian substitute for 'communion' in the citation of 1 Cor. x 16, 17 (*Philad.* 4).

Our conclusion is enforced by another comparison of the Johannine with the sub-apostolic epistles. Ignatius writes in *Eph.* 3, 'I do not command you as 'though I were somewhat'; in *Trall.* 3, 'I do not think myself competent for this, that being a convict I should order you as though I were an apostle'; and in Rom. 4, 'Not as Peter and Paul I command you. They were apostles; I am a convict'. This attitude is not a mere expression of humility. If it were it would be a pose and dangerously like the pride which apes humility. Ignatius was bishop of the important and apostolic see of Antioch, and he represented the Churches of Syria and Cilicia. The eyes of Christendom are following him to Rome. Yet he feels that to write in an authoritative strain to the Churches of Asia would be to assume a jurisdiction which did not belong to him; it would be, to use his own words, to write 'in apostolic style' (*Trall.* inscr.).

We find similar disclaimers in the letters of Clement, Polycarp, and Barnabas. The former does not write a single sentence which suggests his own personal or official authority, and in ch. vii, writing for the whole Church of Rome he explains that while rebuking the Corinthian Christians the Roman are putting themselves in remembrance as in the same lists: 'Wherefore let us forsake . . .' Polycarp writes concerning righteousness, 'not because I laid this charge upon myself but because ye invited me. For neither am I nor is any other like unto me, able to follow the wisdom of the blessed and glorious Paul who also wrote a letter unto you' (ch. iii). Barnabas writes 'Wishing to write many things unto you not as a teacher but as befits one that loves you, I hastened as your devoted slave to write to you not to fall short of that which we possess' (iv 9).

When we turn to the Johannine documents, we are confronted with a tone of authority which is in the most startling contrast to the passages which we have been considering. St John's apostleship is not only the natural explanation of his silence as to the apostles, it is presupposed in his authority. The Asian Christians are his children. He regards them as concerned with his opinion of them. He brushes aside the idle charges of Diotrephes, and directs a church, which, I am confident, is that of Pergamum, to refuse hospitality to certain teachers, and Gaius

to send forward his envoys. In the Apocalypse the measures which he took with a view to the Nicolaitan revolt, such for instance as the excommunication of 'Jezebel' at Thyatira, are described as ratified by Christ. Christ retains the sins which he retains and binds what he binds. He acts, like St Paul, with absolute authority and in the name of Christ in churches far removed from Ephesus. It is inconceivable that St John, whose figure is to some extent visible behind the epistles and the messages to the seven churches, would have apologized, like Ignatius, for writing in *quite apostolic style* letters to defend the apostolic discipline. We conclude that if there is any intimate historical relation between the letters of Polycarp and Ignatius and those of St John, St John was an apostle.

IV. We must now consider a passage in Ignatius in which an appeal to apostolic authority will be argued to be an appeal to St John, a passage in Polycarp in which an appeal to St John will be argued to be an appeal to apostolic authority, and some evidence that suggests that the two arguments must be read together and regarded as mutually confirmatory.

(i) In *Philad.* 5 we read, 'Your prayer will make me perfect [unto God] that I may attain unto the inheritance (of martyrdom) wherein I found mercy. Inasmuch as I took refuge in the Gospel as in the flesh of Christ and in the apostles as the presbytery of God. And the prophets also we love'. The thought of the passage, though not at once obvious, can be accurately determined. It is clear from *Smyrn.* 4 and *Trall.* 10 that the martyr whose sufferings were real, and whose terror of the fate which awaited him in the Coliseum was not less real, felt strongly his need of a comfort more substantial than that provided by the doctrine of a docetic Passion. It follows that 'flesh' in this sentence is both emphatic and polemical and must govern our interpretation of the passage, and that it brings into subordination to itself the allusion which follows to the authority of the apostolic 'presbytery' over the whole church. The meaning of the sentence is that the writer takes refuge in the Gospel because it tells him of a real Passion, and *confirms* this statement by adding that he takes refuge in the apostles because they speak with authority. Lightfoot argues with force that the word 'apostles' implies the appeal of Ignatius to documents, though he does not suggest what documents. But this point, however true, is not present to the mind of the writer, whose emphasis is in the first place on the reality of the Passion, and in the second on the authority of the apostles. Further, there is a connexion in his mind between these two things, the only natural explanation of which is an apostolic condemnation of a docetic treatment of the Passion. If Ignatius had not added the phrase 'as to the presbytery of God', and if the parallel

passages did not shew that his thought was strongly anti-docetic and polemical, we might have paraphrased, 'I take refuge in the recollection of the Passion as recorded in the Memoirs of the apostles', but this is quite inadmissible. We must paraphrase 'I cling myself in the hour of my need, whatever others may think, to the Passion and to the apostolic affirmation of its reality and condemnation of docetism'. The words must refer to St John, and, if we follow Lightfoot, to St John's writings. No other apostle is possible. Our argument is confirmed by Pfleiderer's. That scholar told us that on the assumption that Ignatius had read the Johannine writings we must expect an allusion to his condemnation of docetic error. Ignatius, as has been shewn, had read those writings or was at least saturated with St John's thought. It follows that we must expect an appeal to him. Here it is.

(ii) In *Ep. Polyc.* 6, 7, we read 'Let us, therefore, so serve Him with fear and all reverence, as He Himself gave commandment and the *apostles* who preached the Gospel to us and the *prophets* who announced beforehand the coming of our Lord, being zealous as touching that which is good, refraining from the *scandals* and from the false brethren, and from them which bear about the name of the Lord in hypocrisy, who *seduce empty men*. For every one *who shall not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is antichrist: and whosoever shall not confess the testimony of the cross, is of the devil*, and whosoever shall *pervert the oracles of the Lord to his own lusts* and say that there is neither resurrection nor judgment, that man is *the firstborn of Satan*. Wherefore let us forsake the *vanity* of the *many* and their false teachings, and turn unto the *word which was delivered unto us from the beginning*, being sober unto prayer and constant in fastings, entreating the all-seeing God with supplications that He bring us not into temptation, according as the Lord said, The Spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak'. I italicize the Johannisms.

We must observe that the injunctions of the Lord, the apostles, and the prophets are injunctions not merely to serve Christ, but to serve Christ in the particular way which they enjoined, just as in 2 John v 6 the point is that love must be proved sincere by the observance of the traditional *praxis*. The injunctions are antithetical to the perversions and hypocrisies of Polycarp's opponents and must bear upon the points at issue. Our anticipation is confirmed when we come in ch. vii to the explanatory *γὰρ*. The passage is strongly controversial and more relevant to the line of argument suggested in ch. vi than anything which follows. We may plausibly, therefore, deem that Polycarp was leading up to it in his sentence, *as He enjoined . . . and the apostles . . . and the prophets*. But if so, the words which are obviously from the lips or the pen of St John are apostolic. At any rate the coincidence that there

is other evidence for the view that this John was an apostle is, to say the least, remarkable.

Our argument that Polycarp in ch. vi is leading up to this citation is confirmed by the Johannine phrasing of his characterization of heresy: 'scandals', 'false brethren', 'seduce' are all used by St John in connexion with the Nicolaitan controversy.

Our interpretation of our passage is again confirmed when we read on further. His vein of Johannine reminiscence ended, Polycarp seems to feel that he has made good his appeal to apostolic authority. He then turns to another part of the programme, which he has announced, and gives us two citations of our Lord's words. This naturally leads to a digression as to the example of Christ (*Ep. Pol.* 8) which is described in the language of 1 Peter. This leads on again to the example of Ignatius and other martyrs.

Chapter x opens with some pointed phrases from St Paul, and then Polycarp makes good his indication that he has something to give from the O.T. He quotes from Prov. iii 28 and Tobit iv 11 two short phrases which emphasize the duty of almsgiving which the Nicolaitans neglected (1 John iii 17, Ign. *Smyrn.* 6). He then adds a short phrase from Isaiah, 'Woe unto them through whom the name of the Lord is blasphemed'. If the writings of St John are apostolic, Polycarp has made his appeal to the apostles and the Lord, but has very inadequately fulfilled his promise so far as the O.T. is concerned. This he seems to have felt, for after referring to the case of Valens, whose avarice had probably led him into some compromise with idolatry, he apologizes for his unfamiliarity with the O.T., 'Ye are well trained in the sacred writings . . . but to me this is not granted'. How can we account for this apology otherwise than by the hypothesis that when he appealed to Christ, the apostles, and the prophets, he was conscious of laying down what might be expected to be the lines of the subsequent argument? He is conscious that he has somewhat misled his readers so far as the appeal to the prophets is concerned. But if this is the case, Polycarp must have regarded the anti-docetic formula which he has cited as possessing apostolic authority, and therefore its author St John as an apostle.

The reader will have observed that while Polycarp indicates a scheme, and in the remainder of his letter shews that he has not forgotten it, he takes but little interest in it. Something suggested it to his mind, but it does not dominate him. The explanation will appear in the next section of our argument.

(iii) I have argued from *Philad.* 5 that an apostle had condemned docetism and, if this is the case, that apostle must be St John, and, conversely, from *Ep. Pol.* 8, that the Johannine condemnation of docetism

was apostolic. If we can shew that Polycarp was in that passage thinking of *Philad.* 5, there will be no room left for doubt that Ignatius and Polycarp regarded St John as an apostle.

The evidence for this third hypothesis is as follows :—

(1) Polycarp alludes to the letters of Ignatius (ch. xiii), and his letter contains reminiscences of them (Lightfoot *Ap. Fathers* ii 1, 128).

(2) Ignatius wrote, 'I took refuge in the Gospel as in the flesh of Christ, and in the apostles as the presbytery of God. And the prophets also we love'. Polycarp writes, 'As He himself gave commandment, and the apostles who preached the Gospel, and the prophets who announced beforehand the coming of the Lord'. Now the hypothesis that Polycarp is here influenced by the words of Ignatius explains four difficulties. (i) Why did Polycarp appeal to the O.T. at all? His citations are short and conventional, and, as he himself says, he is not familiar with it. (ii) He does not in a single passage allude to Messianic prophecy, and the subject has nothing to do with his letter. Yet he describes the prophets as 'announcing beforehand the coming of the Lord'. (iii) It is surprising to find in so early and unoriginal a writer the utterances of the apostles ranked with those of our Lord and the prophets of the O.T. (iv) Polycarp's order, Christ, apostles, prophets, is not very natural.

All these difficulties are solved by our hypothesis. Polycarp referred to the O.T. and Messianic prophecy because Ignatius referred to them, and he appears to rank the apostles with Christ and Moses because he is following the words of Ignatius. For the same reason the order is unchronological. The reference to the prophets after that to the apostles in the Ignatian context is inevitable. The sequence of thought is the Gospel of the Passion, the apostolic interpretation of it, the Jewish controversy on the subject which troubled the Philadelphian church and which turned on the prophetic scriptures. In Polycarp the order is pointless and the co-ordination difficult.

Our hypothesis is confirmed when we apply it more closely to Polycarp's letter. In ch. v Polycarp has two parallels with Ignatius, 'altar of God' (*Eph.* 5), 'as deacons of God and Christ' (*Smyrn.* 5, see note Lightf. II ii 1 p. 316). In ch. vi he bids his readers serve Christ 'in the way that He Himself enjoined, and the apostles who evangelized us, and the prophets who foretold the coming of our Lord'. He then bids them refrain from heresy in terms borrowed from St John, and in a phrase which he probably borrows from Ign. *Eph.* 7 he describes the claim of the heretics to be Christian as hypocrisy. We then have a close parallelism with the thought of Ignatius which leads up to the mention of his name. The charge that heresy is hypocrisy is explained

in γ ($\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$) as justified by the docetism which refused to confess the coming in the flesh and the testimony of the cross, and which tampered with the words of Christ. If we turn to the tradition, he continues, we read the story of Gethsemane and the Cross. We read how Christ bade His disciples watch and pray that they might not be led into temptation, 'for the spirit is willing but the flesh weak' (Matt. xxvi 40, 41), and then bore our sins on the tree. Polycarp uses in this appeal to tradition the phraseology of 1 Pet. and this leads up to the point that we must follow Christ's example as Ignatius and others had done.

Polycarp could scarcely have shewn more clearly that throughout this passage he has in mind his martyred friend and the thoughts suggested by *Philad.* 5. He confirms this impression when he picks up his appeal to the words of Christ, the apostles and the prophets. For if he seems to go out of his way to say that he knows nothing about the O.T., he is encouraged to do so by the letter of Ignatius which suggested his allusion to the prophets; for we gather from *Philad.* 8 that the martyr had not found his arguments from the O.T. very effective in his debate with the Philadelphian Jews, and regarded the appeal to the O. T. as superfluous.

We will return to our starting-point, assuming that Polycarp's allusion to the apostles and prophets is suggested by *Philad.* 5. On our interpretation of that passage the writer is taking refuge in apostolic testimony to the reality of Christ's death. We will now treat Polycarp as a commentator and turn to this letter to see how he amplifies the brief utterance of Ignatius. We find that he amplifies it in two paragraphs which are introduced by an explanatory $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$, and that in the forefront of his explanation he puts the testimony of St John, which he supports by a brief summary of the Passion, which he gives in terms borrowed from 1 Peter. If, then, Polycarp was following the suggestions of the letter of Ignatius, it follows that he regarded the appeal which Ignatius made to the apostles as an appeal to the utterances of St John.

V. Our next argument runs on somewhat similar lines to the last, but is less secure, though by no means negligible.

We start with the assumption that St John himself was concerned with the organization of the Asian churches and their episcopate. Now Lightfoot assumes that Ignatius refers to this action of St John when he writes, 'If ye be inseparable from Jesus Christ and from the bishop and from the constitutions of the apostles' (*Trall.* 7).

Lightfoot has not argued his position, but a close examination of the context indicates that he is right.

My first point is that in the words cited Ignatius is thinking primarily of the episcopate.

The letter opens with praise of the Trallian bishop, Polybius. The

Trallians must obey him 'after Jesus Christ', i.e. as Christ obeyed the Father. Nothing, therefore, must be done without the bishop. Further, they must obey the presbyters as the apostles of Jesus Christ. The presbyters were associated with the bishop as the apostles with Christ (and as the angel-presbyters with God), and, in the former case as in the latter, disobedience to the subordinate was disobedience to the higher authority. The deacons must win the respect of the church, which must be given to them as to Jesus Christ; they represent, like Christ, a higher authority. 'Let all men respect the deacons as Jesus Christ, even as they should respect the bishops as being a type of the Father, and the presbyters as the council of God, and as the college of the apostles. Apart from these there is not even the name of a church.'

We pause to observe the confusion which Ignatius has introduced into his subject. The deacons are like Jesus Christ; the presbyters, a higher order, are like the apostles. As Lightfoot says the latter must be introduced as an after-thought, in which Ignatius recurs to a favourite comparison, which if it indicates anything more than the principle of order emphasizes the subordination of the presbyterate. That the emphasis of Ignatius is on the authority of the bishop is also shewn by the consideration that nobody in those days had ever heard or thought of either a Jewish or a Christian congregation without its presbyters. Ignatius is not writing an abstract treatise, but dealing with a danger and defending something. He can only be defending the authority of the episcopate.

After his allusion to the three orders Ignatius returns to the subject of the loyalty due to Polybius. The Trallians must avoid the danger of heretical poison. They must cleave to Christ, to the bishop, to the ordinances of the apostles. Ignatius, who may safely be assumed to see matters from a Johannine point of view, is asserting the authority of an office to which St John paid much attention, and in doing so he bids the Trallians cleave to the bishop and to the ordinances of the apostles. This suggests that the status of the bishop was in some sense specially connected with apostolic authority, and that this was represented in the person of St John.

One or two alternative explanations may be considered.

(i) It has been suggested that the eyes of Ignatius are turned to the future rather than to the past, and that he sees in the episcopate an instrument by which the scattered congregations can be welded into a larger unity. But (a) in his eight allusions to ecclesiastical unity the unity is that of the local church with its bishop, and in *Smymn.* 8 where he refers to 'the Catholic Church', the object is to enforce this local unity. The relation of the Church universal to Christ is in that passage

the *datum*, the local unity the *probandum*. (b) The letters represent a single mood, and the mood is not that of constructive statesmanship. We see in them a bishop of high authority treading the Via Dolorosa which leads to the Roman Calvary, asserting the reality of his Lord's Passion and appealing against the Docetic heretics and to the authority of the apostles.

(ii) Ignatius is not enforcing the authority of the episcopate in order that the Trallians may cleave the better to ordinances of the apostles relating to other matters than church government. If for instance he is referring to an apostolic condemnation of docetism, our fourth main argument would be confirmed ; but the run of the passage is against this. The Johannine writings suggest that he might have in mind the apostolic condemnation of *idolothuta*. But Ignatius, strange to say, never approaches this topic ; nor does Polycarp, who had his letters in mind, refer to it. Nor is the run of the passage consistent with this explanation. Again, it is not easy to suppose that Ignatius is referring in general terms to the apostolic discipline. This appears to be inconsistent with his mood. Never were letters written which expressed more exclusively the needs and emotions of the moment. Ignatius is no more defending in general terms the obligatory character of the apostolic discipline than he is writing a treatise on the Christian ministry. He is nothing if not definite and practical. The letters are the dying charge of a man of action who is dealing with a concrete situation. His mind is at the moment occupied not with the end but with the means, not with the discipline but with the episcopate.

We conclude, both from the positive indications of the context and from the negative indications of the context and the letters as a whole, that Ignatius implies that the status of the episcopate had been dealt with authoritatively by apostles, or by an apostle, and that he is probably referring to the recent action of St John.

Our argument is confirmed by a sentence which occurs almost immediately afterwards. The mind of Ignatius is, as we have seen, occupied with the thought that the Trallians must be loyal to the episcopate with which St John's authority was so closely identified. While this thought is uppermost in his mind he adds 'I do not command you like an apostle'. The words most probably mean, 'I do not command you like St John'.

Again, we must observe that he uses here the word *διατάσσομαι* and in § 7 *διαταγμάτων*. The phrase gains much in point if we suppose that it is allusive, and that we may paraphrase : 'My remarks about bishops in general, and Polybius in particular, are the advice of a criminal, not the constitutions of an apostle.'

H. J. BARDSLEY.

NOTE ON IGNATIUS *Eph.* 17 AND ST JOHN XIX 39.

I argued in my last article that in *Eph.* 17 Ignatius rightly interpreted the thought of St John xii 3, xix 39, and I cited in confirmation of my view a passage in Lewis *Mythological Acts* p. 90. Since I wrote I have discovered a remarkable confirmation of this hypothesis. Zahn, following a suggestion of Conybeare, thinks that Vardan used Papias when he referred to the use by Nicodemus of four unguents and a mixture half of honey (Zahn *Introd.* iii p. 196). Now according to *Mart. Pet.* 11 four unguents and honey were used in the burial of St Peter. I cannot argue out the matter further here, but will content myself with affirming that the same tradition underlies *Mart. Pol.* 15, where the whole narrative is based on an uncanonical Passion-narrative already worked up into a martyrdom of Peter. Polycarp was burned, and the nearest parallel, therefore, to the Petrine narrative which the writer could secure is the statement that 'the fire made a fragrant smell, as it were, the odour of frankincense or some other precious spices'. We note the plural 'spices'. It is clear, at any rate, that the tradition has very ancient roots, and is not improbably earlier than Papias, who may have been commenting on St Mark xiv 8. Now Vardan connects it with St Luke xxiv 33, St John xx 19, and Zahn is naturally puzzled as to the connexion. I unconsciously provided the answer. The unguents symbolized the Resurrection. I may add that the parallel of the Arabic Acts with Ignatius *Eph.* 17 occurs in a narrative of the appearance of the risen Christ.

H. J. BARDSLEY.

ISAIAH XXI IN THE LIGHT OF ASSYRIAN HISTORY.

I

Verses 1-10.

THE Burden of the Wilderness of the Sea has long possessed a strong attraction for students of prophecy because of what appeared to the older commentators the undoubted fulfilment of the predictions contained in it. The LXX by their rendering of verse 2—'Ἐπ' ἐμοὶ οἱ Ἑλαμῆται, καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Περσῶν ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἔρχονται'¹—brought the subject-matter of this prophecy down to the Persian era, and so prepared the way for the well-known traditional interpretation, which prevailed from the days of Jerome to within about a generation of the present time. According to this view of the passage, Isaiah xxi 1-10 is a prophecy of the taking of Babylon by Cyrus; Media and Elam in verse 2 stand for the Medes and Persians, and the disturbed banquet in verse 5 is the counterpart of Belshazzar's feast and of that festival carousal of the Babylonians on the night of the capture of their city as related in the pages of Xenophon. So admirably did all seem to fit in, that for a long time everybody was satisfied. To such an interpretation, however, modern criticism has offered some strong objections. Assuming the prophecy to be the work of Isaiah, or at least to belong to the Isaianic age, it is difficult, as Dr Driver observes,² to see what 'intelligible purpose could be subserved by the prophet announcing to the generation of Hezekiah an occurrence lying in the distant future and having no bearing on contemporary interests'; while at the same time the traditional view altogether fails to account for the alarm and aversion with which the prophet contemplates the fall of the great oppressing city. To these considerations it may be added that there is no evidence that when Cyrus entered Babylon he treated the images of the gods in the way described in verse 9. On the contrary, we are expressly assured that his entrance was a peaceful one, and that there was no cessation whatever of the temple worship.³

¹ In translating the Hebrew assonance עֵלַי עֵלַי 'up! upland', the LXX for עֵלַי read עָלַי 'against me'; whilst צָרָי 'besiege' is regarded by them as the status constructus of צֶרֶךְ 'a rock', i. e. protector, and rendered accordingly by πρέσβεις 'princes', as being the protectors of the state.

² *Isaiah, his Life and Times* p. 96.

³ See *The Annalistic Tablet of Cyrus* Rev. Col. i 15-20.

The first person to suggest a more satisfactory explanation of the passage was that gifted Assyriologist the late Mr George Smith.¹ Comparing Isaiah chapters xx and xxi with the Annals of Sargon, Mr Smith pointed out that chapter xx refers to the events of Sargon's eleventh year, viz. the capture of Ashdod; chapter xxi 1-10 to the Babylonian campaign of the two following years, undertaken by Sargon against Merodachbaladan the Chaldaean, who for twelve years as king of Babylon had resisted the might of the Assyrian arms. According to this new view, which was worked out in some detail by Kleinert,² the subject of this prophecy belongs to the Isaianic age, and the siege of Babylon here foretold was carried out by Sargon. But this interesting solution of the problem had scarcely begun to find acceptance with scholars when a fresh difficulty began to shew itself. The entrance of Sargon into Babylon at the close of the year 710 B.C. was shewn to have been even more peaceful than that of Cyrus 170 years later.³ The Babylonians, tired of the rule of Merodachbaladan, sent out a deputation to meet the conqueror and to welcome him into their city as a deliverer; whilst, instead of any sacrilegious treatment of the Babylonian gods, Sargon appears to have outdone all his royal predecessors in the costly offerings he made at their shrines or in their behalf.⁴ If verse 9 was not fulfilled by Cyrus, still less was it fulfilled by Sargon. It is to meet this difficulty that the following article is written. I shall hope to shew that while verses 1 to 5 refer to Sargon's Babylonian campaign in 710 B.C., verses 6 to 10 are to be looked upon as a prophecy of the destruction of Babylon by Sennacherib in 689 B.C. I shall also endeavour to prove that verse 2 contains a remarkable prophecy of the downfall of Assyria, introduced parenthetically into the middle of a 'grievous vision' unfolding to the prophet the threatening advance of the Assyrian arms in Babylonia.

The remarkable vision, or rather group of visions, at which we are to look, is entitled 'the Burden of the Wilderness of the Sea'. This is a name descriptive of the kingdom of Merodachbaladan. The hereditary principality of this Chaldaean ruler lay at the head of the Persian Gulf, and was known to the Assyrians as 'the Country of the Sea'. In this Burden, however, the name is used in a wider sense and applied to the whole of the alluvial plain stretching from Babylon to the Gulf, which in 710 B.C. was subject to Chaldaean rule. This extensive tract could

¹ *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* ii 328-329.

² *Theologischen Studien und Kritiken* for 1877.

³ Cyrus, despite his assertions of a peaceful entry, appears to have encountered some resistance. See Pinches *Old Testament* pp. 417, 418.

⁴ According to the Khorsabad Inscription, Sargon gave to the gods and for public works at Babylon the tribute due to him for three successive years.

no doubt be flooded as the Dutch flooded Holland in the days of Napoleon. Nebuchadnezzar, describing the defences of Babylon, tells us how he 'carried round the land great waters, so that the crossing of them was like the crossing of the surging sea of the briny flood'.¹ It is also highly probable that the name points forward to the fate in store for Babylon herself, when in accordance with the prophecy of Isa. xiv 23 she shall become a veritable wilderness of the sea. This will seem yet more likely, when we consider that verse 9 foretells the dire calamity in which that prophecy will find its fulfilment.

The opening vision of the Burden, verses 1 to 4, realizes to the full Ewald's enthusiastic description: 'The language is borne aloft on the wings of very recent agitation, high inspiration, and beautiful animation.'

As whirlwinds sweeping on in the South

It cometh from the Wilderness, from a land of terror.

A grievous vision is shewed unto me;

The treacherous dealer dealeth treacherously, and the devastator devastateth.

—'Go up, O Elam! besiege, O Media!

All the sighing that he causeth² have I made to cease'—

Therefore are my loins filled with pain;

Pangs have taken hold upon me like the pangs of one in travail;

I am so tortured that I cannot hear; so terrified that I cannot see.

My heart fluttereth, horror hath affrighted me;

The twilight that I love is turned into trembling unto me.³

It is the calm still evening; Isaiah's favourite time for meditation and communion with his God. But this particular evening is to become to him a time of horror and dismay. For like the hot fierce blast of the sirocco in the South Country of Judah, whirling clouds of dust and sand through the air as it hurries along, so from the Wilderness of the Sea, a land where terrible deeds are being done, there sweeps upon the prophet's spirit 'a grievous vision', at first dim, vague, and indistinguishable, but speedily unfolding itself as it draws rapidly nearer. For Isaiah, like the reputed Highland seer, is now gifted with second sight, and what he sees may best be expressed in the poet's words,

'A field of the dead rushes red on my sight,

And the clans of Culloden are scattered in fight.'⁴

If for the Highland clans we substitute the tribes living on the western border of Elam, we shall catch at once the force of this passage.

¹ India House Inscription, Col. vi 41-46.

² The suffix is feminine in the original, the reference being to Assyria.

³ In the translations offered in this paper I am indebted for some valuable hints to Dr Glazebrook's *Studies in the Book of Isaiah*.

⁴ Campbell in *Lochiel's Warning*.

The campaign of Sargon against Merodachbaladan began with the despatch by the Assyrian king of a strong army-corps down the eastern bank of the Tigris, through districts inhabited by Semitic peoples, the object being to cut the Chaldaean off from his Elamite ally. We may suppose that Isaiah was permitted to see this opening phase of the campaign, and that the sight of the havoc and carnage going on, and possibly a knowledge of who the sufferers were, moved him deeply. But the full secret of his distress undoubtedly lay in his realization of the final result of the war. He foresaw that the last barrier against the tide of Assyrian conquest and Assyrian vengeance was on the point of being swept away.

At the time of the siege of Ashdod the hope had been entertained in southern Palestine that Egypt might prove a match for Assyria. Accordingly, the small Palestinian states, Judah, Edom, and Moab, began, as Sargon informs us, to hatch plots of rebellion against Assyria.¹ Great, then, must have been the terror when Ashdod fell. In the words of the prophet, 'The inhabitants of this coastland shall say in that day, Behold such is our expectation, whither we fled to be delivered from the king of Assyria; and we, how shall we escape?'² Egypt under her Ethiopian ruler³ had failed them, but it was just possible that Babylon under her Chaldaean ruler might still be able to hold out. We can thus conceive some idea of the prophet's grief, when he beheld in vision the rapid advance of the desolating Assyrian whirlwind and saw only too clearly what would be the issue of the campaign.

But if the tone of alarm and anguish which characterizes the opening verses be thus explained, what are we to make of the six short sentences so dramatically grouped together in verse 5?

They prepare the table, they spread the coverlets, they eat, they drink:
Arise, ye princes! anoint the shield!

This is a second vision, unfolding another episode in the same Babylonian campaign. After despatching, as we have seen, a strong force down the eastern bank of the Tigris, Sargon with the main body of his army advanced directly against Babylon, but as he neared that city he swerved somewhat to the west, and crossing the Euphrates entrenched himself in Dur-Ladnu, a fortress in the Chaldaean state of Bit-Dakkuri.

¹ '[The people] of Philistia, Judah, E[dom], and Moab, dwelling beside the sea, bringing the tribute and gift of Ashur my lord . . . speaking seditions, acting with base wickedness, who, in order to stir up rebellion against me, to Pharaoh king of Egypt—a prince who did not save them—brought their offerings of peace and requested of him an alliance.' See the broken cylinder of Sargon translated in George Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries* chap. xv.

² Isa. xx 6.

³ Sabaco, the founder of the 25th Dynasty.

Thus placed between two armies, deprived of the help of his Elamite ally, and conscious of the disaffection of his Babylonian subjects, Merodachbaladan was seized with panic fear and fled from Babylon by night. In the words of Sargon, 'the victories of Ashur, Nebo, and Merodach, which they had won over those towns'—viz. the cities on the Elamite frontier—'Merodachbaladan, the king of Kar-Duniash,'¹ heard of in Babylon in the midst of his palace. Fear for himself surprised him, and together with his allies and his soldiers *he fled by night.*'² Interpreting the prophecy, then, by what we hold to be its fulfilment, we see in verse 5 a vision of Merodachbaladan's sudden nocturnal flight from Babylon. The prophet sees the evening meal being prepared, the coverlets spread for the guests to recline on, the banquet already begun, when on a sudden the alarm is given, 'Rise up, ye princes! anoint the shield!' Now according to Sargon what actually led to Merodachbaladan's flight was the news of the Assyrian successes on the Elamite frontier. It thus appears that the carnage and devastation seen by Isaiah in his first vision—verses 1 to 4—was the actual cause of the Chaldaean's flight, so vividly portrayed in this second vision of verse 5. And as that flight was a nocturnal one, so it is possible that it was shewn to the prophet Isaiah on the very evening on which it took place.³

We have now arrived at the end of the first strophe of this Burden, indicated in the Hebrew Bible by a blank space within the line. The second strophe, verses 6 to 10, is ushered in like the second part of the Burden upon Arabia with the following words:—

For thus hath the Lord said unto me.

What do these words mean? They mean possibly something like this: 'Be sure that what I have told you is true, for the Lord and Master of the world has shewn me something further, a more startling catastrophe, connected with the events I have just foretold but at the same time altogether eclipsing them.' This further vision may be presented to the English reader as follows:—

Go, station the watchman; let him declare what he seeth:
And should he see a troop, horsemen in pairs,
A troop of asses, a troop of camels,
Let him hearken attentively, aye, very attentively.

¹ The district round Babylon.

² Winckler *Annals of Sargon* lines 289, 290. Compare the Khorsabad Inscription, lines 125, 126: 'Forth from Babylon to Iqbi-Bel like a *sudinnu* bird he fled by night.'

³ In the same way the siege of Jerusalem was revealed to the prophet Ezekiel on the very day on which it began. Compare Ezek. xxiv 1 with Jer. lii 4.

And he (viz. the watchman) cried as a lion,
 'On the watch-tower, my Lord, I am standing continually by day,
 'And in my ward I am set every night'—
 And behold! (as he was speaking) there came a troop of men,
 horsemen in pairs;
 And it (viz. the troop) answered and said, 'Fallen! fallen! is
 Babylon,
 'And all the graven images of her gods are shivered to the ground.'

Notice here at the outset the very marked contrast between this second strophe and the first. In the first strophe a 'grievous vision', drawing rapidly nearer, forces itself upon the prophet's notice, and breaks in on the quiet evening of his meditation: but in this second strophe he describes himself as waiting long and impatiently for a vision that has been promised to him, but which seems as if it would never appear. In the first instance he is forced to see what he would rather not see: in the second he has to wait a long time to see something which he much desires to see.

In the Books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel the prophets are compared to watchmen, who from some point of vantage see things in the distance and give warning of their approach. The nearest parallel to the present passage is found in Hab. ii 1, 'I will stand upon my watch, and set me upon the tower, and will look forth to see what he will speak with me'. But what makes the present passage unique is, that the prophet is bidden to divide himself into two persons. He is to station his prophetic spirit on the watch-tower, and his spirit is to report to him what it sees. Further, he is told beforehand the sight for which his spirit is to be on the look-out, viz. a cavalcade of horsemen riding in double file, followed by a troop of asses and camels, the baggage-train of an army laden with spoil.¹ When this procession comes across the field of view, he is to hearken diligently, for he will hear momentous tidings. In a spirit of thrilling expectation the prophet sets his watch. Day after day, night after night, he watches ceaselessly. At last he can bear the suspense no longer and is breaking out into a loud cry of impatience, when lo, across the scene comes the promised spectacle, a cavalcade of warriors riding in double file, and from their lips is heard to go up a cry of triumph, 'Fallen! fallen! is Babylon, and all the graven images of her gods are shivered to the ground.'

The warlike train which the prophet sees, is evidently returning victorious from the sack of Babylon, and the question as to what nationality it represents is solved by the twice-repeated words, '*horsemen in pairs*'. In any scenic representation of an Assyrian army

¹ Compare Isa. xxx 6.

horsemen would form one of the most striking features. Ezekiel pictures the Assyrian officers as 'warlike governors and commanders, clothed in coats of mail,¹ cavalry-men, horse-riders, all of them charming young men'.² But that which most clearly marks the force seen by the prophet as an Assyrian one is the significant addition '*in pairs*'. The bas-reliefs from Kouyunjik, Nimrūd, and other ancient sites, reveal to us the fact that the Assyrians had a great fondness for fighting in pairs. Everything, it would seem, must be done in couples in order that the soldier might be cheered and encouraged by the presence of a comrade at his side. Thus in the well-known bas-relief, representing the siege of a city by Ashurnatsirpal,³ all the Assyrian warriors are seen to be thus grouped; while the Gates of Balawat, which give us so vivid an idea of the conduct of Assyrian campaigns, offer many illustrations of the spectacle for which the prophet was to look—'horsemen in pairs'.⁴

The prophet, then, sees an Assyrian army returning victorious from the overthrow of Babylon and the destruction of the images of her gods. The sight was one to fill him with the deepest astonishment, for Babylon, as being the cradle of their race,⁵ was always treated by the Assyrians with the most marked respect. Whenever Assyrian kings entered Babylon they were always most careful to make the customary offerings at the shrines of Bel and Nebo. Only one Assyrian king, so far as we know, ever ventured on such a sacrilegious act as is here described. Sennacherib, enraged beyond measure by the constant troubles stirred up by his rebellious Babylonian subjects, determined on the utter destruction of the city, and in 689 B.C. carried it out in the most ruthless fashion. After slaying the inhabitants and carrying away all the portable treasures, he threw down the walls and ramparts, the temples and temple-towers, and by digging ditches set himself to work to cover the ground with water, and so to efface the very site of the city: in all this fulfilling most exactly the prophecy of Isa. xiv 23 'I will also make it a possession for the porcupine, and pools of water: and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the LORD of hosts'.⁶ With no less exactness was fulfilled also this later prophecy: to quote the very words of the conqueror in his Bavian inscription, '*The gods dwelling therein, the hands of my men took, and they brake them in pieces*'.⁷

¹ Or rather 'panoplies'. See Ezek. xxxviii 4, where the same word occurs.

² Ezek. xxiii 12, Ewald's translation.

³ British Museum, Nimrūd Gallery, Nos. 13-15.

⁴ See Bands 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 12. The artist has forgotten in some instances to depict the second rider.

⁵ Gen. x 10, 11 R. V.

⁶ Compare also Isa. xiii 19.

⁷ *Ilani ashib libbishu qātā mishi-ia ikshusunutima ushabbiruma*. The last word is radically identical with the שָׁבִיר of verse 9.

But if no prophecy was ever better interpreted by its fulfilment, let it be noted also that the late date of that fulfilment throws great light on what is meant by the prophet's long watch on his watch-tower. Twenty-one years in itself is not a long time to wait for the fulfilment of a prophecy; but as we have seen, the first part of this Burden was revealed to the prophet probably at the time when it was taking place, viz. in 710 B.C. Further, it is to be borne in mind that during those twenty-one years, 710 to 689 B.C., Babylon passed through many and great vicissitudes. In Assyria, indeed, there was but one change of ruler, Sargon being succeeded by his son Sennacherib. But in Babylon no fewer than eight kings sat upon the throne, while the sovereign power shifted about in an amazing fashion, the city being by turns in the hands of the Chaldeans, the Assyrians, the native Babylonians, and the Elamites. Thus in Babylonian history the interval may be said to have been a long one; and if the prophet very eagerly desired to see this great catastrophe, the destruction of Babylon by the Assyrians, then the remarkable character of this part of the Burden might be intended to teach him that he would have to wait some time for the fulfilment of the vision. It would, so one thinks, convey to him the message, 'The vision is yet for the appointed time, and it hasteth toward the end, and shall not lie: though it tarry, wait for it: because it will surely come, it will not delay'.¹

The surprising and altogether unexpected nature of the revelation thus made to the prophet shews us in what light we may best regard the pathetic close of this remarkable Burden:—

O my trodden one, child of my threshing-floor,
That which I have heard from Jehovah of hosts, the God of Israel,
I have declared unto you.

If there was some consolation in the thought that the fickle Babylonians, who were so ready to oust Merodachbaladan, would presently be overthrown by the very power which they were now welcoming, yet it must have required no small share of faith to believe such an unlikely announcement. Isaiah, therefore, assures his countrymen that the vision which he has just proclaimed is no invention of his own, but what he has heard from Jehovah of hosts, who is still as ever the God of Israel and the real Master of the world.

But it is possible that the solemn assurance of this closing verse points back to yet another revelation, made much earlier in the Burden, and at which we have still to look. In preferring the rule of Assyria to that of Merodachbaladan the Babylonians undoubtedly acted in a manner inimical to the political interests of Judah; but at this time

¹ Hab. ii 3.

the real tyrant, whose cruel, grinding oppression, like some threshing-instrument of iron,¹ had made itself felt in Judah, was not Babylon but Assyria: if at this epoch Judah was 'trodden', she was trodden not by Babylon but by Assyria. Now this Burden contains within it a most thrilling assurance that the Almighty will presently put down that great persecuting power. For while the prophet is bewailing the horrors perpetrated by the Assyrian 'devastator' during the Babylonian campaign, his wail of sorrow is arrested for a moment by a strange mysterious voice, calling as it were from the clouds:

'Go up, O Elam! besiege, O Media!

All the sighing that he causeth have I made to cease.'

This voice is a parenthesis, for as soon as it ceases the prophet resumes his strain of lamentation: a thing not to be wondered at, seeing that the vision of carnage is still present to his view after the voice is silent. With regard to this mysterious voice we are sure that the Speaker can be none other than He, at whose bidding alone 'sorrow and sighing shall flee away'.² In the words of the learned Vitringa, 'Id hic primum est quod teneo ad interpretationem horum verborum; esse videlicet hic verba Dei. Patet utique id ex subiecta sententia, Omnem gemitum cessare feci, quae nemini quam Deo aut Spiritui eius convenit'. Elam and Media, then, are here summoned by the Almighty to 'go up' to battle, not against Babylon, but against Assyria, the great 'devastator' who is the real cause of all 'the sighing', and by whose suppression Jehovah will 'make it to cease'. Now this summons to Elam and Media would not, perhaps, seem so remarkable a thing to the prophet as the revelation of the destruction of Babylon by the Assyrians, for the very reason that these two nations were very prominent at that time as the most determined foes of Assyria, so that it might seem natural that they should be called upon by Jehovah to put the Assyrian down.

To suppose that Elam here stands for Persia is an anachronism, since the first beginnings of the Persian power under Achaemenes did not make their appearance till half a century later; whilst yet another century was to elapse before that power grew into an empire under Cyrus. The Elam of the prophet's Burden is the power which in 721 B.C. met and stopped the troops of Sargon, thereby securing the throne of Babylon to Merodachbaladan for the next twelve years. Against this Elam Sennacherib directed five out of his eight campaigns recorded on the Taylor cylinder. This was the nation which suffered such heavy chastisement at the hands of Ashurbanipal in 660 B.C. and again about 645 B.C., as recorded in great detail in the long inscription

¹ Amos i 3.

² Isa. xxxv 10.

on the Rassam cylinder. So terrible was the vengeance there poured out on that unhappy people that many historians have imagined the nation to have been wiped out. But Elam, as her story shews, had a wonderful power of recuperation, and such scraps of history as we possess go to shew that she outlived Assyria. Nineveh fell in 606 B.C., yet Elam, according to the Book of Jeremiah, survives in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, 604 B.C., and is mentioned as being still a powerful nation in a prophecy dating from the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah, 597 B.C.¹ When, however, we come to the close of the twelfth year of Jehoiachin's captivity, 586 B.C., we learn from the Book of Ezekiel² that Ashur, Elam, Meshech and Tubal, Edom, and the Zidonians have all gone down to Sheol, and as the order of the names is not geographical we may presume it to be chronological, and thus another evidence is afforded that Elam outlived Assyria. Now if this be so, then the strong presumption is, that Elam, having suffered so severely at the hands of Assyria, would not be behindhand in doing her part to bring about the downfall of that oppressing power. And this we shall presently see was actually the case.

As regards Media it may suffice to say that during the Isaianic age that country was twice invaded by Tiglathpileser III, viz. in 744 B.C. and in 737 B.C., and that on one occasion he carried away 60,500 captives. An inscription of the same monarch also informs us indirectly that Media had been invaded by the Babylonians, mention being twice made of Silkhazi, a town in Media which was popularly known as 'the Stronghold of the Babylonians'.³ This explains the reference to the Medes in Isaiah's prophecy against Babylon—chap. xiii 17—a prophecy which appears to belong to the short period, 728 to 727 B.C., when Tiglathpileser lived at Babylon, and assumed the title 'King of Babylon'. Coming somewhat nearer to the time of this present Burden we find that Sargon was much engaged with invasions of Media during the four years 716 to 713 B.C. With regard to later kings it will be found that Esarhaddon, who claims like Tiglathpileser to have penetrated Media as far as the mysterious mount Bikni,⁴ speaks of the Medes in terms of marked respect, whilst in the inscriptions of Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal they are barely mentioned. With these facts in view it cannot seem strange to us, any more than to Isaiah, that Elam and Media should be summoned by the Almighty to put down Assyria. It only remains to shew how this mysterious summons was fulfilled.

There are three accounts left us of the downfall of Assyria: the

¹ Jer. xxv 25 and xlix 34-39.

² Ezek. xxxii 22-30. For the date of this prophecy compare verses 1 and 17.

³ Tablet Inscription from Nimrūd, lines 31, 32, 38.

⁴ Supposed to be Mount Demavend.

Medo-Persian, preserved in the pages of Herodotus ; the Babylonian, found in extracts from Abydenus, a disciple of the Chaldaean historian Berosus ; and the almost contemporary testimony of Nabonidus he last king of Babylon. According to the Medo-Persian tradition, Phraortes, king of Media, fell in battle against the Assyrians about the year 635 B.C. His son Cyaxares, bent on avenging his father's death, reorganized the Median army, marched against the Assyrians, defeated them, and proceeded to lay siege to Nineveh. But the end was not yet. An invasion of the Scythians, which lasted for twenty-eight years, obtained a reprieve for Assyria for nearly a generation. At the end of that time Cyaxares, having rid himself by craft of the invaders, marched a second time against Nineveh, which fell an easy prey to his victorious arms.¹ This account is very probably true as far as it goes, but, as we shall see, it does not tell us the whole story.

The extract from Abydenus, containing the Babylonian tradition, records faithfully the following facts ; viz. Sennacherib's subjugation of Babylon, and his campaign against Cilicia, the conquest of Egypt by Esarhaddon, and his being succeeded on the throne by Sardanapalus, i.e. Ashurbanipal.² Some credit is thus lent to this historian's account of the downfall of Assyria, which follows immediately after and runs thus : ' After him (viz. Sardanapalus) Saracus (i.e. Sin-shar-ishkun, the last king of Assyria) reigned over the Assyrians : and when he was informed that a very great multitude of barbarians had come against him from the sea,³ he sent Busalossarus (i.e. Nabopolassar) as his general in haste to Babylon. But he, having with a treasonable design obtained Amuheam (Amytis) the daughter of Astyages, the prince of the Medes, to be affianced to his son Nabuchodrossarus (Nebuchadnezzar), marched straightway to surprise the city of Ninus (Nineveh). But when Saracus the king was apprised of all these proceedings, he burnt his royal palace and Nabuchodrossarus succeeded to the empire.' This account, which assigns the chief glory of the war to Babylon, is probably coloured to some extent by Babylonian vanity. All the more striking, then, is the admission that the revolt against Assyria commenced, not with any action on the part of Babylon, but with the advance of an immense host which marched up from the sea.

Who, then, were this barbarian host? In all probability they were the Elamites, who crossed the head of the Persian gulf to attack Assyria, just as Sennacherib ninety years before had crossed that gulf to attack

¹ Nahum iii 12.

² There is also a misty reference to the murder of Sennacherib by his son Adramelus (Adrammelech).

³ 'Multitudinem barbarorum maximam e mari exisse.' According to another version 'Exercitus locustarum instar a mari exiens'.

Elam. No doubt their object in choosing that route was to join hands with their old allies the Chaldaeans.¹ Nabopolassar, whom Abydenus calls a general of Saracus, according to the canon of Ptolemy succeeded Kineladan, i.e. Ashurbanipal, on the throne of Babylon in 626 B.C., and this is borne out by the contract tablets. But the two statements are reconciled if we look upon him as a sub-king, holding the same position at Babylon as was formerly held by Ashurbanipal's rebellious brother Shamash-shum-ukin. Though not actually sent to Babylon, Nabopolassar may yet have received orders to march from Babylon against the Elamite host, and it is not to be wondered at that under the circumstances he should have disobeyed those orders.

But whatever attack was thus made by the Elamites in conjunction with the Babylonians on their hereditary foe, was not made on the heart of the empire but only on its southern frontier. This we learn from our third source of information, the now well-known historical inscription of Nabonidus, drawn up in 555 B.C., about half a century after the fall of Nineveh. Nabonidus begins his record with the destruction of Babylon by the Assyrians. He tells us how Sennacherib, 'acting as with the anger of a god, came to Babylon, cursed the shrines, erased the sculptures, and caused the ceremonies to cease'. This, it will be noticed, is another witness to the fulfilment of the prophecy in verse 9. The next event recorded is the murder of Sennacherib by his son, which Nabonidus regards as an act of righteous retribution on the part of Merodach for the destruction of Babylon. In the same light he views the downfall of Assyria, which he thus describes:—

'A helper he (Merodach) gave him (Nabopolassar),
 an ally he granted him.
 The king of the host of the Manda (the Medes),
 who was without a rival,
 he (Merodach) subdued to his command (i.e. to the command of Nabopolassar),
 and he caused him to go to his help.
 Above and below,
 on the right hand and on the left,
 as a deluge he overwhelmed,
 avenged Babylon,
 multiplied retribution.
 The king of the host of the Manda,
 the unfearing,
 he (Merodach) caused to overthrow the temples of the gods of Assyria, all of them.

¹ The rulers of the New Babylonian Empire were Chaldaeans. See *Ezek.* xxiii 15 R.V.M., *Ezra* v 12, and *Josephus c. Apion.* i 19.

Also the cities on the border of the land of Akkad (Northern Babylonia),

which from the king of Akkad (viz. Nabopolassar) had revolted and did not go to his help—

he (Merodach) overthrew their shrines, not one of them he left : he laid waste their cities,

he caused destruction to overflow like a deluge.

The king of Babylon (Nabopolassar),—

the command of Merodach concerning plundering caused him pain ;

he did not lay his hands on any of the shrines of the gods,

he was perfect' (viz. in his obedience to Merodach).

The above most interesting and curious account of the final onslaught upon Assyria shews us that in spite of the help of the Elamite host the position of Nabopolassar must for a while have been very critical, seeing that the cities of Northern Babylonia still remained faithful to their Assyrian overlord. It was at this juncture that the Babylonian king found a powerful ally in Cyaxares, the king of the Medes, and it was this latter people, and not the Babylonians or Elamites, who dealt the final blow. For Nabopolassar—we are somewhat quaintly told—was not allowed by Merodach to take any part in plundering the temples of Assyria and Akkad, and like a dutiful worshipper acted in perfect obedience to the will of his god. Perhaps it may be allowable to suppose that Nabonidus is here making a virtue of necessity, and that in point of fact the king of Babylon was forestalled by his powerful ally. Be this as it may, in the above extracts from Abydenus and Nabonidus we seem to see the exact fulfilment of that summons from the lips of the Almighty, 'Go up, O Elam ! besiege, O Media ! all the sighing that he causeth have I made to cease'. In the last conflict with the old Assyrian lion, Elam was to lead the way, Media to deal the final stroke. To Elam, therefore, is addressed the word of more general, to Media, that of more restricted, meaning. Elam is to 'go up' to the war, to begin the campaign, but the siege and capture of the famous Assyrian cities, including great Nineveh herself, are reserved for Media.

But it may be asked why is not Babylon included along with Elam and Media in this summons to put down Assyria? To this question three answers can be given. In the first place, this prophecy reveals the destruction of Babylon by Sennacherib, but does not reveal her resurrection under Esarhaddon. Had Babylon, then, been included, the prophecy would have been confusing in the extreme. Secondly, Babylon, as we have seen, neither initiated nor completed the putting down of Assyria: what part she did take, according to Nabonidus, was

only a secondary part. But probably the truest answer lies in those words of Abydenus, 'Nabuchodrossarus succeeded to the empire', i.e. *Babylon succeeded to the empire of Assyria*.¹ For this statement, though only partially true, expressed a very real truth so far as the Jews were concerned. In the words of Jeremiah, 'Israel is a scattered sheep, the lions have driven him away: first the king of Assyria hath devoured him; and last this Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon hath broken his bones'.² So far from putting down Assyria, Babylon perpetuated Assyria in a slightly different form.

One minor difficulty yet remains to be dealt with. The conquering race who achieved this task are called by Nabonidus the Manda, and hence it has been argued that they were not Medes at all. But this term 'Manda', the meaning of which is very uncertain,³ is probably an appellative rather than an ethnic name. Sargon applies it to the people of Nagira, Esarhaddon to the Gimirrai—the Gomer of Gen. x 2—and Cyrus to the people of Gutium. A term so widely used, and applied to the descendants of Gomer, might, so one thinks, be applied with equal suitability to the descendants of Gomer's brother, Madai, i.e. to the Medes of the Old Testament and of the Classical Writers.

In concluding this article it may be well to add a few remarks as to the authorship of this astonishing Burden. And here the first thing to be noticed is that the prophecy is inserted just at that point in the Book of Isaiah where the history of those times would lead us to expect it, viz. immediately after a prophecy foretelling the fall of Ashdod. From a chronological point of view, therefore, this Burden occupies its right place. Secondly, observe that it bears upon its face frequent indications of Isaianic authorship. These are looked upon by Dr Cheyne as an 'Isaianic colouring' due to 'the imitative skill of a later writer'.⁴ But surely it is a simpler and truer view to regard these supposed imitations as signs of actual authorship. For a prophet of such originality, who could compare the coming of a 'grievous vision' to the sirocco sweeping across the Negeb of Judah; who could imagine his own personality divided, and that for a seemingly long period, had no need to imitate and would hardly be likely to do so. I regard, then, this 'Isaianic colouring' as so many touches which betray the master hand; and certainly for so short a passage these touches are fairly numerous. Thus the figure of the whirlwind, so strikingly employed in verse 1, appears no less than four times in the earlier

¹ Similarly Herodotus (Rawlinson, i 178), speaking of Babylon, says: 'Whither after the fall of Nineveh the government had been removed.' ² Jer. i 17.

³ According to Sayce it signifies 'nomads', according to Halevy 'barbarians'. Winckler and Delitzsch give it the sense of 'northerners', Hager that of 'hordes'.

⁴ *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* p. 125.

part of this book.¹ Further, to describe the advance of this Assyrian whirlwind the prophet uses the same Hebrew verb *khalaph*, which in chap. viii 8 he uses to describe the advance of the Assyrian deluge. In verse 2 the word for 'vision' is found in xxviii 18 and xxix 11, but nowhere else except in the Book of Daniel. The description of the Assyrian in this verse is identical with that in xxxiii 1, while the phraseology may be compared with xxiv 16 'the treacherous dealers have dealt treacherously'. Also the tone and sentiment of the last clause of this verse appear again in xxv 8 and xxxv 10. In verse 3 the same simile is employed as in xiii 8.² In verse 4 the word translated 'panteth', literally 'wandereth', is a favourite one with Isaiah, being found no less than eleven times in the earlier part of this Book. With the manner in which the prophet introduces the asseveration, 'For thus hath the Lord said unto me', verses 6 and 16, compare xviii 4, even though the divine name in this latter passage is Jehovah and not Adonai. The unusual sense of 'troop' attached to the Hebrew word *rekeb* in verses 7 and 9 is found again in xxii 6. Also the mention of asses and camels in verse 7, no doubt as beasts of burden, may be compared with xxx 6. Lastly, the remarkable combination of similar words in this same verse—which, literally rendered, reads thus, 'Let him attend attentively, aye very attentively'—finds its best parallel in xxiv 16, referred to above. It thus appears that the 'Isaianic colouring' is not only very marked but well maintained throughout. Inasmuch, then, as this prophecy is seen to be so well interpreted in the light of events which with one exception³ took place in Isaiah's days, I submit that the remarkable group of visions at which we have been looking may very properly be regarded as one of those prophetic Burdens 'which Isaiah the son of Amoz did see'.⁴

CHARLES BOUTFLOWER.

¹ See v 28, xvii 13, and xxix 6.

² In *The Churchman* for October, November, and December, 1902, I have defended the Isaianic authorship of 'the Burden of Babylon', in which this verse is found.

³ Viz. the downfall of Assyria.

⁴ Isa. xiii 1.

THE CHIEF RECENSIONS OF THE BOOK OF TOBIT.

THE Book of Tobit has been preserved in three chief recensions in addition to at least one less important redaction. Each of these three appears, more or less complete, in Greek and in various non-Greek versions. One type of text can be reconstructed from the Greek *Codex Sinaiticus* and certain old Latin MSS. It will be convenient to refer to this as R^s.¹ A second recension, practically that translated in the Revised English Version, has survived in *Codd. Vat.* and *Alex.*, several Greek cursives, the first half of the Syriac (S), and the Ethiopic; and it is the basis of Fagius's Hebrew version (F). In the following pages it will be referred to as R^v. The third and shortest recension—vi 7 (8)–xiii 8 being extant in three Greek cursives, a fragment of ch. ii in the *Oxyrhynchus Papyrus*, No. 1076, and the latter half of the book in S—may be briefly termed R^c. With Neubauer's Aramaic (*Ar*) and Münster's Hebrew (M) versions we are not so vitally concerned at the present juncture, since they are probably a by-product, and certainly not the archetypes, of R^s.² Nor does the hypothesis of *independent translation* from a Hebrew or Aramaic original offer any satisfactory solution of the problems raised by R^s, R^v, R^c, or even *Ar* and M^s; it will therefore not be discussed here. The remaining versions lie outside the immediate scope of our enquiry.

There has been considerable diversity of opinion with regard to the relative antiquity and originality of the two older recensions, R^s and R^v. The *causes* of their differing traditions, phraseology, and vocabulary, are still more debateable. R^v, which is the commoner text and is popularly regarded as the oldest, was adopted by Fritzsche in 1851 as the original. In 1870, on the other hand, Reusch published his reconstructed text of R^s, and in 1878 Schürer⁴ favoured this scholar's hypothesis. Nöldeke's essay, again, published in 1879,⁵ was destined to bias

¹ I have translated this text in the *Oxford Apocrypha* (edited by Dr Charles) where the more important details of the various versions and MSS are briefly stated, and to which constant reference will be made in the following pages. Dr Swete's verse-numbering of N has also been adopted, that of the Revised English Version appearing in brackets wherever it differs.

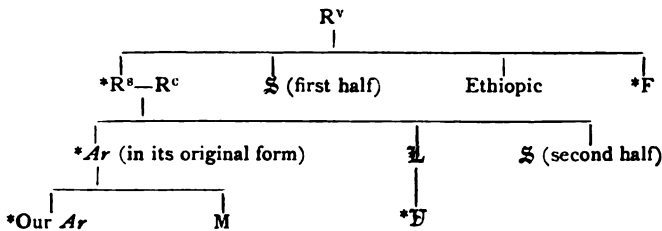
² See *Oxf. Apocr.*, sub TOBIT, pp. 176–179.

³ *Op. cit.* pp. 181 sq.

⁴ *Theol. Lit.-ztg.* 1878, pp. 333 sq.

⁵ *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1879.

subsequent enquirers unduly in favour of R^v. Thus Rosenmann¹ in 1894 accepted Nöldeke's verdict, the arguments for which were simply repeated by Löhr in 1900.² As late as 1908 they must have strongly influenced the more independent and scholarly Johannes Müller³; since otherwise his predilection for R^v would be inexplicable in view of his attempt to form an eclectic text from R^s, R^v, and R^c. Moreover, scholars, whose investigations have been connected chiefly with the contents or sources of Tobit, have in textual matters for the most part presupposed Nöldeke's position.⁴ The latter's conclusions, therefore, merit attention on account both of his own eminence as a scholar and of their wide acceptance. They may be briefly expressed in the following tabular form⁵:—



Though Graetz,⁶ in the very year in which Nöldeke's brilliant essay was published, expressed his preference for R^s, it was not till 1899 that a careful but very brief restatement of the truth of Reusch's position was made with scholarly precision by Nestle.⁷ Simonsen in 1900⁸ accepted the priority of R^s. The conclusions of two other scholars are still more noteworthy. Dr Rendall Harris, interested in Tobit as a result of the publication of *Aḥikar*, argued in 1899 that 'the Sinaitic is the better text, and it either represents the original Semitic more closely than does the Vatican text, or has been corrected from the original Semitic'.⁹ Schürer describes the stages by which he himself came to recognize at least the general trustworthiness of R^s: 'I, too, in

¹ *Studien zum Buche Tobit* pp. 28 sq.

² *Z.A.T.W.* xx pp. 243-263, intended as an answer to Nestle's pertinent criticism of Löhr's *Tobit* in Kautzsch's *Apocrypha*.

³ *Beihfte zur Z.A.T.W.* 1908, pp. 33-53.

⁴ E. G. M. Plath.

⁵ Recensions as distinct from mere translations are indicated by an asterisk. The interrelation of R^v and R^c is purposely left untouched in this scheme as it is by Nöldeke himself.

⁶ *Monatschr. f. Gesch. d. Judenth.* 1879, pp. 388 sqq.

⁷ *Septuagintastudien* iii (Maulbronn-Progr. 1899) pp. 5, 22-27; cf. iv, 1903, pp. 9 sq.

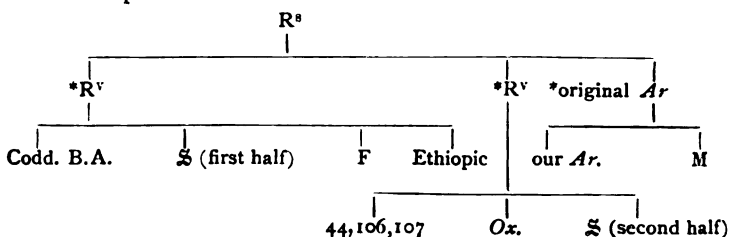
⁸ *Gedenkbuch für Kaufmann* pp. 107-109.

⁹ 'The Double Text of Tobit' in the *American Journal of Theology*, 1899, vol. iii p. 554.

the *Theol. Lit.-ztg.* 1878, pp. 333 sq., had expressed myself in favour of the priority of this [R^s]. Then, however, in the second and third editions of this book [*G. V. J.*], yielding to the authority of Nöldeke, I expressed myself with greater reserve; but after renewed investigation, I must revert to what I had stated before.¹

The fact that R^s has so slowly won its way to recognition as the oldest form in which the original writing has been preserved, is due, not to the inadequacy of the evidence, but to the failure of the students of Tobit in two important points. In the first place, till lately attention has been paid almost exclusively to the textual, literary, and linguistic evidence R^s affords of its own originality in comparison with R^v—though even within this restricted sphere R^s is superior to R^v—to the disregard of the equally, if not more, important evidence of the subject-matter. Secondly, students have been too much inclined to narrow the investigation to a general consideration of the rival merits of *Codex Sinaiticus* standing alone² on the one hand, and *Codex Vaticanus*, with *Alexandrinus*, alone on the other hand³; and that, too, with an investigation carried on without any very careful consideration of detailed grammatical evidence. In fact only after the construction of a critical synopsis of the variants, such as is attempted in the *Oxford Apocrypha*, can any just or lasting estimate be formed of the intrinsic worth of individual variants of, or within, the three distinct redactions, R^s, R^v, R^c, and their allied texts.

In tabular form the *true* inter-relation of the texts, it would seem, should be expressed as follows:—



The following is an attempt to summarize the overwhelming evidence in favour of the priority of R^s, and to determine the date and causes of the comparatively late settlement of the text of R^v and of the still later vogue of R^c.

A. A considerable mass of evidence, derived from a comparison of the subject-matter, is available to shew that R^v is a modification of R^s

¹ *Gesch. des jüd. Volkes*, 4th ed., 1909, iii p. 242.

² See e. g. viii 3 and notes *ad loc.* in the *Oxford Apocrypha*.

³ Müller has done much to widen the field of examination by his extensive use of the Old Latin and R^c (including the Syriac).

inasmuch as it reflects (1) the general presuppositions and ideas, (2) the historical conditions, and (3) the religious characteristics and theological developements, of an age long subsequent to that in which R^s was written.¹ R^v is consequently a less exact and faithful reproduction of the author's original work. Some of these changes, like the stylistic and literary modifications, were probably introduced gradually, and, slowly taking definite shape, only finally won definite recognition at the hands of some one redactor or committee of redaction; others were first introduced by that final redactional board.

1. (a) An illustration of the *general ideas* of the period in which R^v wrote is afforded by the modifications in that redaction of the *geographical* details of R^s. These were made with a view to the more or less complete removal (i) of details meaningless to non-residents in Palestine, e.g. i 1; (ii) of inexactitudes and fallacies offensive to the comparatively cosmopolitan Jew of the Christian era with his more correct knowledge of the non-Jewish world, e.g. v 6, xi 2 (1).² The alternative view, that R^s incorrectly glossed R^v at a time when the literary world was better informed in matters of geography than ever before, is unlikely. The statements in R^v are, of course, still far from accurate, e.g. vi 10 (9) is contradicted by Alexander's ten days' march between Ecbatana and Rhaga; see Arrian iii 20.

(b) Another example of the changed ideas of the period of R^v is to be found in ii 10. In R^s the old Hebrew prejudice against the medical profession is inculcated.³ In R^v, however, Tobit does not undergo a long treatment (*ἐπορεύθην* instead of *ἐπορεύόμην* in R^s); no charges are made against the medical profession generally (*ιατρούς*, not *τοὺς ιατρούς*); and while they fail to cure Tobit, their treatment is not, as in R^s, immediately responsible for Tobit's *complete* loss of eyesight.⁴

(c) Of several other instances, the omission of the Oriental form of greeting, v 5, and the careful legal phraseology (vii 11; see note *ad. loc.*),

¹ If R^s, as seems to be the case, represents the most original form of the story, it is practically as old as the author even if he wrote in Aramaic; i.e. it dates at the very earliest from 350 B. C., at the latest c. 170 B. C., probably much nearer the latter than the former (*Oxf. Apocr.* pp. 183-185).

² Acts vii 43, as compared with Amos v 27, exemplifies in the New Testament the use of this principle of accommodation to the wider horizon of a later age.

³ Ben-Sirach, almost contemporary with our author, finds it necessary in xxxviii 1-8 to defend the practice of medicine against attacks upon it such as this; see E. Bevan *Jerusalem under the High Priests*, 1904, p. 67.

⁴ Thus R^v stands to R^s exactly as Luke viii 43 to Mark v 26. It is perhaps precarious to infer from this that the change was introduced into R^v owing to its being intended for circles in which the medical profession was not entirely unrepresented, just as the change in Luke is usually regarded as being due to the author's membership of that class. Still R^v is at least the product of a more enlightened epoch than R^s. Cf. the changes in R^v in vi 8 (7); see note *ad. loc.* in *Oxf. Apocr.*

and the changed conditions of travel and escort in ix 5, need only be mentioned here.

2. In the time of R^v Tobit still remained a thoroughly popular work which might be put into the hands of a heathen to instruct him in the beauty of Judaism, as well as into those of a simple unlearned Jew to strengthen his faith. But the historical conditions in which R^v took its final form were different from those of R^s and of the original writing.¹ The Diaspora, for which R^v was intended, seems to be similar to that to which Christianity had to make its appeal in the years succeeding A. D. 70, particularly after the final revolt under Bar-Kokeba. The religious apostasy of North Israel from Jahvism, as practised at Jerusalem, had always been connected in the canonical Scriptures as in R^s (i 4), with the Northerners' rejection of the Davidic line at the time of the disruption. In R^v, however, when the Jewish State had just fallen, it was only politic not to emphasize the downfall of the State in a manner possibly suggestive of sedition against the Roman Empire, or to reopen national wounds as yet only partially healed,² or to admit the Christian argument that the Jews had rejected the Son of David. Somewhat similarly national pride led to the suppression of Jeroboam's name and of his acts of sacrilegious idolatry, since otherwise the Roman might retort that he himself was only repeating the religious policy of a former Israelitish king. To avoid giving offence to these same Roman tyrants, 'the bread of the Gentiles' in i 11 was omitted; while a similar motive dictated the omission of the far too personal charge of blasphemy levelled in R^s against the foreign conqueror in i 18, as well as xiii 12^b with its painfully obvious application and too patent prayer for vengeance on the foe. On the other hand, the prejudice against the 'publican', and, in fact, against all Jews who accepted public posts under the Roman government, resulted in R^v's abridgement of i 13 sq., 22.³ Thus redacted to meet the historical circumstances of a new and critical era in the national life,⁴ our book

¹ See *Oxf. Apocr.* pp. 185-187.

² In xiv 4 (see note *ad loc.* in *Oxf. Apocr.*) there is a reference in R^v to the dispersion and disorganization of Judaism resulting from the rebellion.

³ If the meaning of ἡγοράζον suggested in the note to verse 14 be correct, there would be still more reason for the excision, since some of the Jews themselves were now unhappily in slavery as a result of the war.

⁴ Tobit, it must be remembered, from the moment of its composition in the pre-Maccabean period, had never ceased to be a popular work. In the hour of national depression it gave its inspired message to each generation of pious and faithful Jews—whether it was the cruelty of Bacchides, the apostasy of a Jason, the persecuting zeal of 'the crowned apostle of Hellenism', the blasphemy of a Pompey, or the victory of a Titus in A. D. 70. Still nearer the time of R^v attention would be directed to the book by the destruction of Antioch, 'the Rome of Asia Minor', by an earthquake in A. D. 113 (see Hitzig *Zeitschr. für wiss. Theol.* 1860, pp. 250 sqq.).

made once again an irresistible appeal to the heroic remnants of the nation. At first, in the kindly-disposed Esarhaddon, i 21, 22, they would see a prophecy of the early hope-inspiring years of Hadrian¹ following the harder days of Trajan and of his representative Lusius Quietus.² Soon, however, Hadrian assumed the rôle of Sennacherib. Relief at the accession of Antoninus Pius would connect the latter with Esarhaddon, while his reign would afford the opportunity for the settlement of this secondary recension which we term R^v.³ The stress laid in the book upon the duty of fitting burial of the dead, especially of those who had died in conflict with non-Jews, was no longer primarily a literary allusion⁴ or an example of charity for charity's own sake,⁵ but a sacred trust actually and literally to be discharged in spite of the jeers of the Roman crowds who sacrificed to their emperor-god, in spite of the exultation of the Christians who saw in the destruction of Jerusalem the vengeance of heaven upon the murderers 'of the Prince of Life', and, above all, in spite of Hadrian's barbarous treatment of the corpses of the defenders of Bether.

3. Certain modifications in the spheres of theology and religious observance appear in R^v which stamp it as undoubtedly later than R^s, a reflexion in fact of the practices and ideas of a distinct and subsequent period in the religious and institutional developement of the nation.

(a) The tendency, apparent even in R^s, to emphasize the transcendence of the Godhead has resulted in the introduction of additional phrases descriptive of this, e.g. 'the Most High', i 4, and 'the Holy One', xii 15 (14).⁶

(b) The developement in angelology is still more significant. R^v emphasizes the peculiar holiness of the seven chief angels, xii 15 (14). In R^s Raphael alone presents human prayer before God, and that, too, only on one occasion, xii 12; in R^v the doctrine is inculcated that all prayer offered by the saints, i.e. all prayer acceptable to God, reaches Him through the medium of the seven angels.⁷ Of the special privileges of the latter only one, that of access to and personal attendance on God, was recognized in the earlier days of R^s. In R^v, moreover, Raphael occupies a supreme position, which in the earlier days of R^s

¹ See Grätz *G. J.*, 2nd ed., iv 137 sq.

² Cf. Rosenthal in *Vier Apokryph-Bücher* p. 135, who so clearly recognizes this possibility that he supposes that Tobit was composed at this period.

³ Grätz (*Monatschrift* pp. 513 sqq.; *G. J.*, 2nd ed., iv note 17), recognizing this fact, and failing to see that the original work is pre-Maccabean, supposed that the book was only composed in the reign of Antoninus Pius!

⁴ See *Oxf. Apocr.* p. 193.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 192.

⁶ Cf. xii 12.

⁷ Cf. Wilhelm Lucken *Michael*, 1898, pp. 7 sq., 36.

would have been regarded as polytheistic, if not blasphemous, in tendency. In R^v Raphael, designated as 'the great one', possesses a 'glory', and as God's vice-gerent apparently adjudicates what prayers are to be permitted to penetrate—through the medium of his six coadjutors, xii 15 (14)—to the higher court of God Himself, iii 16.¹ The transposition in R^v of the first two clauses of xii 19 possibly emphasizes the thoroughly docetic character of the brief visit which this highest official of the heavenly court paid to earth. Among the reasons for this visit, that of *trying* Tobit, xii 14, is not mentioned in R^v, since the more developed angelology of the latter would attribute this duty to a member of a minor order, if not to the Satan (cf. Job i 6 sqq., Zech. iii 1 sqq.). As in later Judaism, in comparison with pre-exilic Jahvism, there is a tendency to avoid the use of the Divine Name by the substitution of words such as *Heaven, the Blessed, Maqom, Memra, &c.*, so R^v betrays a tendency to substitute 'the angel' for Raphael, e. g. vi 14 (13). This same term is reverently introduced in R^v instead of the pronoun, e. g. xii 5; the old Jahvistic phrase 'angel of the Lord', expressive of a theophany, appears in xii 22. An attempt is made in v 4, by the omission of the words 'an angel of God' to minimize the possibility of Tobias's ignorance of Raphael's office. So consistently is this dogmatic use of *ἄγγελος* carried out in R^v that the word *ἄγγελοι* is omitted in x 8² on the ground that its application to merely human couriers would be irreverent.³ The same motive of reverence led to the transformation of the statement of the amount of wages in R^s into an interrogative sentence in R^v, v 15 (14).

(c) The late period which the foregoing religious tendencies demand for R^v is still more closely defined by another characteristic of R^v to which sufficient attention is not usually given. In the more original form of the book, as preserved in R^s, no protest is raised against the later eschatological or apocalyptic, as opposed to the earlier or prophetic, point of view. R^s in fact contains statements which, in the light of the subsequent development of Apocalyptic, might be regarded as something more even than the germs of such a doctrine. R^v on the other hand presents a text from which the majority of these remarks have been carefully expurgated to make the work absolutely⁴ inoffensive to

¹ The italicized *God* of the Revised Version only makes clearer the impossibility of the various expedients to avoid this logical dogma of a consistently developed angelology, e. g. the theory of textual corruption accepted even by Bousset (*Die Religion des Judentums* p. 379 note 2).

² It is noteworthy that R^v is otherwise following R^s with exceptional closeness in this verse.

³ Cf. the transformation of *ἐλλογητοί* into *ἐλλογήμενοι* in xiii 12 from a similar motive.

⁴ The close affinities with Dan. ii 5 in i 20 (see note *ad loc.*) were possibly

the school of thought of which Rabbi Akiba is the most illustrious representative.¹ (i) A characteristic feature of apocalyptic was its elaboration of a philosophy of world periods. A number of passages in R^s, though unobjectionable in themselves and written before this doctrine was elaborated, were mostly rendered inoffensive or omitted by R^v.² (ii) One of the most important moments in the eschatological drama is usually assigned to the great assize. R^v accordingly paraphrased 'thou judgest the world' of R^s by a quite general statement. (iii) A third important characteristic of Apocalyptic was connected with its teaching as to the ingathering of Israel. The omission in R^v of 'Happy . . . king of heaven' of R^s in xiii 16, whatever the ultimate cause of the omission,³ would relieve the book of all suspicion in this connexion, while the description of the subject-nations and the physical disturbance of nature by the world-wide lightning are curtailed in xiii 11^a. (iv) Apocalyptic dealt especially with the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the Temple and the felicity of the Messianic age. The omission in R^v of xiii 16^a is noteworthy. The predictions of ch. xiv were allowed to stand by virtue of the specific appeal to the earlier prophecy contained in the Canonical Scriptures, xiv 5. Moreover, prayer for the restoration of the Holy City and the Temple would not necessarily be barred along with Apocalyptic in which it had been enshrined. It still appears to-day in clauses 14 and 17 of the *Shemoneh*

removed in R^v to avoid even the suspicion of affinity with Apocalyptic literature. Daniel itself was admitted to the Canon on account of its popularity with the masses, not because it was a favourite with the Rabbis themselves.

¹ It is generally agreed that סְחָשְׁרֵי קָצִים in *Sanh.* 97*b* illustrates the Talmudic hostility to the Apocalyptic tendency of thought consequent upon the destruction of Jerusalem. That catastrophe might not have taken place but for the false hopes of immediate victory inspired by a degenerate and materialistic apocalyptic. Cf. G. H. Box *Ezra-Apocalypse*, 1912, pp. 304 sq.; Oesterley and Box *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, 1907, pp. 216 sqq.

² Thus ἐστὶν μεμερισμένη πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος suggestive of the existence of previous world-epochs, was weakened in R^v into ἡτοίμασμένη ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος in vi 18 (17). In vi 8 (7), vii 11 (12), viii 21, ἐς τὸν αἰῶνα suggestive of another, beyond the present, world-epoch, has been excised in R^v. R^v has retained ἐς αἰῶνα in eight passages in the ordinary sense of 'for ever'. In viii 5 (*bis*), 15, xi 14, xiii 16 πάντας occurs before αἰῶνας; in two of these the πάντας is dropped in R^v, and in the rest the whole phrase has disappeared. Only in the quite harmless passages, xiii 4, 18, has R^v preserved the πάντας. In xiii 11 ἐς τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος is absent from R^v. In two harmless passages, i 4, xiii 10, similar phrases are retained. And, though τὴν βασιλεία τῶν αἰώνων is retained in vi 10 (9), the stronger τὸν κύριον τοῦ αἰῶνος and τὸν θεὸν τοῦ αἰῶνος in xiv 7 are purposely altered: οἰκήσουσιν τὸν αἰῶνα; xiv 7 ἐς τὸ σκότος τοῦ αἰῶνος; xiv 10, and ἐς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων; xiv 15 have no counterpart in R^v. The definite ὁ χρόνος τῶν καιρῶν is converted into the indeterminate καιροὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος with its message of patience.

³ The abbreviation in R^v is perhaps due to the error of a scribe who passed from the first to the second 'Jerusalem' of the verse.

*Esreh.*¹ (v) R^v in xiii 2 reflects the ordinary Pharisaic view of the future life and a conscious approximation to the phraseology of the Canonical Scriptures rather than the specifically apocalyptic details which might be forced into 'the great destruction' of R^s.

(d) R^v similarly reflects a stage later than that of R^s in the evolution of the religious customs of Judaism. The following are the most important instances in R^v of the ramifications and increased emphasis laid in later times upon such matters. (i) The tithe of 'the cattle', given to the priests in i 6 in R^s, is in conformity with the more ancient practice based upon Lev. xxvii 32-33 and mentioned as late as Jub. xxxii 15. R^v on the other hand agrees with the Mishnic regulation, which enacted that the tithe of the cattle should be treated as 'second tithe', which was not given to the priests, but was used by the offerers themselves at the sacred festivals of Jerusalem. (ii) Moreover, R^s agrees with the earlier practice of paying a tithe for the poor every third year *in place of* the second tithe; R^v on the other hand has been edited in the interests of the later custom of exacting a tithe for the poor every third year *in addition to* the second tithe.² (iii) The stress on fasting increased rather than decreased in the period between 200 B.C. and A.D. 150. Hence the mention of Sarah's fasting in R^v³ in x 7 is still another indication of the comparative lateness of this redaction. Again, *δικαιοσύνη* was now⁴ almost *entirely* debased into a synonym of *ἐλεημοσύνη*, and was therefore no longer a correlative of *ἀδικία*: hence the modification in R^v in xiv 11. (iv) While c. 200 B.C. the Old Testament was the sole court of appeal, c. A.D. 150 the national customs, both ecclesiastical and domestic, were regulated still more minutely by *Halakha* and *Aggada*. Thus there was less need in the later period which produced R^v to insist strongly on the conformity of the marriage contract to the Mosaic legislation in vii 13 (14). (v) A slight 'heightening of the miraculous' is observable in R^v,⁵ e.g. vi 2 (1)-9 (8). In R^s the incident is related chiefly to explain the circumstances under which the medicinal parts of the fish were obtained, and to illustrate Raphael's resourcefulness in all emergencies; there is no miracle involved in the seizure of a man's foot⁶ by a great

¹ Cf. *Lev. Rabbah* ix.

² See Schürer *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*, 4th ed. ii pp. 306 sq. ³ Cf. Acts xxiii 12.

⁴ R. Akiba is accredited with the remark 'Almsgiving saves from the punishment of Hell', *Baba Bathra* 10a; cf. Bousset *Rel. d. Jud.* p. 163.

⁵ This is a fairly certain criterion of the secondary character of R^v and is parallel to the treatment of Marcan matter in St Matthew's Gospel (see W. C. Allen *St Matthew* p. xxxii sq.).

⁶ In view of the use of the middle *περιτίψασθαι* (see further below) and the preposition *ἐς*, not *ἐν*, which follows, it is conceivable that *τοὺς πόδας* was a very early addition, which shews that the *τὸν πόδα* was already in the text and original.

fish. In R^v, however, the extraordinary and marvellous character of the incident is emphasized: the fish, no longer a large one, is on the point of swallowing Tobias whole and Raphael brings about a marvellous escape. R^v may well add *θαυμαστόν* to R^s in xii 22.

B. LITERARY EVIDENCE. It is already clear that R^v reflects, so far as the period between 200 B.C. and A.D. 150 is concerned, the culmination of the gradual evolution of our book on lines exactly parallel to, and expressive of, much of the development in the theological presuppositions and religious customs of the period. This entailed literary modifications of the original tradition. That it went through such a process of modification is evidence of the high esteem in which it was held and the great popularity it achieved. The story became a household word; the simplest as well as the most cultured found in its incidents and in its maxims the truest source of inspiration and comfort, and a worthy model upon which to frame their lives. They would read and meditate on it privately and in public meetings, if not in the synagogue itself, and at home would repeat or read out aloud portions of a story so like their own in its record of struggle with poverty and foreign tyranny. Because Tobit was not among the books which were already tending more and more to be relegated to the category of the Canonical, they could incorporate new features and remove old ones from the text, so that the hero became the more real to their imagination and instinct with the truest and finest aspirations of their own day. Consequently among the stylistic and literary divergences of R^s and R^v it is only natural that a certain proportion should be more or less accidental and of no importance in themselves. In several cases, however, they seem, in my judgement, to point to the priority of R^s and the comparatively late date of R^v. At any rate they certainly shew that between these two recensions a considerable period elapsed, even if in a few cases they afford no more than a subsidiary argument, and that, too, at times based on subjective reasoning, for the priority of R^s. Thus in the literary sphere especially the following among other modifications of R^s are only what is to be expected in R^v if we are right in relegating the latter to the second century of our era.¹

1. The literary allusions of the author are more accurately preserved

¹ Just as the transformations and modifications in the subject-matter are parallel in many respects in St Matthew and St Luke's changes of St Mark (*v. supra*), so in literary, lexicographical and stylistic points the treatment of R^s in R^v finds several parallels in the literary characteristics of the Synoptic Gospels and the earlier transcriptional and copyists' changes in the New Testament. Naturally it is only possible here to indicate the *lines* upon which the literary and textual changes were developed and the *principles* upon which an exhaustive treatment should be based.

in R^S than in R^V. R^S quite clearly belongs to a period when the references to Aḥikar¹ were still intelligible, whereas R^V only dates back in this respect to a much later period when Aḥikar, as appears to be the case on independent grounds, was at last becoming a comparatively little known work. This is beyond question in the case of the proper names with regard to which more or less ingenious speculations (i 21 sq., ii 10, xi 18, xiv 10, see note *ad loc.* in *Oxf. Apocr.*) were already rife.² The change from the third to the first person at the end of i 22 can only point to the same fact. Similarly the references to the *wisdom* of Aḥikar are better preserved in R^S than in R^V.³ Even on the hypothesis, which must now be discredited, that the references to Aḥikar are interpolations,⁴ R^V is the more original, since R^V only contains them in a debased and corrupt form. But granted that the original author was immediately dependent on Aḥikar, then it is only logical to infer that the redaction, namely R^S, which preserves the references most faithfully, is absolutely original at least in this respect. Now this is an evident and undeniable case in which the originality of R^S is beyond dispute. If in other important respects R^S exhibits marks of originality, even if they are not all of so certain a character as the present instances, a chain of cumulative evidence will be created pointing unmistakeably to the final settlement of the inter-relation of R^S and R^V.

2. The literary style and vocabulary of R^V is not that of the cultured author, or, if he wrote a Semitic language, of the cultured circles which were responsible for the translation into Greek. They belong rather to the vernacular in which the book would afterwards circulate among the simple-minded, God-fearing population of the Diaspora or of Palestine until a redactor or committee of redactors sought more or less definitely to fix its text. He or they thus adapted it to the needs and circumstances and linguistic usages of a later time. Of the mass of evidence pointing to the greater antiquity, in almost every respect, of the Greek of R^S space allows only of the following illustrations *in addition* to those referred to in the notes below the translation in the *Oxf. Apocrypha* as being dealt with by Thackeray,⁵ Deissmann,⁶ Moulton,⁷ and other papyrologists and grammarians.⁸

¹ See *Oxf. Apocr.* pp. 189-192.

² Cf. Ed. Meyer *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*, 1912, p. 106 footnote 2.

³ N's accidental omission of iv 6^b-19^a (see note *ad loc.*) is more than counter-balanced by L's preservation of the whole, and particularly by its reading in iv 7.

⁴ See *Oxf. Apocr.* pp. 194 sq.

⁵ *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek* i, to which constant reference is made in the notes to the translation; see e.g. iii 8, iv 19, vi 3, vii 12, ix 3, x 2, 7, 10, xi 8, xii 3, 6, xiii 16, xiv 2, 4, 5.

⁶ See notes to i 6, iii 17, x 10, xii 19.

⁷ See notes to xii 6, &c.

⁸ See notes to i 6, 15, 17, ii 10, v 15, vi 8, xii 9.

- (a) Characteristic particles and conjunctions of R^s are avoided.¹
 (b) The historic presents and imperfects of R^s are frequently replaced by aorists.²
 (c) The repetition and redundancy which are such striking features of the style of R^s are absent.³
 (d) Not infrequently a commonplace word or construction in vogue in the redactor's time is substituted for a rarer word or construction preserved in R^s.⁴
 (e) In R^v the harshness of the syntax and vocabulary in R^s is often corrected.⁵

¹ E. g. avoidance of *καί* whether by total omission, e. g. i 14, viii 6 (*bis*), 16, 17; or by substitution of a participle and *δέ*, e. g. i 19; or *ὁ δέ*, e. g. ii 14, v 9, vi 2 (1), vii 5, viii 2, ix 5; *ὅς δέ*, v 13, or *ὅτε δέ*, e. g. ii 1, viii 3, or *δέ* alone v 18 (17), vi 3 (2) sq., 6 (5), 9 (8) sq., 16 (15), 18 (17), vii 11, viii 1, 4, x 4, 7, 8, 10, &c. Similarly *πῶς δέ* is strengthened to *ἀλλὰ πῶς*, v 2; cf. insertions such as *γάρ*, e. g. v 14 (13), and *διότι* for *καί*, e. g. vi 13 (12). Moreover R^v omits *ἔτι* after verbs of saying; e. g. vii 11. Cf. Sir John Hawkins *Horae Synopticae* pp. 150 sqq. for similar treatment of Mark's style by St Matthew and St Luke and the usage of the LXX; and Allen *op. cit.* pp. xxiii sqq. for a comparison of the LXX and Theod. in Daniel.

² E. g. i 18^b, ii 10. The avoidance in R^v of the characteristic *λέγει* of R^s is as remarkable as the rejection of St Mark's use of it by the other Evangelists (cf. Sir John Hawkins *op. cit.* pp. 144 sqq.). Note especially ii 3, 14 (*bis*), iii 10, vi 11 (10), 16 (15), vii 1, x 4, 12. R^v has *λέγει* only in x 6, 9. Of six cases of *ἤρξατο* with an infinitive the construction is avoided in R^v in iii 1, viii 19, x 3 (cf. Allen *op. cit.* pp. xxi sq.).

³ This extends to (i) doublet-like or tautologous clauses, e. g. i 10, ix 14 b; (ii) full descriptions of interviews and dramatic moments which became irksome especially in public reading when the story was a household word, e. g. vi 11, xi 16, how Tobit walked, and the total omission of x 6 b (cf. x 8, 9 and the shorter list of gifts x 10); (iii) picturesque, aesthetic and dramatic details equally otiose in the judgement of later and prosaic readers, e. g. ii 9, iii 4, vii 9; (iv) minor phrases, e. g. 'who were of my nation' i 16, 'of the Ninevite captives' ii 2; (v) the substitution of compounded verbs, substantives, &c., e. g. *παρακαταθήκη* x 13 (xi 1), *κατενλόγησεν* xi 17. This is paralleled by St Matthew's and St Luke's treatment of Marcan material. And yet most scholars who have dealt with the problem of R^s and R^v have presupposed that the shorter, less circumstantial and less pictorial narrative is always the earlier!

⁴ E. g. *χάρις* for *χαράν* vii 17 and see note to xiv 13. Cf. the avoidance of the pregnant construction in xiii 5. Similarly the levelling-down process of which the substitution of *κύριε* for *δέσποτα* iii 14 and the frequent omission of *κύριος* (twice in iii 6) are only two of many examples, resulting in a loss of dramatic interest, e. g. vii 16, the avoidance of *πάντημα* vi 8 (see note *ad loc.*).

⁵ E. g. of syntax by the insertion of *δεῖ* xii 1 (cf. xii 12 to end), or of the vocabulary e. g. *χορησθήναι* xii 9, the omission of the awkwardly placed *βαλλάντια*. In vi 15 R^v endeavours to simplify R^s by breaking up the period into two sentences. Explanatory glosses sometimes appear, e. g. 'of the Lord', to make room for which 'with whole heart' of R^s is omitted ii 2, or the meaning is made easier by an omission, e. g. *τοῖς ἔργοις* ii 11. Note especially the avoidance of the anacoluthon, e. g. iii 15 (cf. xii 12).

(f) The same prepositions occur, but with different cases after them, e.g. xi 16. The less usual order is inverted, e.g. *πάλιν ἰδοῦ*, ii 8.

(iii) Traces of the devotional, if not liturgical, application of the book appear, e.g. xi 14, 15^a.¹

(iv) There is a natural tendency to assimilate the literary descriptions of the more important situations to those of the Old Testament, making such allusions more definite and pointed.²

(v) The interchange of synonyms and particularly the laxity, e.g., in putting 'Tobit' for 'his father', 'Edna' for 'his wife'; addition of 'Anna' with 'his mother', v 18, &c. *passim*, are most likely due to the elasticity of *oral* tradition and the current transcriptional method of circulating and handing down the hero's fame and wisdom.³ Again, the growing familiarity with the story independently of the professional copyist and public reader would lead inevitably to the insertion of clauses and words forestalling the *dénouement* or anticipating information imparted in R^s at a later point, e.g. Tobit's wife's name is inserted in i 9. These, subconsciously affecting the copyists, would ultimately find a place in the text, e.g. *ἐνώπιον τοῦ Κυρίου* in x 12 came to be connected with the following clause, and oral tradition preferred, to the pessimism which had been expressed in R^s, the more comforting

¹ Cf. the general ascription of thanksgiving addressed to God in R^v as contrasted with the ejaculatory confession of R^a in xi 14, 15^a. Possibly the brief *ὡς ἐν γυναικί* in iii 8 and similar periphrases of longer and unedifying details of R^a are due to the exigencies of such public reading.

² This is especially apparent in vii 1 (see note *ad loc.*) and in the substitution of 'Jonah' for 'Nahum' (xiv 3); xii 1 (xi 19) is assimilated to Gen. xxix 27 (cf. *Oxf. Apocr.* p. 192 footnote 6, R^a and R^v are placed side by side in the accompanying translation of this verse in order to illustrate this fact). *Σμεοῦ* in v 14 is influenced by the Biblical name common among the priestly classes, e.g. i Chron. xv 8, 11, Ezra x 21, 31, Neh. x 8, xi 15. In view of this the attempts to find traces of assimilation to Biblical language and models in R^a and not R^v are quite beside the point.

³ Cf. Sir John Hawkins *op. cit.* pp. 67 sqq., 217, in the case of the Synoptic Gospels even on the documentary hypothesis; Dr Sanday's remarks in *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, 1911, pp. 16-19, on the methods of copyists of the Synoptic Gospels and their tendency to change the text in minor matters as a result of their first reading a line or two of the MS from which they were copying, and then laying it aside in order to transcribe what they had read in it to the new MS in course of preparation. Thus are explained a number of variations (e.g. v 17, x 4, 'because he delays'), of no significance in themselves but evidence of the long period of development between R^a and the settlement of the text of R^v; e.g. *καθότι* for *καὶ ὅτι* in i 12; *ἀνέλυσα* for *ἐλονσάμην* (since they had already copied one statement as to washing) ii 9; *ἔτι* for *διότι* in iii 8; *ἔτι προσθήσω* for *ἐπιπροσθήσω* in v 16 (15); *κύριε* for *οὐχί* in viii 7; *πορευθεὶς* for *παρ' αὐτοῦ* v 3; *κατήσχυνται* see note to x 2; *κατελύγησεν* for *καὶ εὐλόγησεν* xi 17; *πολύ* for *πλούτος* xii 8; *ὅτι οὐ* for *οὐχί* resulting from the omission in xii 18; xiii 13 (note *ad loc.*); transpositions e.g. ix 4, 3; xiv 9, 8 (note *ad loc.*); omissions like that in xiii 16.

thought which it itself substituted immediately before these words (cf. the change in v 3).

CONCLUSION AS TO THE DATE, PURPOSE, AND HISTORY OF R^V. R^V is the immediate result of a comparatively late attempt to settle the text, probably in the reign of Antoninus Pius, not in Christian but in Jewish circles of the Diaspora in touch with the official heads of the Jewish Church in Palestine. But it is equally clear that the latter authorities finally rejected R^V and fell back on the revered and ancient Greek text of R^S, from which they must have made a Semitic translation, the progenitor of the Aramaic text from which our *Ar.* and M are derived. Thus R^V remained for the undisputed use of the Christians, who would not be slow to use it since it contained nothing definitely anti-Christian, and many of its characteristics had been slowly crystallizing before the final settlement of the text. We can scarcely hope to settle definitely the question as to the reason why this Jewish rejection of it took place, or the exact manner in which it passed over from the Jewish Diaspora to become the official text of North-east Europe and, in part, of Christian Syria, and finally of Ethiopia. Possibly large numbers of these Jewish circles in which R^V had flourished were converted to Christianity, and this may have helped to bring down on the new revision the condemnation of the official Rabbism. Possibly the Rabbis rejected it solely because it was written in a pagan language, and, like the LXX, was to a great extent already in use among the Christians.

RELATION OF R^C TO R^S AND R^V. A Jewish revision such as R^V, even though it had been of slow growth, could not be expected to commend itself to all the Christian churches equally. In Egypt, in particular, where R^S as well as R^V had originated and both had probably flourished side by side in different circles, Christian Jews might well be dissatisfied at the announcement of the acceptance of R^V first in Jewish and afterwards in Christian circles. Conservative feeling and traditional tendencies would naturally tend to swing the pendulum back in favour of R^S. The modern spirit, the larger outlook, the liturgical fitness, the richer theology, and the vernacular style of R^V, on the other hand, together with the unsettled and still isolated condition of the Christian churches fully occupied with doctrinal and practical issues, would make a complete and universal boycott of R^V for long impossible. While R^S, in the Old Latin, mostly held its own in the Western Church, the compromising text of R^{C1} gradually won a comparatively short-lived triumph in some quarters. It contained, in the estimation of the period, the best in R^S and in R^V, but never attained the fixed character

¹ See *Oxf. Apocr.* p. 176.

of R^s or R^v,¹ though it penetrated into the Syrian Church and partially supplanted R^v. If, indeed, it was ever fixed by an official board of redaction or a synod, it may well have been thus fixed in speculative, if not Gnostic, circles, to which the docetic appearance of Raphael,² and the appendage to R^v which appears in viii 15 of R^c,³ would especially appeal. At any rate the revision was made in a non-Jewish and probably in a Christian environment. This is shewn, for instance, by the use of τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀκάθαρτον in vi 15.⁴ Again, the dog becomes distinctly prominent on the return journey—a striking illustration of the growing influence of Zoroastrian doctrines and practices.⁵

D. C. SIMPSON.

GREEK THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF THE ODES OF SOLOMON.

IN reviewing Dr Abbott's book *Light on the Gospel from an ancient Poet* in this JOURNAL (xiv pp. 313-316), I drew attention to a couple of passages in the Odes of Solomon which appeared to me to offer strong reasons for believing that the Syriac text was translated from Greek. In the first of these cases I argued that in Ode xli 16 the Syriac gives us a translation of πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου. In the second case I gave it as my opinion that the words in Ode xxx 6 'and until it [the spring of living water] was set [*lit. given*] in the midst, they did not know it' could not be a translation from Hebrew, since they contain an unsemitic idiom, viz. εἰς τὸ μέσον τιθέναι, *in medio ponere*.

In the last number of the JOURNAL, p. 442, Dr Abbott says of the first of these two arguments that it is 'strong', and, 'if it cannot be answered, and if two or three more such instances could be alleged, the conclusion might become irresistible'. It is in the hope of persuading Dr Abbott, and others also, that I adduce in the present Note some further passages in which there appear to me to be cogent reasons for

¹ Constantly, as is shewn in the critical synopsis, considerable divergences appear in codd. 104, 106, 107, and S.

² Note the omission of the names of Raphael, human and divine, in iii 14, ἀγγέλων in xii 15, and the change to the plural ὁράσεις in xii 19.

³ 'May all the aeons praise Thee and let Thy angels bless Thee.'

⁴ For the use of this term in those parts of the New Testament writings which were intended primarily for non-Jewish Christians see Plummer *S. Luke* (*Int. Crit. Com.*) pp. 132 sq.

⁵ Thus there was a substratum of truth in Kohut's attempt to connect Tobit with the revival of interest in Zoroastrianism at this time.

concluding not merely that the Syriac is a translation from Greek, but also that the Odes were composed in Greek.

But first I should like to say a word as to the second of the two cases already alleged. Dr Abbott discounts the value of the argument here on the ground that the Syriac says not 'until it was *set* in the midst', but 'until it was *given* in the midst'; and he asks: 'May we not then justly say, "This is surely *in medio dare*"—and points to a Hebrew original?' But here, I think, he has overlooked the fact that Syriac as well as Hebrew can, and often does, put 'dare' for 'ponere'. This being so, a Syriac translator might quite well translate *τιθέναι* by 'give'. Thus we get back to the main question: Are there any grounds for supposing that a Hebrew writer would use the phrase 'set (*or* give) in the midst' in the idiomatic non-local sense which attaches to *eis τὸ μέσον τιθέναι*, *in medio ponere*, and is required here in the Ode—namely, 'to publish', 'make known', 'bring forward openly'? Dr Abbott adduces from Num. xxx 5 the phrase 'in the middle': but there a real local 'middle', of a carefully specified area, is in question; and I can see no parity between that passage and the one in the Ode.

The following are the additional arguments referred to above.

I. In Ode vii 4 we read: 'He caused me to know Himself without envy in (*or* by) His simplicity; for His kindness made His greatness little.'

Dr Harris notes that the Syriac expression 'without envy' stands for *ἀφθόνως*; and to me it appears that it evidently does so. But in any case it must be intended to convey the meaning ungrudgingly, bountifully. But 'in His *simplicity*', which follows, does not in Syriac, any more than in English, explain or amplify this idea. Why then is the expression used? If we translate it literally into Greek we seem clearly to have the answer: (*ἐν*) *τῇ ἀπλότητι αὐτοῦ* is 'in His bounty' (2 Cor. viii 2, ix 11, 13; and *ἀπλῶς* Jas. i 5), and this is precisely what the context requires.

The adjective 'simple' meets us in Ode xxxiv 1, which with the next verse runs as follows: 'No way is hard where there is a simple heart; nor is there any wound (*lit.* stroke) in right thoughts.' Here, again, the sense is greatly improved if we put *ἀπλοῦς* for 'simple' (and also *ἐκπληξίς* for 'wound'): 'No way is hard where there is a generous heart; nor is there any dismay in right thoughts.'

II. In Ode xx 5 is this sentence *ܠܐܢܐ ܠܝܕܐܐ ܠܡܕܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܠܝܕܐܐ*. That this is odd Syriac Dr Harris is witness; he refuses

to translate it. Literally it is: 'thou shalt not acquire an alien the blood of thy soul.' Dr Harris thought the words 'the blood of thy soul' must be corrupt, and accordingly substituted for them in his text

by the price of thy silver' (ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܝܫܠܝܐ): a brilliant, but hardly a convincing emendation. The Nitrian MS discovered by Professor Burkitt supports the reading of Dr Harris's own MS; and I believe that the text is in fact quite sound, and that the difficulty lies not in the expression 'the blood of thy soul' (which is merely the Syriac way of saying 'thine own blood'), but in a peculiar use of the verb ܡܠܐ 'to acquire', or, in one of its forms, 'to possess', 'be possessed of'.

In one of the 'Intercession' prayers of the Syriac 'Anaphora of St James' the following expression occurs: ܡܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܕܝܠܐ; that is literally: '(Thou) that possessest things impossible (as) possible.' Now most of the Syriac Anaphora of St James was translated from a Greek text differing not very widely from the Greek 'St James' as we now have it. It is true that in the prayers of the 'Intercession' the Syriac does differ considerably from the present Greek; but this only means that it was translated from a different form of Greek text. The proof that the Syriac 'Intercession' also was translated from Greek lies in the quotations it contains from the Old Testament, which follow the LXX. Moreover, the above words occur in Jacob of Edessa's revision of the Syriac Anaphora, for which he must have used Greek texts current in his time (saec. vii): one of the MSS of this revision in the British Museum (Add. 14499 fol. 20) definitely describes it as a 'Greek correction'.

Now the passage from the Anaphora which I have cited shews the same peculiar use of the verb ܡܠܐ as the passage in the Ode, except that in the former the particular part of the verb used means 'possess' rather than 'acquire'. But there can be no reasonable doubt that the original Greek of '(Thou) that possessest things impossible (as) possible' was ὁ τὰ ἀδύνατα δυνατὰ ἔχων (an adaptation of Lk. xviii 27). As Syriac has no verb 'to have', the translator, in attempting to construe literally, has been driven to use 'possess' for ἔχειν, and this in a case where the Greek verb does not mean literally 'to have'.

This, it seems to me, supplies us with the clue to the meaning of 'thou shalt not *acquire* an alien the blood of thy soul'. The meaning is: 'thou shalt not regard as an alien thine own (flesh and) blood'; and the Syriac is a translation of οὐχ ἕξεις (or the like) ἀλλότριον τὸ ἴδιον αἷμα.

As already observed, there is no sufficient reason to suspect the reading 'the blood of thy soul', which has the testimony of both MSS, and which is good Syriac for 'thine own blood'. But does not this phrase in itself involve a Grecism? Is there any Hebrew authority for the use of 'blood', like 'flesh', in the sense of kith and kin?

I think we may now take the case a step further, and find the origin of this sentence in the Ode, and at the same time account for a momentary outburst of realism, in *vv.* 5 and 6, which is quite unlike the Odist's usual manner. If we turn to *Is. lviii* we find some remarkable coincidences with our Ode *xx*. First, there is a general parallelism of structure :—

<i>Isaiah</i>	<i>Ode</i>
(a) the unacceptable fast.	(a) the acceptable sacrifice.
(b) conditions, in the form of precepts, for an acceptable fast.	(b) similar conditions for an acceptable sacrifice.
(c) happy results from fulfilment of conditions.	(c) similarly (<i>vv.</i> 7 foll.). ¹

But there is a good deal more than this general parallelism : among the conditions, or perhaps constituents, of the acceptable fast and sacrifice are these (translating *v.* 5 of the Ode according to the above restoration of its meaning) :—

<i>Isaiah</i> lviii 7	<i>Ode</i> xx 5, 6
'when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh' (R. V.). [For the second clause the LXX has <i>καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων τοῦ σπέρματός σου οὐχ ὑπερόψη.</i>]	5 'thou shalt not regard as an alien thine own blood, neither shalt thou seek to devour thy neighbour, 6 neither shalt thou deprive him of the covering of his nakedness.'

Here we have a double coincidence : (a) in the command about clothing the naked, (b) in the precept, expressed in a negative form, about the duty of acknowledging one's own kith and kin. But the second, and more striking, part of the coincidence is lost unless *v.* 5 of the Ode is taken as above suggested.

Again, among the results of observing the conditions under (b) is a coincidence of expression which in fact sent me in the first place to this chapter of *Isaiah*. The Ode *v.* 8 says : 'and glory [cod. N 'His glory'] shall go before thee'; *Is. v.* 8 says : 'and thy righteousness shall go before thee.'

Is this all pure coincidence? If it is not, and if the Odist is, as I think, actually working on *Is. lviii*, then there is another point that deserves attention. In *v.* 7 the Ode says : 'and come into His *Paradise*'; then, in *v.* 9 : 'and thou shalt *be fat* in (the) truth in the praise of His name.' *Isaiah* says in *v.* 11, according to the LXX, *καὶ τὰ ὄστα σου παρθήσεται, καὶ ἔσται ὡς κῆπος μεθύων*. That the Odist should put

¹ Dr Harris makes *v.* 7 begin with 'but'. Syr. 'and' can sometimes stand for 'but'; but here I think the force is 'and then'.

'Paradise' for 'garden' is not surprising, for he devotes a whole Ode (xi) to Paradise. Thus the parallel continues; and we have yet another coincidence in *πιανθήσεται* and 'thou shalt be fat'. But here the correspondence depends on the LXX, for the Hebrew has a verb which is either explained as meaning 'he will invigorate' (*יחליץ*), or emended to 'he will renew' (*יחליף*), and which the Syriac renders 'he will make firm' (*ܐܝܬܝܢ*). If then the Odist is dependent on Isaiah here, he must have used the LXX: in other words, this Ode was composed in Greek.

III. The theme of Ode xii is 'the word'. But the Syriac noun employed is not that which regularly stands for *λόγος*; it is *pethgāmā*, which answers better to *ῥῆμα*. This noun is used throughout the Ode except in v. 8, where we have *mellēthā*, the usual equivalent of *λόγος*. The question arises, Is *mellēthā* used here in the same sense in which *pethgāmā* is used in the rest of the Ode? Dr Harris remarks: 'Apparently the Ode has two different renderings of *λόγος*.' I venture to take a different view.

In v. 5 it is said: 'the swiftness of the word (*pethgāmā*) is indescribable'.¹ *Pethgāmā* is still the subject of vv. 6 and 7, and of the first part of v. 8, which says: 'and by it the worlds spoke one to another.' The second half of v. 8 is thus translated by Dr Harris: 'and in the Word [*mellēthā* here] were those that were silent.' But what does this mean, and how does it carry on the thought of the first half of the verse? The Syriac is ܐܘܬܪܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ. It occurred to me some time ago—before I had thought of looking for the original Greek—that these words were intended to convey the following sense: 'and those that were silent became *with-speech*,'² i.e. acquired the power of speech, became vocal. I am now confident that this is the true meaning, and I believe that the Syriac of v. 8^b is merely an attempt at translating literally *καὶ τὰ ἄφωνα ἔμφωνα ἐγένετο*. **Ἄφωνος* is rendered by ܡܕܥܐ 'silent', in Is. liii 7, Acts viii 32; while ܡܠܬܐ, 'with- (or in-) speech', is exactly equivalent to *ἔμφωνος*, since *mellēthā* (ܡܠܬܐ) means not only 'word' but also 'the power of speech'. For the construction cf. *Pesh.* at Lk. xxiv 5, where *ἐμφόβων δὲ γενομένων αὐτῶν* is rendered 'and they became in-fear', in contrast with *syr. vet. (CS)* which has simply 'and they feared'.

Similar assonances to that in *ἄφωνος* and *ἔμφωνος* emerge elsewhere in the Odes when the Syriac is translated into Greek in the most

¹ Lit. 'without recounting', an extraordinary expression in Syriac, which I strongly suspect to be a translation of *ἀνεκδιήγητος*.

² The Syriac preposition 'in' may also be translated 'by' or 'with', as the context requires.

obvious way. Thus, in Ode xxxi 3 **ܐܬܝܬܐܢܐ ܐܬܝܬܐܢܐ**, 'grace and joy', is exactly *χάριν καὶ χαράν*. Again, Ode xxx 6 says: 'And it (the fountain of living water) came *undefined and unseen*; and until it was set in the midst they did not know it.' The italicized words are quite literally *ἀόριστος καὶ ἀόρατος*, though they might equally well stand for the two corresponding Greek adverbs.

IV. In order to find out whether the Odes were composed in Greek or Hebrew, an obvious course is to examine their allusions to the Old Testament, with a view to discovering whether they betray any dependence on the LXX. But it is unfortunate that—whether of set purpose or not we cannot say—the author has only too successfully disguised his scriptural allusions. Sometimes the disguise is transparent enough: as when he says, 'as the eyes of a son to his father' (Ode xiv 1); but though we can occasionally find the passage he is using, it is as a rule impossible to say whether he is working with any particular form of text. Nevertheless, in the following case there appears to be some tangible evidence to go upon.

Ps. cxv 1, LXX (= 2 Cor. iv 13)

ἐπίστευσα διὸ ἐλάλησα.

2 Cor. iv 13, *Pesh.*

'I believed, *therefore* (**ܐܬܝܬܐܢܐ ܐܬܝܬܐܢܐ**) have I also spoken.'

Ode xxviii 4

'I believed, *therefore* (**ܐܬܝܬܐܢܐ ܐܬܝܬܐܢܐ**) I was at rest.'

Ps. cxvi 10, Heb. (= cxv 1, LXX)

'I believed, *for* I will speak.'

Ps. cxvi 10, *Pesh.*

'I believed, *and* I spoke.'

Thus Ode xxviii 4 says, 'I believed, *therefore*', in the same Syriac words which translate *ἐπίστευσα διὸ* in 2 Cor. iv 13 (= Ps. cxv 1); while in the Psalm neither the Hebrew nor the Syriac version of it expresses 'therefore'. It may of course be denied that in saying 'I believed, *therefore*', quite abruptly and without obvious reference to anything in the preceding context, the Odist does so under the influence of the Psalm at all. But in view of the way in which he elsewhere turns Scripture phrases off, and just avoids making a definite quotation, I find it hard to believe that we have here a purely accidental coincidence with the LXX.

V. The Hebrew verbs **נָס** and **בָּרַח** 'to flee', and their Syriac equivalent **ܒܝܬܐ**, are not, so far as I know, used metaphorically of fleeing for refuge to, taking refuge in, God; they regularly denote a real local flight. Both languages use other verbs to express the idea of taking refuge in God. But in Ode xxv 1 it is said: 'unto Thee

have I *fled* (ܕܠܝܬ), my God.' Is not this a translation of πρὸς σὲ κατέφυγον (cf. Ps. cxlii 9)?

VI. In Odes vi 1, vii 20, xiv 8, and xxvi 3—the only passages in which a musical instrument is mentioned—we find the Greek noun *κithára* transliterated. It is true that the word was in use in Syriac at an early date, for it occurs a number of times in the Syriac Old Testament. A statement as to its use in the Psalms will be sufficient for the present purpose. The rule there is that when either of the two stringed instruments, *nebhel* or *kinnōr*, is mentioned alone in the Hebrew, it is represented in the Syriac by *kennārā*, which is merely the Syriac form of *kinnōr*. But when *nebhel* and *kinnōr* occur together, *κithára* is employed for *nebhel*. The equation *kennārā* in Syr. = *nebhel* (standing alone) in Heb., of which there happens to be only one example in Pss. (viz. cxliv 9), is supported by other passages, as Is. xiv 4, Am. v 22. Thus, in the Psalms at least, *κithára* is only used in conjunction with *kennārā*, that is, when a second stringed instrument has to be named. If then the Odes were written in Hebrew and not in Greek, why is the Greek word for harp always used in the Syriac version, and the Semitic word avoided?

VII. Dr Abbott thinks little of certain alleged cases of translation from Greek words with privative *alpha*. But I think there are some instances of this in the Odes which, when carefully considered, are in themselves nearly decisive of the question whether or not the Syriac text is a translation from Greek. I have already (see p. 534 note 1) drawn attention to the odd Syriac expression in Ode xii 5 'the swiftness of the word is *indescribable*', lit. 'without recounting', which I have identified with *ܐܢܝܬܐ ܕܠܝܬ*. The following cases are even more telling.

The first is emphasized by Dr Harris on p. 47 of his Introduction (second ed.). He says: 'An interesting example [of Syr. *ܐܢܝܬܐ ܕܠܝܬ* for *ἀφθόνως*] will be found in Ode xi v. 6, where we read "speaking waters touched my lips from the fountain of God without grudging" (i. e. abundantly).' Here the context requires the really positive idea which *ἀφθόνως* expresses, but which the Syriac does not express.

Exactly the same is the case with Ode vii 3: 'He caused me to know Himself *without grudging*', is again quite inadequate to express 'liberally', 'freely'; and it is only from the requirements of the context, and from the literal correspondence of the Syriac phrase to *ἀφθόνως*, that we can arrive at the meaning by guessing the original Greek. A third passage to which the same remark applies is xx 7: 'but put on the grace of the Lord *without grudging*.' The expression *ܐܢܝܬܐ ܕܠܝܬ* is found as a translation of *ἀφθονος*, *ἀφθόνως*, in 4 Macc. iii 10 (*ἀφθόνους* *πηγάς*), and Wisd. vii 13; and the crudeness of the Syriac in the former case is paralleled by the passages in the Odes.

VIII. There is another point which must not be passed over, though its full force will be appreciated only by Syriac students. This is the use in the Odes of ܐܠܐ, ܐܠܐ after substantives to express possession. Strictly speaking ܐܠܐ should not be used (in cases where a possessive suffix is grammatically possible) except to give some sort of prominence to the possessor or to emphasize the fact of possession. Its indiscriminate employment after a noun, and equivalent to *μου, αὐτοῦ*, in the same position, is frequent in translations from Greek (though not in the earliest), but is hardly met with in native Syriac works. In original compositions by the best Syriac writers ܐܠܐ expresses 'my', 'mine', 'my own', not simply 'my'. Examples of an unidiomatic use of ܐܠܐ in the Odes are the following:—

viii 21 ܐܠܐ ܡܡܝܢ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ 'and at my right hand'. [There is no obvious reason for emphasis—'my own'—here.]

xi 18 ܐܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ 'in Thy land'.

xii 4 ܐܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ 'of Thy beauty'.

xvii 12 ܐܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ 'in my love'.

xvii 13 ܐܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ 'my blessing'.

xxv 2 ܐܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ 'and my helper'.

xxvi 2 ܐܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ 'His holy song'.

xxviii 9 ܐܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ 'but my (suffering of) wrong'.

I cannot think that a Syriac translation from Hebrew of, say, the third or fourth century, would have contained these anomalous constructions; for Hebrew has no detachable possessive particle, and relies entirely upon suffixes.

Before closing this paper there is a matter on which I wish to ask for information. In Ode xxxiv 5 we read:—

ܐܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

'The likeness of that which is below is that which is above.'

Now Moses Bār Kēphā (saec. ix) in his Exposition of the Jacobite Liturgy (Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 21210 fol. 51 b), after explaining that the deacons with their fans represent the cherubim and seraphim, adds:—

ܐܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

'For they say: The likeness of what is above are those things that are below.'

It is obvious that there is some close connexion between these two sayings; and at first I took it for granted that Bār Kēphā was merely

quoting in a loose way from the Ode. I now feel some hesitation about this conclusion. Bār Kēphā's quotation formula, 'they say', rather suggests some philosophical dictum than an immediate quotation from such a book as the Odes; and in Ode xxxiv the Odist is himself definitely philosophizing; the passage cited above continues: 'for everything is above, and what is below is nothing, but is imagined by those in whom there is no knowledge.'

It has occurred to me that the Odist may here be quoting as well as Bār Kēphā. If any evidence could be produced in confirmation of this suspicion, it might throw a flood of light on many questions which have arisen out of our Syriac text of the Odes.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

ἘΠΙΦΩΣΚΕΙΝ.

IN the January number of this JOURNAL, p. 188 ff, Mr C. H. Turner has an elaborate Note on the meaning of ἐπιφώσκειν. The Note occurs at the end of an article on the Gospel of Peter, in the course of which, as also in the Note, Mr Turner explains his reasons for differing from the views set forth by Professor Lake in his book on the Historical Evidence for the Resurrection, published in 1907. I find myself differing from both my friends, or rather I agree first with one, then with the other, and I venture to think that a fresh statement of the questions at issue may not be out of place. The exact meaning of ἐπιφώσκειν may seem a small matter, but the fact is that its discussion raises a good many interesting and important questions as to the way in which the New Testament writers reckoned time: we begin with mere questions of lexicography, but at the end we may find ourselves discussing the nationality of St Luke and his credibility as a historian.

To put the matter shortly, I agree with Mr Turner that ἐπιφώσκειν is used of the next day 'drawing on', even of the Jewish Sabbath which began at dusk: this is indeed the traditional meaning. On the other hand I agree generally with Professor Lake in his exposition of Lk. xxiii 56.

1. *The Semitic usage.*—The word ἐπιφώσκειν is somewhat rare in Greek and most of the known passages, if not all, in which it occurs have been suggested either by Matt. xxviii 1 or Lk. xxiii 54. But the Semitic equivalents are used with some freedom in contexts that are not Biblical. The words in question are derived from the root *n-g-h*,

which is usually said to imply 'brightness' or 'dawning', so that at first sight they are as inappropriate as *ἐπιφώσκειν* to denote the beginning of a Jewish day.

Nevertheless the root is so used in Jewish Aramaic, e.g. Pes. 4 a

אורתא דתליסר ננה ארביסר

means 'the evening of the 13th (Nisan), at the beginning of the 14th', where the word translated 'at the beginning of' is *nāghē*, which would imply 'brightening up', if ננה really meant 'to dawn'. Yet the time indicated must be about sunset.

It seems to me that the word is primarily astrological, and that the light indicated is not the light of day at all. *Nughā* (ܢܘܓܗ, כוכב נוגה) is the planet Venus. The 'dawn' implied by the verb may therefore have been originally that of the Morning or Evening Star, not that of the Sun.¹

However this may be, the Syriac use is quite clear, odd as it is. ܒܐܪܝܬܐ means 'very early in the morning', while the causative conjugation ܐܪܝܬܐ means 'to keep vigil all night', and the verbal noun used before a day of the week means 'the night preceding such-and-such a day'. Thus in the Chronicle of Joshua Stylites § 47 (Wright, p. 36) we are told of the fire in the sky 'on the 22nd of August, on the *night preceding* Friday', where the word translated by Wright 'night preceding' (*maghai-*) is by derivation 'dawning'.² Similarly in Joshua Stylites § 27 (Wright, p. 18) the night between Friday, 17 May, 496, and the following Saturday he calls 'the day of Friday, dawning of Saturday' (ܐܡܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܐ).

One other Syriac word must be noticed here. Mk. xiii 35 divides the watching-time into four parts, Evening, Midnight, Cock-crow, Morning.³ Probably these are not formal divisions of the night as opposed to the day, or to be regarded as equally long. But in any case 'cock-crow' comes between midnight and the morning. Now in the Sinai Palimpsest the word for cock-crow is *nughāytā*, a formation from *Nughā*. Whether therefore we connect the word with Venus or not, it is here used for a time before the dawn, rather than for the dawn itself.

¹ It is really the same in Hebrew. ננה is never quite certainly used of sunlight. David says the LORD is his Candle, lighting up his darkness like the star (2 Sam. xxii 29). In 2 Sam. xxiii 4 may not מִן הַיּוֹם be a note of time—'a morning cloudless from the time of the rising of the Morning Star'?

² If the connexion with Venus be accepted, it would be literally 'in the starlight of Friday', and in the context it must be the Evening Star, since the time in question is also in a sense reckoned to the preceding Thursday.

³ The Greek words are ὕψι, μεσονύκτιον, ἀλεκτοροφωνίας, πρωί.

2: *Greek use of ἐπιφώσκειν outside the Gospels.*—We do not learn much about ἐπιφώσκειν from Liddell and Scott. In addition to the N. T. a reference is given to C. I. 9119, in other words to the gravestone of a Christian lady from Nubia who departed this life about eleven hundred years ago just before the 8th of Athyr; but as the 'inscription' does not further tell us what time of day this was, it is useless for our purpose. Sophocles *Lexicon* quotes a more interesting passage from the Paschal Chronicle (Migne, xcii 532 end), which dates the Last Supper on March 22, Nisan 13, in the 5th hour of the night, near the beginning of March [23].¹ Here, therefore, the hour of ἐπιφώσκειν is in the 5th hour after sunset, from 10–11 p.m.

Why does the Chronicler put the Last Supper so late? Turn to Aphraates and you will see. In his Homily on the Pascha we are told that from the moment our Saviour gave His Body to be eaten He was numbered among the dead, and that the miraculous darkness at the Crucifixion and the subsequent light count as one night and day.² So he makes three whole days and nights between the true Death (at the Supper) and the Resurrection, for 'in the night when Sunday was drawing on,³ at the same time that He gave His Body to the Disciples, He rose from the dead' (Aphr. xii § 6, pp. 517-520).

Thus the passage in the Paschal Chronicle is not so much an independent use of *ἐπιφώσκειν* as an interpretation of Matt. xxviii 1. We learn, further, that Aphraates and his followers felt no objection to placing the actual moment of the Resurrection a full hour before midnight on what we should call Saturday. Such persons evidently reckon their day to begin about the same time as the Jewish ritual day.

Not all chronologers were satisfied with reckoning the darkness at the Crucifixion as an extra night. Tyconius (*Rules*, p. 58) is particularly emphatic against the theory. His solution is that any part of a twenty-four hours' day counts for the whole. But even he reckons the night as belonging to the following day:—*si Dominus ante solem, id est ante*

¹ The passage is confused and I suspect a lacuna. The actual text of the last words is ὥρα νυκτερινῇ ἐ' τῇ ἐπιφασκούσῃ εἰς εἰκάδα τετάρτην. Something is wrong here, for later on Nisan 14 is said very distinctly to be the Crucifixion day, and that according to the Chronicler is March 23.

² Part of this reckoning is also in the *Didascalia* (see below), but Aphraates is, I believe, alone in thinking of our Lord as dead from the time of the Supper.

³ Syr. **ܬܠܬܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܢ ܫܒܬܐ**. For the construction we may compare **ܬܠܬܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܢ ܫܒܬܐ** ⁵²⁰, and **ܬܠܬܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܢ ܫܒܬܐ** ⁵²¹, where 'Friday' and 'Saturday' are fem., and so the verb is in the fem. In Matt. xxviii 1, therefore, the Syriac versions state that Sunday was 'coming on', not that the night was 'dawning into' Sunday. In ⁵²¹, Aphraates says directly **ܬܠܬܐ ܡܢ ܫܒܬܐ ܡܢ**.

initium diei, resurrexit, nox illa pars est inluciscentis diei: quod et competit operibus Dei, ut non dies obscuretur in noctem sed nox lucescat in diem (p. 57). Here we have a real occurrence of *illucescere*, which is the standing equivalent in the Gospels of ἐπιφώσκειν, and it is used in the natural sense of the approach of daylight. It should be noted that Tyconius gives no opinion as to the hour of the Resurrection: any time after sunset on Saturday would suit his theory. But he is conscious that Mk. xvi 2 implies, even with the Western reading, some time nearer sunrise on Easter Sunday.¹

Two other ecclesiastical writers have a claim to be heard here, because they are concerned with actual ritual observance, concerning which they are so far authoritative, rather than with harmonistic exegesis.

(a) The lady, whom it is still convenient to call 'Silvia', describes the services which she saw in and near Jerusalem in the fifth or sixth century (*Itinera sancta* 71-101). The day began 'before cock-crow' and ended with the ceremony called *Lucernare*, i. e. τὸ Λυχνικόν, which was usually about 4 p.m. (*hora decima* p. 72₃). This is perhaps a controversial statement; but whatever may have been the origin of the Lamp-lighting, 'Silvia's' view is clear, for on p. 82₂₆ she ends her description of the Saturday before Palm Sunday with *et fit Lucernare iuxta consuetudinem*, continuing *Alia ergo die, id est Dominica*. And again at the end of Palm Sunday she says (p. 84₁₀) *quamlibet vero sit, tamen fit Lucernare . . . Item alia die, id est secunda feria*. In each case the first event noticed is at cock-crow.

'Silvia' once uses the word *illucescere*. After stating that vigils are kept from the Lamp-lighting on Friday till the morning of Saturday before Palm Sunday,² she goes on to say *At ubi autem coeperit se mane facere sabbato illucescente, offeret episcopus et facit oblationem mane sabbato* (81₂₆). The time indicated seems to be about 'cock-crow': *sabbato illucescente* seems to me to mean 'on the ensuing Saturday', not 'at the time of day when Saturday was approaching'.

With reference to Paschal chronology it should be noticed that on Maundy Thursday there is a special Mass (*oblatio*) about 4 p.m. (85₃₁); then the people go home to dinner (86₆) at sundown, immediately after which they assemble at Olivet, go up to the place of the Ascension (*Imbomon*) at midnight (86₁₃), visit Gethsemane at cock-crow (86_{18, 27}),

¹ The passage is curious enough to be worth quoting in full (*Rules*, p. 57): 'nam Marcus dicit oriente sole—non orto sed oriente, id est ad ortum eunte; Lucas autem diluculo. sed ne de hac locutione ambigeretur, alteri euangelistae aperte noctem fuisse testantur, nam Matheus nocte dicit uenisse mulieres ad monumentum et uidisse Dominum, Iohannes uero cum adhuc tenebrae essent.' So, as usual, Mark is to be explained away to fit the other Gospels! I suppose *ad ortum eunte* might be made to mean any time in the night.

² p. 81₁₄ *de hora lucernarii sexta feria . . . usque in mane sabbato*.

and arrive in Jerusalem at early dawn, when it begins to be light enough to recognize faces (87₇). From 'Silvia's' account the Last Supper itself does not seem to be directly commemorated, only the discourses which the Lord spoke to the Disciples sitting in a cave.¹ Possibly Joh. xiv-xvii is intended.

(b) The interests of the compilers of the *Didascalia* and of the *Apostolic Constitutions* are also primarily liturgical rather than exegetical. The *Didascalia* is marked by a very peculiar chronology of Passion Week, whereby our Lord eats an anticipated Passover with the Disciples on Tuesday evening, followed by His arrest that same night (272₈₋₁₀).² The object of this reckoning appears in V xviii (288₁₆₋₁₉): it is to legitimate the Fast of Holy Week, viz. abstinence from Monday to Thursday, strict fast on Friday and Saturday. This fast leads up to the Easter Feast: it therefore becomes important to know exactly when it should end. There is no uncertainty as to the answer: 'Be gathered together and watch all the night, reading the Scriptures until the third hour of the night after the Saturday, and then break your fast' (V xix 1 pp. 288₂₀-290₃). This method of stating the time (repeated 276₈, 292₃) does not, however, explain when Saturday ends. In 278₁₆ it is distinctly deduced from Gen. i 5 that the evening belongs to the following day. Yet in 272₈ and in 278₁₆ the Last Supper is spoken of as taking place in the evening of the preceding day. In any case the author of the *Didascalia* has a different outlook from the true Semitic view of Aphraates, for he speaks of the night *after* such and such a day (274₃, 290₂). I cannot help getting the impression that the *Didascalia* tries to reckon days by the Roman method of midnight to midnight.

That at any rate is the interpretation followed in the *Constitutions*, for the passage in the *Didascalia* about ending the Fast at the third hour of the night is interpreted in the *Constitutions* to mean cock-crow: ἐπιφωσκούσης μιᾶς σαββάτων, ἥτις ἐστὶ κυριακή, ἀπὸ ἐσπέρας ἕως ἀλεκτοροφωνίας ἀγρυπνοῦντες . . . γρηγορεῖτε . . . μέχρις ἀλεκτρονύων κραυγῆς (291₆₋₁₃). I take this to mean 'when Sunday approaches, continue fasting after Saturday has past until about 3 a.m. on Easter morning'.³

The *Testamentum Domini*, on the other hand, which also has some

¹ *Spelunca in qua ipsa die Dominus cum apostolis fuit . . . loca de evangelio leguntur in quibus Dominus allocutus est discipulos eadem die sedens in eadem spelunca* (86₇, 11).

² *Didasc.* V xiv 5. I quote the *Didascalia* and the *Constitutions* by the pages of Funk's edition.

³ 'The third hour of the night' in Ac. xxiii 23 is taken by Blass to mean about 9-10 p.m.

connexion with the *Constitutions*, if not with the *Didascalia*, puts the end of the Fast at midnight (*Test. Dom.* ii 12).¹

Three passages from Epiphanius also deserve mention here. They are all in a sense derived from the *Didascalia*, but they are of interest as shewing more or less what ἐπιφώσκειν meant towards the end of the fourth century. Epiphanius (*Exp. fidei* 21) says ἐπιφωσκούση τετράδι συνελήφθη ὁ κύριος. Now whatever chronology we take of the Paschal Week, the arrest of our Lord took place in the middle of the night, before cock-crow: ἐπιφώσκειν here therefore indicates midnight, the beginning of the Roman day. In *Panar. Haer.* lxxi 11, on the other hand, writing against the Audiani, he says of the Jews ἐπιφωσκούσης τῆς κυριακῆς ἑσπέρας δύνανται θύειν τὸ πάσχα· μετὰ γὰρ ἑσπέραν παρελθόντος τοῦ σαββάτου οὐ δύνανται ἔργον ἐπιτελεῖν. We need not discuss the Paschal date here implied; in any case the Sunday indicated begins when the Sabbath is over, and that is in the 'evening'. ἐπιφώσκειν here, therefore, denotes the approach of evening on the Saturday before Easter. Yet the same Epiphanius *Haer.* li 26 writes ἐπιφώσκουσα κυριακὴ πεντεκαδικατὴ νυκτερινή, ὅπερ ἦν φωτισμὸς ἁδου καὶ γῆς καὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, i. e. he emphasizes the derivation from φῶς, shewing that the word to a Greek ear suggested the approach of illumination rather than the approach of evening.

Thus the Greek Ecclesiastical writers base their Easter reckoning and their use of ἐπιφώσκειν on Matt. xxviii 1, or upon something that depends on that verse. On the other hand, the mere word appears to indicate coming light and illumination rather than the gathering dusk of the beginning of a Jewish day. In any case it is impossible to study the descriptions of the ancient Ecclesiastical mode of observing Easter without being struck with the difference between it and what we are accustomed to in England to-day, or without realizing that both views are represented in the New Testament: most appropriately the Roman Church reads Matt. xxviii 1-7 for the Gospel on Holy Saturday, but Mk. xvi 1-7 on Easter Sunday itself. Our modern Easter Hymn speaks of the 'glorious morning ray, Breaking o'er the purple East'; the Church tradition prefers words like *O uere beata Nox, quae sola meruit scire tempus et horam in qua Christus ab inferis resurrexit*.

¹ It should be noted that all this part of the *Didascalia* is extant only in Syriac, so that we cannot use it as direct evidence for the meaning of ἐπιφώσκειν, since the words derived from the root *n-g-h* are used more freely in Syriac than ἐπιφώσκειν is in Greek. A clear instance is *Didasc.* V xiv 8 (274), where Funk has *Parasceve illucescente* (*eum vehementer coram Pilato accusaverunt*). This modern Latin rendering appears to make Friday begin at dawn; but the corresponding words in the *Constitutions* (275) are παρασκευῆς οὔσης, and the Syriac really says 'Now when it was very early on the Friday' (ܠܡܚܪܝܬܐ ܕܝܡܢܐ ܕܝܠܥܝܬܐ ܕܝܠܥܝܬܐ ܕܝܠܥܝܬܐ).

3. *The Holy Women in the Gospel.*—The chief interest of the above rather extended survey of the use and apparent origin of ἐπιφώσκειν is connected with the accounts of our Lord's Burial and of the visit of the Women to the grave on Easter Day. I may therefore be permitted a few words on the Gospel narratives themselves, so far as they touch upon the movements of these Women.

St Mark, who does not use ἐπιφώσκειν at all, tells a clear and, as I venture to think, a consistent story. The Women see the hasty burial (Mk. xv 47) before sunset on Good Friday: it was already late (v. 42).¹ When the Jewish Sabbath was past and the shops were accessible they buy spices (xvi 1), i.e. on what we call Saturday evening. Then 'very early' on Sunday morning—but this is explained to be 'at sunrise'—they come to the tomb (xvi 2). All this is surely credible and the only account that is credible. Our Lord was not taken down from the Cross directly after He died, it was 'when the evening was come'; the Women could hardly have had time for their purchases before dusk, when the legal Sabbath began. What Mark tells us is that after the enforced twenty-four hours' pause for rest and reflexion they were ready to do what they could, and they buy at once what was necessary. They were not *expecting* the Resurrection. An all-night vigil by the tomb, outside the City, would have been almost certainly impracticable for them, and why should they have thought of it? Nevertheless they are up early, and by sunrise they are at the tomb.

I do not see any real incongruity between λίαν πρωί and ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου in xvi 2: I doubt if λίαν πρωί here means more than 'as early as they possibly could'.

The accounts in Matthew and Luke differ in certain points from Mark, but where they differ they each contain internal improbabilities. In Matthew we have the story of the Guard at the Tomb, and all mention of the Women's spices is omitted. Possibly it may have been felt that the presence of a Guard was inconsistent with any attempt to get at the corpse. However this may be, Archdeacon Allen must be right in saying (p. 300): 'He [Matt.] seems to have wished to omit the "purchase", but not to have cared to pass over the note of time attached to it.' So we get the Women witnessing the Burial (Matt. xxvii 61), as in Mark, but after telling about the Guard Matthew goes on 'Now late on the Sabbath, as it was drawing on to the first day of the week, there came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to look at

¹ The Jewish reckoning makes ὥρας γενομένης ambiguous, so St Mark twice adds an explanatory clause. Here ἐπεὶ ἦν παρασκευή explains that though late it was not yet the Sabbath. On the other hand ὅτε ἔδυσεν ὁ ἥλιος in Mk. i 32 explains that the Galileans did not carry their sick folk out till the Sabbath was over. παρασκευή in St Mark is hardly our Friday, but rather the time from 3 p.m. to sunset (cf. Jos. *Ant.* xvi 6, 2).

the tomb; and behold, there was a great earthquake . . . and the angel said . . . "He is risen" (xxviii 1, 2^a, 5, 6).

As we have seen in the earlier part of this article, this passage is the starting-point for the Ecclesiastical observance of Holy Week, but it is very difficult to follow in detail. No doubt ὁψὲ σαββάτων τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων means 'late on Saturday near the beginning of Sunday': but what did the Evangelist understand by *Saturday* and *Sunday*? For it is not the Jewish reckoning, as we might have expected. The visit of the Women to the tomb, with the Angel telling them that the Lord's Resurrection had been already accomplished, must be after the Jewish Sabbath is over; besides, we must account for νυκτός in Matt. xxviii 13. It seems to me that 'Matthew' hardly attempted to construct a time-table, or considered the intrinsic improbability of an all-night vigil for the Women. In any case the abiding peculiarity of his narrative is that he does not use the strict Jewish day, and consequently there is considerable likelihood that the community for which he wrote—was it Antioch?—did not use the Jewish day either.

Let us now turn to St Luke. Here we read of the Burial, followed by the note of time καὶ ἡμέρα ἣν παρασκευῆς καὶ σάββατον ἐπέφωσκεν (Lk. xxiii 54). The Women follow and witness what was done, and return to *prepare*—Luke does not say to *buy*—their spices. On the Sabbath indeed they rest (xxiii 56), but very early on Sunday they arrive at the Tomb (xxiv 1). Here again it is difficult to suppose that the Holy Women are keeping Jewish days, for the preparations for embalming are clearly placed by Luke on Good Friday evening (xxiii 56). But as he does not make them buy in the shops he does not introduce a patent impossibility.

It should be noticed that there is one curious piece of evidence which tends to shew that St Luke really did regard the 'night' as belonging to the previous 'day' and not *vice versa*. It is not Ac. xx 7, because τῇ ἐπαύριον proves nothing. Both the Greek αὔριον and the Hebrew מחר are used of the next period of daylight, independently of conventional reckonings of time. To-morrow is to-morrow in Hebrew as in English, whether it be reckoned the same day of the week or not.¹ If the Christians of Troas assembled in the evening and St Paul was to start during the following period of daylight, that would be 'to-morrow' (ἐπαύριον), whether they considered themselves to have met on April 11 or April 12. Similarly in Ac. xxiii 31, 32 ἤγαγον διὰ νυκτός . . . τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον . . . ὑπέστρεψαν is intelligible both to Jews and to Greeks.

¹ See the conversation of Lot's daughters in Gen. xix 34. Further, the Israelites gathered the manna all day and all night and all the morrow (כל יום המחרת) in Nu. xi 32: see also Judith vi 21, vii 1.

But Lk. ix 37 is different. The phrase $\tau\eta\ \epsilon\acute{\xi}\eta\varsigma$ occurs twice in the Third Gospel and three times in Acts, not at all in the rest of the N. T., so that it may be regarded as characteristically Lucan, and as reflecting St Luke's point of view. St Luke tells the story of the Transfiguration in such a way as to suggest something happening at night (see *v.* 32, with the references to prayer in *vv.* 28, 29), and goes on to say 'Now it came to pass $\tau\eta\ \epsilon\acute{\xi}\eta\varsigma\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$, on the *next* day . . .' (*v.* 37). These apparently simple words caused a difficulty to some ancient translators. The Old Syriac has 'on that day', and so has the Sahidic, while D and the Old Latin have 'in the course of the day' ($\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$). In other words, according to the strict Ecclesiastical reckoning, it was not on the next day, but on the same day.

I infer that St Luke habitually thought of day and night much as we do. The whole night did not belong to the following day, as in the legal Jewish Kalendar. Where he made the division can hardly be ascertained. If the Women rested on the Sabbath and yet were at the Tomb $\delta\rho\theta\rho\omicron\nu\ \beta\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$, the division must be earlier than this¹: perhaps St Luke thought of 'cock-crow' as beginning the day, just as 'Silvia' seems to do. But however he divided his time he uses his words correctly: $\epsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omega\sigma\kappa\epsilon\nu$ in Lk. xxiii 54 refers to the 'drawing on' of a conventional period of time, not to an increase of daylight. Probably St Luke knew the term as a conventional equivalent among Greek-speaking Semites for the Aramaic *n-g-h*.

It would take too long to follow Mr Turner and Prof. Lake in their discussion of the Gospel of Peter and its relations to the Canonical Four. I can only say that I have found no parallel anywhere to $\pi\rho\omega\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\phi\omega\sigma\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \sigma\alpha\beta\beta\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (*Ev. Petri* § 9 *init.*), in which the Sabbath appears to begin at, or just before, daylight. It seems to correspond with the general ignorance of 'Peter' about Jewish affairs and with nothing else. One chief aim I have had in view is to shew that $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\phi\omega\sigma\kappa\epsilon\nu$ is not quite so rare as the Dictionaries suggest, though its use is almost wholly confined to technical questions concerning the beginning of a Jewish day. I imagine it is a real example of that 'Jewish Greek' which the discoveries of Egyptian papyri have reduced to such a restricted compass. Its Aramaic equivalent, on the other hand, is much more freely used, whatever physical explanation be adopted for its origin.

F. C. BURKITT.

¹ Lk. xxiv 1: the Old Syriac translates this 'in the early dawn'; the Peshitta, under the influence of Joh. xx 1, has 'in the dawn while yet dark'.

ΣΠΙΛΑΔΕΣ.

Plut. *Mor.* 476 A ἡ δὲ τοῦ φρονίμου διάθεσις τοῖς τε σωματικοῖς παρέχει γαλήνην ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐκλύουσα τὰς τῶν νόσων κατασκευὰς ἐγκρατεῖα καὶ διαίτη σώφρονι καὶ μετρίοις πόνοις· κἂν τις ἔξωθεν ἀρχὴ πάθους ὥσπερ διαδρομὴ γένηται σπιλάδος, 'εὐσταλεῖ καὶ κούφῃ κεραίᾳ παρήνεγκεν,' ὡς φησὶν Ἀσκληπιάδης παραλόγου δέ τινος καὶ μεγάλου καταλαβόντος καὶ κρατήσαντος, ἐγγὺς ὁ λιμήν. . . .

Rocks are not liable to sudden excursions, the natural meaning of διαδρομὴ¹: and if they were it would be well to have as much sail on as possible. If διαδρομὴ σπιλάδος means puffs of a gusty wind, all is simple. We have first the calm,² then the gusts that preluded the storm, then παράλογός τις καὶ μέγας, or -όν τι καὶ μέγα: I prefer the former alternative, ἄνεμος being supplied as with σπιλάς. For the wind disturbing the calm of a man's temperament compare e.g. James i 6, Ephesians iv 14, Theophan. *Chron.* p. 156. 11, Longin. *fr.* 22, and especially Themist. 7 A ὅτε τοίνυν ἡ βασιλέως ψυχὴ μὴ κυμαίνει, μηδὲ θυμοῦ καὶ ὀργῆς πνεύματα ἄγρια κυκᾷ τε αὐτὴν καὶ ταραττει βῆδιν ἐξ ὀλίγης ἀρχῆς ῥιπιδιζόμενα (cf. 67 D), Plut. *Mor.* 52 B (with MSS reading μεταυρόμενον = μετέωρον αἰρόμενον nisi hoc legendum coll. 865 F).

Plut. *Mor.* 101 B τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐγγενέσθαι γῆθος οὐδὲ χαρὰν βέβαιον ἂν μὴ τὸ εὐθυμον καὶ ἄφοβον καὶ θαρραλέον ὥσπερ ἔδραν ἢ γαλήνην ἀκλυστον ὑποβάλληται, ἀλλὰ κἂν ὑπομευδίαση τις ἐλπίς ἢ τέρψις αὐτῇ ταχὺ φροντίδος ἐκραγείσῃς ὥσπερ ἐν εὐδίᾳ σπιλάδος συνεχύθη καὶ συνεταράχθη.

'Calm of a rock' is nonsense, and σπιλάδος must go with ἐκραγείσῃς as a genitive absolute. Cautious navigator as I am, I have never taken any safeguard against the bursting of rocks. No. Care is like a wind that follows on the mild breezes of hope or pleasure, and the subject is ψυχὴ = θάλασσα as before. Georg. Pachymer. (Walz *Rh. Gr.* i 591) speaks of the helmsman as αὐτὸς τὸν νοῦν ἐπὶ πολὺ ῥιπιδιζόμενος with fear and anxiety when the wind blows.

Heliod. *Aeth.* v 31 fin. θαλάττῃ προσεΐκασας ἂν τοὺς ἄνδρας αἰφνιδίῳ σπιλάδι κατασεισθέντας, οὕτως ἄλογός τις ὁρμὴ πρὸς ἄφραστον ἡγερε ταραχήν. . . .

Note—

(1) That we have a comparison—ἡγερεν εἰς—: ὁρμὴ ἡγερεν εἰς ταραχήν. ἐγείρειν is quite common of wind and wave. Ap. Rhod.

¹ Heliod. v 24, Opp. *Hal.* ii 587 ἄλλοτε μὲν βαθὺ κύμα διατρέχει ἥτε λαλαψ. A rock is typically stationary, Marc. Ant. iv 49, Gataker.

² Aristid. i 468 (D.) αὖρα τις Εὐρου ὑπῆρχετο καὶ περαιτέρω προϊόντων Εὐρος ἦδη λαμπρὸς, καὶ τέλος ἐξερράγη πνεῦμα ἐξαίσιον. . . . See also the other passage of Plutarch with which I deal.

i 1159, Lucian iii 363, Greg. Naz. i 148 D (Bened.). For ὁρμή and the metaphor see Philo i p. 230 M.

(2) That the *order* demands that the men shall be compared to the sea.

(3) κατασεισθέντας cannot be 'thrown out on to' or 'shaken by' a rock: the Greeks (I could give numerous instances) say -ρήγν-, -αρπν-, &c., not -σει-. On the other hand it may be nearly equivalent to ῥιπισθέντας. Eust. p. 1443. 40 couples εὐκατάσειστον καὶ εὐρίπιστον. Hence the sense given by Warschewicz is undoubtedly right: 'Mari comparasset viros repentino turbine concitatos.'

A fourth place where the rendering 'storm' is somewhat preferable is in Philipp. A. P. vii 382. 6 where the corpse says οὐδ' ἐπὶ χέρσῳ εἰρήνην ἔξω φρικαλέης σπιδάδος (*turbine* Brodaeus). 'Nor, on the land, will I have peace from buffeting against this rock' is impossible: Philippus is not Thucydides. But φρικαλέον may be right (see below). Compare γαλήνη πνεύματος Theophr. *fr.* vi 31.

If we now examine Jude 12, it will be noticed that no meaning of σπιδάδες exactly suits συνευωχούμενοι and ποιμαίνοντες: but that the article is masculine, and that in general the comparison is to things that are ἀσθάμητοι, εὐρίπιστοι, uncertain, fading, and variable; clouds borne by the winds, withered trees, waves, planets. On the article I would not build much, though σπιδάς is adjectival and of a wind presumably masculine. In such company winds¹ are more naturally mentioned than rocks or spots. So I think Oecumenius understood the word; so the inventor of the word κατασπιδάζειν (see *Thes.* Valpy or Dindorf, and cf. καταγιζειν, which is fancifully treated in the *Etym. Magn.*); and so the old glossaries which give *procella*. And they are undoubtedly right. With the masculine article and participles the idea of rocks would not necessarily be suggested rather than the contemporary use of the word of a 'storm'.

What, finally, is the meaning of σπιδας ἄνεμος? A 'dirty,' 'foul' wind, perhaps, not in the quasi-metaphorical sense in which we say it, but literally. Plat. *Rep.* 496 C ἐν χειμῶνι κοινοτροῦ καὶ ζάλης . . . ἀποστῆς . . . καθαρὸς . . . Plut. *Mor.* 126 C οὐ καθαρὸν ἀλλὰ συμπεφυρμένον πολλῷ τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ καὶ μεμλωπισμένον ὥσπερ ἐκ ζάλης καὶ χειμῶνος. Hesych. Ἀζα[λ]ῆς: πολίτνονν (see Schmidt's note: ὀλιγόπνονν probably refers to Ἀζαλ-). Ἀζα: ἄσβολος, κόνις, παλαιότης, κόπρος ἐν ἀγγείῳ ὑπομείνασα. (Below, however, Ἀζήμοι: πνοαί is, I take it, merely for ἀζήμοι = ἀπήμονες.) ἀζαλέος in Ibyc. *fr.* 1 must (*pace* Smyth) refer to a foul or blustering wind, not a 'hot' wind, since the reference is to Βορέας: where for φλέγων cf. Valck. on Eur. *Phoen.* 248.

¹ Compare e. g. Claudian in *Rufin.* i 91 *violentius Austris acribus, Euripi refluis incertius undis, prodigium*, of Rufinus.

Dr M. R. James, however, whom I have to thank for reading this note, suggested that it may be 'dirty' in regard to its effect on the water,¹ as in Isaiah lvii 20, 'the wicked are like the troubled sea which cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt'. Cf. Dio Chrys. xxxii 30, Opp. *Hal.* i 780, Gregor. Naz. i 477 c (Bened.) *ἐνθα κάχληκες μὲν καὶ φυκία καὶ κήρυκες καὶ τῶν ὀστρέων τὰ ἐλαφρότατα ἐξωθεῖτο καὶ ἀπεπτύετο*. That this is right, I infer from Hesych. *Ἀσπίλος*: *χείμαρρος ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων*, if the *ā* be due to a wrong division of words, and the word is really Greek with reference to a muddy torrent. Otherwise there is no difficulty in a wind being 'dappled', a natural meaning of *σπιλάς*, which is used substantivally (in error¹) by Orph. *Lith.* 614 *κατάστικτον σπιλάδεσσιν*: cf. Hesych. *Βαλίαν ἑλαφον*: *κατάστικτον, ποικίλον* with Schmidt's note, and the common use of *βάλιος* of winds, for which see *Theo.* and Nonn. *D.* x 386 where *βάλιος* = *ἀνεμώδης* 385. The adjectival use of *σπιλάς* has been examined negligently. Lexica cite Theophr. *C. P.* ii 4. 4 *ἡ σπιλάς καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ λευκόγειος ἐλαιοφόρος* where Schneider's citation of *Geor.* ix 4 shews that the meaning is *ὑγρά* or else 'miry'. I will add Philostr. *Imagg.* ii 13 *σπιλάδες δὲ οἱ πέτραι διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ ραίνεσθαι* with the same implication. Compare also *Anth. Append.* (Cougny) ii 249.

If I am right the word, used in this sense, has had a curious history. Introduced, from whatever quarter, into the literary Greek tongue, its meaning was soon forgotten. Dreaming that it must refer to a rock of some sort, the old Greek grammarians supposed that it must be a sunken rock on which a ship strikes suddenly: a meaning the word never has. Some fine Renaissance scholars perceived its true sense and translated it correctly: the learned of the eighteenth century dismissed an interpretation which lacked the support of any ignorant Byzantine lexicographer. But it may undoubtedly bear the meaning of a 'wet' or 'foul' storm.

A. D. KNOX.

WAS THE BAPTIST'S PREACHING APOCALYPTIC?

THE Dean of Wells in his very sympathetic review of my Essay in 'Foundations' in the January number of the JOURNAL, raises an issue of considerable historical importance by his contention that 'it is ancient Hebrew prophecy, and not "apocalyptic" in the hitherto accepted sense of the term, that forms the background of the Baptist's preaching'.

¹ But compare Ael. *N. A.* xii 24 *κατάστικτον σταγόνιν* and the English 'a splash of', 'splashed'.

His most important argument is that the phrase 'the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand' is attributed to John only in St Matthew's Gospel. St Mark in the parallel passage has 'preaching a baptism of repentance for the remission of sins'. St Matthew repeats the phrase in ch. iv 17 (parallel to Mk. i 15) as a summary of our Lord's preaching. The Dean argues that 'on critical grounds it appears certain that in both places the writer of St Matthew's Gospel is offering us a paraphrase of his own, which (however justifiable as a paraphrase) ought not to be made the basis of an historical argument'.

I would submit that this is a mistaken reading of the critical comparison of the texts of the Gospels.

To take first the second occurrence of the phrase in St Matthew (iv 17)—it is not the case that 'the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand' is a *paraphrase* by the editor of St Matthew of St Mark's summary, for the *actual words* 'the Kingdom of God is at hand' occur in the parallel passage in Mk. i 15 and are simply taken over by St Matthew from him.

In the earlier passage (Mt. iii 2) no doubt St Matthew cannot be deriving the phrase 'the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand' from St Mark, but it does not follow that it is an editorial paraphrase. It is far more probable that he derives it from Q. A glance at the Synopsis shews that the main, if not the only source, which St Matthew uses for the *preaching* of John is Q. Of the six verses Mt. iii 7-12, which occur also in St Luke, only one (v. 11) is paralleled in St Mark, and even in this one verse the numerous small agreements of St Matthew and St Luke against St Mark and the fact that it contains the grammatical antecedent of the relative οὗ which begins the following (non-Markan) verse (Mt. iii 12 = Lk. iii 17) prove that this verse also stood substantially if not exactly in Q—St Mark and Q here, as in several other places, overlapping one another. Moreover, it is obvious that the account of John's preaching in Q must have contained a word or two of introduction, traces of which are found in the agreement of St Matthew and St Luke against St Mark (Mt. iii 5, Lk. iii 3) in the phrase ἡ περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου.

The facts, then, are these: St Matthew's account of John the Baptist is not derived from St Mark alone but from St Mark and Q. As regards the preaching, it would appear to be entirely from Q. When therefore we find that the introductory summary of the contents of the preaching is given by St Matthew in the form 'the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand', and by St Mark in the form 'a baptism of repentance for the remission of sins', seeing there is evidence that Q has some few words of introduction, it is far more reasonable to suppose that St Matthew transcribed a phrase from the introductory sentences of Q

than that he gratuitously modified beyond all recognition a phrase which he found in St Mark.

Hence on purely critical grounds it is probable that our oldest authority Q represented John as preaching 'the Kingdom of God is at hand'. The phrase is also specially connected with the Baptist in another Q passage *ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται μέχρι Ἰωάννου ἀπὸ τότε ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγελίζεται* (Lk. xvi 16, cf. Mt. xi 12). But the view that he expected an immediate and catastrophic coming of the Kingdom conceived in the Apocalyptic style does not rest on this one phrase alone. 'Who warned you to flee from the wrath to come' implies an immediate judgement. The metaphor in 'the axe is laid at the foot of the trees' pictures the farmer throwing down his axe for just a moment while he divests himself of his garment before beginning the *immediate* work of felling. Again, the 'baptism with Spirit and with fire' which is to come after is most naturally interpreted of the Apocalyptic outpouring of the Spirit (Joel ii 28, &c.), and the 'purging of the threshing floor' of the Messianic Judgement.

There is, of course, as I myself emphasized, much in John's preaching which recalls the manner of the older Prophets, but in view of the considerations adduced above I feel that it is a fair and adequate estimate of his peculiar position to say of him as I did, 'Apocalyptic and Prophet, the new and the old, are in him combined'.

If the preaching of John the Baptist was eschatological, it is natural to infer that to him the act of baptism itself had also an eschatological reference. But if this fact and its implications be clearly grasped one of the great theological difficulties of the New Testament disappears. As early as the apocryphal Gospel according to the Hebrews the difficulty was felt that, if John's baptism was primarily a baptism of repentance, only those whose conscience was burdened with sin had any ground for submitting to the rite. Why then did our Lord come to be baptized?

The verses (Mt. iii 14-15) added by the first evangelist to the Marcan outline are probably an early attempt to meet this same difficulty. But if the reference of John's baptism was primarily eschatological, that is, if it was regarded as a 'sealing' or symbolic act entitling to admission in the coming Kingdom, the difficulty vanishes.

No doubt John's special emphasis on the ethical qualifications necessary for entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven made repentance for the mass of men a necessary condition of receiving his baptism. But the essential meaning of the rite would be rather aspiration for the future than regret for the past. In that case One who needed no repentance would be more, and not less, inclined than others to identify Himself with the outburst of religious aspiration of which it was the characteristic symbol.

The origin of the Marcan 'baptism of repentance for the remission of sins', which is adopted also from him by St Luke, is easily explained as being a characterization of John's baptism as it was viewed later on from the standpoint of the experience of the later Christian baptism. The alternative assumption that it is more original than St Matthew's phrase entails, I would submit, serious theological as well as historical difficulties.

B. H. STREETER.

THE 'AFRICAN TEXT' IN ST FRANCIS AND THE PRAYER-BOOK.

It is a far cry from Cranmer to St Francis and from St Francis to St Cyprian. Moreover 'liturgiology' and 'textual criticism' are usually reckoned as dry as the story of St Francis is romantic. Yet I hope to demonstrate that there is a real connexion between the three and that the conjunction produces a not uninteresting result.

In the summer of 1221 St Francis had called Caesarius of Speier, the first German among the Brothers Minor, to put into shape the Rule which he had composed for his Friars.¹ The result was the work which begins *Haec est vita* and which used to be called 'Regula Prima', printed by Wadding, pp. 133-155. It differs among other things from the final Rule, ratified by Pope Honorius in 1223, in having a number of hortatory and scriptural passages, and it ends with a very beautiful Prayer (Wadding, chap. xxiii, p. 152) in which anticipatory echoes of the *Canticum solis* have been heard. It is with a sentence in this prayer that this Note is primarily concerned.

'Omnipotens, sanctissime, altissime et summe Deus (it begins), Pater sancte et iuste Domine, Rex caeli et terrae, propter temetipsum gratias agimus tibi quod . . . creasti omnia spiritualia et corporalia, et . . . nos captiuos redimere voluisti. et gratias agimus tibi quia ipse Filius tuus iterum venturus est in gloria maiestatis suae, mittere maledictos qui penitentiam non egerunt et te non cognouerunt in ignem aeternum, et dicere omnibus qui te cognouerunt et adorauerunt et tibi seruierunt in penitentia: Venite benedicti Patris mei, percipite Regnum quod vobis paratum est ab origine mundi.'

I am afraid that when I first came upon this quotation of Matt. xxv 34 I was too much astonished to think of the dawn of Italian poetry or

¹ Jordanus of Giano says: *Et videns beatus Franciscus fratrem Caesarium sacris litteris eruditum ipsi commisit, ut Regulam quam ipse simplicibus verbis conceperat verbis Evangelii adornaret. Quod et fecit.* (Quoted by Jørgensen, E. Tr., p. 213 note.)

the cult of Lady Poverty. The words I have underlined do not agree with the Vulgate, and they do agree with Cyprian and with Optatus and the very oldest stratum of the African version! It is just as if some one were to find a line of Chaucer accurately quoted in the *Pilgrim's Progress*. St Francis and Caesarius were quite innocent of any Biblical text except the mediaeval Vulgate, yet the coincidence is too great to be accidental: how did they come by it?

On reading the passage again the words seemed strangely familiar, and then I remembered that in the 'Collect' for the Burial Service we pray for 'that blessing which Thy well-beloved Son shall then pronounce . . . saying, Come, ye blessed children of my Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world'. Why 'receive', and not 'inherit' or 'possess'? Why 'beginning', and not 'foundation'? May the Collect not come from a Latin liturgical text which had *percipite* and *ab origine*, instead of *possidete* and *a constitutione*? And what is the connexion between this form and that which underlies the prayer of St Francis?

These questions appear to be more easily asked than answered. I have not been able to answer them fully, though I have asked several specialists in the various lines of research thus so curiously brought together. I publish here what I have found already in the hope that others may supply the missing links.

1. *The textual facts.* The Vulgate text of Matt. xxv 34 is

Venite benedicti patris mei *possidete* paratum vobis regnum
a constitutione mundi.

Neglecting small variations such as *praeparatum* for *paratum*, &c., the Latin authorities group themselves as below:—

(a) *possidete* . . . *a constitutione* *ab fffhqr* vg Hil⁵ Amb 1/2 Hier
Leo Aug¹

(β) *percipite* . . . *ab origine* Cyp⁵ Opt Lucif Aug³ Cass 1/2 Philastr
[hiant *e k*]

(γ) *percipite* . . . *ab initio* 'book of Mulling' Aug² Cass 1/2

(δ) *possidete* . . . *ab origine* *c(d) r, corb* vg D-E-R Max.ar Gaud

(*d* has *hereditate possidete* . . . *ab origine* = Amb 1/2).

The liturgical evidence is given later. Some of the attestation of β is perhaps derived direct from Cyprian's *Testimonia*.¹ It is unfortunate that both *e* and *k* are missing at this point. The Irish and English evidence, which (as so often) has points of contact with the African text, suggests to me that the full African reading *percipite* . . . *ab origine* was once current in these Islands, a consideration which may have some bearing upon the origin of the liturgical form for which we are in search.

¹ Lucifer's reference, however, seems to me to come from Cyp 430 (*De zelo et livore* § 15).

2. *Cranmer and his sources.* The familiar 'collect' in the Burial Service is derived from the Book of 1549. In that book Matt. xxv 34 is used in three different places: (1) in the Commendation at the Burial, where it runs 'Come ye blessed children of my father: Receyue the kingdome prepared for you before the beginning of the worlde'; (2) in the prayer after the *Kyrie* at the Burial, 'Come to me ye blessed of my father, possesse the kingdom whiche hath bene prepared for you from the beginning of the worlde'; (3) in the Canon of the Mass after the commendation of the departed, 'Come unto me, O ye that be blessed of my father, and possesse the kingdom, which is prepared for you, from the begynning of the worlde'.¹ It will be seen that the beautiful rhythm of (1) has survived in the present use, the only change being a correction of the inaccurate rendering of the preposition *ab*. 'Possess' in (2) and (3) is a correction to the wording of the Latin Vulgate, of which other examples occur below.

It does not seem to be known for certain whence Cranmer took these forms. They are usually regarded as an adaptation of the Collect in the mediaeval devotion called the Golden Mass or the Mass of the Five Wounds.² This runs: *Domine I. X. . . te humiliter deprecamur ut in die iudicii ad dexteram tuam statuti a te audire mereamur Venite benedicti Patris mei. Qui cum Deo.* That is to say, it refers to Matt. xxv 34, but the quotation breaks off before *percipite* (or *possidete*). It is generally assumed that Cranmer filled up the verse without caring to render the Vulgate wording with accuracy. That of course seemed probable enough, as long as no late Latin forms with *percipite* were known; but I venture to think that the quotation in St Francis's Rule turns the scale the other way, and that we are justified in looking for a common source underlying both the Mass of the Five Wounds and Cranmer's formularies.

3. About half-way in time between St Francis and St Cyprian comes the eighth-century MS in the British Museum numbered 2 A xx. It has been transcribed in full by Dom Kuypers as an Appendix to his edition of the 'Book of Cerne', but so far as I know no regular investigation of its contents has been instituted. In this MS ff. 29-38 contain a sort of Alphabetical Litany, each stanza ending with the refrain *Domine mi Iesu Christe*.³ After the Z-stanza comes a coda (Kuypers, p. 217) praying our Lord *ut cum omnibus tuis pariter possim sanctis illius felicissime uocis audire sonum Venite benedicti patris mei PERCIPITE*

¹ (3) is still retained in the Scottish Communion Office, but the wording of the text has been assimilated to the Authorized Version of the Bible.

² This Mass is traditionally ascribed to *Sanctus Bonifacius Papa*. The *Catholic Encyclopaedia* (s. v. Wounds) says Boniface II, but gives no reason.

³ The first line is *Altus auctor omnium creaturarum*.

regnum quod vobis paratum est AB ORIGINE mundi. tunc introduc me in thalamum regni tui ubi epulantur tecum omnes amici tui, Domine mi Iesu Christe, qui cum, &c.

Here we have a full form of the prayer, with both the 'African' catchwords preserved. The Alphabetical Litany in 2 A xx is very verbose, and is not likely to be the original source of anything whatever. Its interest for us is that it attests the turn of phrase which we have found in Cranmer and St Francis five hundred years nearer the time when it was the wording of a Biblical text in common use.

Mr Brightman, to whom I wrote for help in this matter, gave me a quotation from St Anselm's Meditations (Migne, clviii 721), where he speaks of *vocem illam felicissimam . . . Venite . . . possidete regnum . . . ab origine mundi*. I found in the same volume of Migne, col. 796, the text quoted with *percipite* as well, and on col. 797 St Anselm goes on to say *regnum illud percipientes quod paratum est illis ab origine mundi*. St Anselm was a learned man and something of a Biblical student. I am not surprised that he has once substituted the Vulgate *possidete* for what would seem to him the mere inaccuracy of *percipite*: I cannot believe that he got *percipite* and *ab origine* out of anything but a patristic or a liturgical source.

I had written thus far when I happened to talk the matter over with Dom R. H. Connolly. He said at once that the form with *percipite* and *ab origine* seemed more familiar to him than the Vulgate, and within a few hours he gave me the reference to what I now think must be the actual source from whence Cranmer, St Francis, and St Anselm drew. It is the Introit of the Mass for Wednesday in Easter Week, which runs

Venite benedicti patris mei percipite regnum, alleluia :

quod vobis paratum est ab origine mundi, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.

The same words, without the alleluias, are used as an Antiphon to Benedictus on the first Monday in Lent,¹ and the first line as far as *regnum* is used as a response in the second Nocturn for All Saints' Day, both being doubtless taken direct from the Easter Introit.

The Introits and Graduals of the Roman and the various mediaeval Uses would make an interesting study from the point of view of the textual critic, not that the variants in themselves are of textual importance, but because the presence of Old Latin renderings must be an unfailing indication of the age of the liturgical form in which they occur. A cursory examination reveals the different character of these Antiphons: e.g. the Advent Introit *Rorate* is definitely Vulgate in text, while the verses from the Song of Habakkuk (a Tract for Good Friday) are Old Latin. It was doubtless from the Gradual for Friday in Easter Week

¹ Matt. xxv 31 ff is the Gospel for the day (naturally from the Vulgate).

that Venantius Fortunatus took the famous *Regnavit a ligno*, and not the other way round.

The Introit with which this Note is particularly concerned must indeed be ancient. When and where it was first adapted as a liturgical form *percipite* and *ab origine* must have stood in the current version of Matt. xxv 34, or else Cyprian's *Testimonia* must have been as familiar as the words of Scripture. Either of these alternatives takes us back to the fourth century. This ancient form is still in Roman use, and audible echoes of it survive in the familiar Burial Service of the Book of Common Prayer. So ancient a thread of continuity with early Christian worship does seem to me to merit friendly and respectful recognition.

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[It is well known that the text of the Gregorian *Antiphonarium*, to which the Introits &c. belong, is very generally prae-Vulgate. See *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne* i c. 2458.—F. E. B.]

TERTULLIANEA.

I

Notes on the adversus Praxean, §§ 1-17.

FOR some time past I have felt drawn to the study of Tertullian, fascinated both by the difficulty and the importance of the subject. And in casting about where to begin, the *adversus Praxean* offered itself as a very obvious starting-point. No treatise of Tertullian was so much studied in the patristic period; it has better manuscript authority than many of Tertullian's works, though it is unfortunately absent from the earliest and best MS of all; and it is now accessible in a very careful edition by E. Kroymann in the Vienna *Corpus* of Latin Fathers. No scholar who has attempted any work at all on the field of Tertullian will criticize his predecessors lightly; he must be too conscious himself of the difficulties which throng his path; and it is therefore only in a very tentative way that I record my impression that Kroymann, while he has given us some excellent emendations, has dealt in an unnecessarily violent way with the manuscript tradition. I should indeed entirely agree that the *adversus Praxean* must have been published by its author as a treatise intended to be straightforwardly intelligible to those to whom it was addressed: the obscurity of allusion, the habit of stating ironically the exact converse of what was really meant, which render some of the other writings of Tertullian so difficult, would have been out of place on

this occasion and would have defeated the writer's aim in dealing with the deep mysteries of his theme. Tertullian when he likes (and I think that here he would have liked) can be quite intelligible. So my object has been to attempt by comparatively small departures from the MS tradition to restore sense and grammar in those passages scattered over the first half of the *adversus Praxean* in which it seemed to me to be possible to do so. I have added further at the end some additional assistance to the intelligent reading of the treatise by enlarging the editor's apparatus of Scripture and other references to the sources of the text.

A. TERTULLIAN'S TEXT.

1. (§ 1: 228. 14)

'denique caverat pristinum doctor de emendatione sua.'

Tertullian has just mentioned that the doctrine of Praxeas had been introduced not only in Rome, but 'hic quoque' in Carthage, where however through his own efforts—for by the words 'per quem deus voluit' he no doubt refers to himself—it had been successfully repelled: in fact 'he who taught had given warranty for his improved behaviour', and the document was still in the hands of the Carthaginian Church. So far all is clear, save that 'doctor' is a little surprising without some defining or explanatory word; but how does 'pristinum' come in? I believe it conceals the word 'presbyter'; and I suggest tentatively 'pr(esbyter) istorum doctor'. *p̄r* is an early abbreviation of presbyter which was never in general use and might easily have been misunderstood, so that 'p̄ristorum' became 'pristinum'.

2. (§ 2: 229. 17)

'ipsa novellitas Praxeae hesterni.'

The emendation I wish to suggest here is not in the text of Tertullian, but by the help of Tertullian in the text of the Gelasian Sacramentary, in the Post-communion prayer of the first Christmas Eve Mass (ed. Wilson, p. 2). 'Cuius [sacramenti] nobilitas singularis humanam repulit vetustatem.' For 'nobilitas' we ought I think to read 'novellitas': the unique newness of this mystery has put away our 'old man', the *παλαιὸς ἀνθρώπος* of which the apostle speaks.

3. (§ 3: 230. 18)

'quasi non et unitas inrationaliter collecta haeresim faciat et trinitas rationaliter expensa veritatem constituat.'

'Expensa' ought, I am quite sure, to be altered: the opposition is that of contracting and expanding, of *συστολή* and *προβολή*. The only question is whether to read 'expansa' or 'extensa': but the latter was the technical word in use as contrasted with 'collecta', and I have little doubt that it should be read here. Compare the Tome of Damasus (*Ecd. Occid. Mon. Iur. Ant.* I 286 l. 63) 'anathematizamus eos qui

Verbum Filium Dei extensionem aut collectionem . . . esse contendunt.'

4. (§ 3: 230. 20).

"Monarchiam" inquit "tenemus", et ita sonum ipsum vocaliter exprimunt etiam Latini et tam opifice, ut putes illos tam bene intellegere monarchiam quam enuntiant.'

The adverb 'opifice' does not exist; and if it did, I do not see how it could be translated, with Kroymann, 'so meisterlich'. With some diffidence I suggest what is at least a very slight change 'etiam Latini, et(i)am opifice(s)'. 'The Greek term *μοναρχία* is mouthed out even by Latins and even by artisans so sonorously, that you might think they really understood exactly what it meant.'

5. (§ 4: 232. 3)

'Qui filium non aliunde deduco quam de substantia patris . . . quo modo possum de fide destruere monarchiam?'

I cannot translate in this connexion the words 'de fide'; perhaps 'quomodo possum uideri destruere monarchiam?'

6. (§ 5: 233. 11)

'rationalis enim deus et† ratio in ipsum prius et ita ab ipso omnia.'

The editor marks the clause as corrupt: but a very simple alteration will, I think, make sense, 'ratio in ipsum prius et ita ab ipso (in) omnia'.

7. (§ 6: 234. 26)

'dehinc adistentem eam [i. e. sophiam] ipsa separatione cognosce: "cum pararet" inquit "caelum aderam illi simul".'

'(In) ipsa operatione' is the editor's correction for 'ipsa separatione' of the MSS, and is undoubtedly on the right lines; but 'ips(iu)s (o)perati-on(i)' is a good deal nearer the manuscript tradition, and is further supported by 262. 12 'qui solus operationi patris ministravit.'

8. (§ 7: 236. 16, 17)

"ergo" inquis "das aliquam substantiam esse sermonem spiritu et sophiae traditione constructam? plane non uis enim eum substantium habere in re per substantiae proprietatem".'

For 'sophiae traditione' we must surely read 'sophia et ratione', compare 236. 12 'quasi non ipse sit **sermo** et in **sophiae** et in **rationis** et in omnis divini animi et **spiritus** nomine': and for 'habere in re' an obvious emendation is 'haber(i) in (s)e'. Read accordingly "ergo" inquis "das aliquam substantiam esse sermonem, spiritu et sophia et ratione constructam? plane non uis enim eum substantium haberi in se per substantiae proprietatem".'

9. (§ 8: 238. 15)

'et numquam separatus aut alius a patre.'

Contrast 239. 16 'alium esse patrem et alium filium', 239. 23 'non

sunt idem pater et filius [supply "sed"] uel modulo alius ab alio', 240. 1 'sic et pater alius a filio, dum filio maior', 240. 7 'sic alium a se paracletum, quomodo et nos a patre alium filium'. All these passages are in the near context, and they seem to make it unlikely that Tertullian should have also written in the same neighbourhood 'numquam . . . alius a patre'. Consequently I suggest 'ali(en)us a patre', comparing 239. 10 'nihil tamen a matrice alienatur'. Elsewhere, however, Tertullian does also use the phrase 'alius a patre' in a sense in which he denies it; 260. 9, 10 'igitur unus deus pater et alius absque eo non est. quod ipse inferens non filium negat, sed alium deum. ceterum alius a patre filius non est'.

10. (§ 10: 240. 16)

'ita aut pater aut filius est, et neque dies eadem et nox neque pater idem et filius.'

So the MSS: Kroymann emends to 'ita ut pater, et filius est, et (ut) neque dies', &c. But the only change that seems necessary is to read 'et . . . et' for 'aut . . . aut': 'ita (e)t pater (e)t filius est; et neque dies eadem et nox, neque pater idem et filius.' 'So both the Father is, and the Son is (just as day is and night is); and neither is day the same as night, nor Father the same as Son.' The 'est' refers back to the scriptural quotation 'est est' of 240. 14; and this first sentence of chapter 10 really belongs to chapter 9.

11. (§ 11: 243. 15)

'quem autem uerebatur deus dominus uniuersitatis ita pronuntiare, si ita res erat? an uerebatur ne non crederetur, si simpliciter se et patrem et filium pronuntiasset? unum tamen ueritus est: mentiri,—ueritus autem semetipsum et suam ueritatem—et ideo ueracem deum credens scio illum non aliter quam disposuit pronuntiassse nec aliter disposuisse quam pronuntiauit.'

The beginning and end of this passage are perfectly lucid; the middle part seems to me neither grammar nor sense. With hesitation I propose a not very drastic change, which at least makes the passage readable: 'unum tamen ueritus est, mentiri uerit(ati)s au(c)t(or)em semetipsum et suam ueritatem.' 'One thing nevertheless he did fear, that the Author of Truth should falsify himself and his truth.'

12. (§ 11: 245. 4)

'sic et cetera, quae nunc ad patrem de filio uel ad filium, nunc ad filium de patre uel ad patrem, nunc ad spiritum pronuntiantur.'

So the MSS: Kroymann wrongly brackets the last 'nunc', but rightly (as I think) reads 'a spiritu'. Here Tertullian has been enumerating passages of Scripture where one Person of the Trinity speaks of or to another, and thus the distinction of Persons is implied: (1) patris (a patre) de filio, Ps. xlv 2 Is. xlii 1; (2) patris ad filium, Ps. ii 7 Is. xlix 6;

(3) filii de patre, Is. lxi 1; (4) filii ad patrem, Ps. lxx 18; (5) spiritus de patre et filio, Ps. cix 1; (6) spiritus ad patrem de filio, Is. liii 1. The bearing of the last citation he expands in detail, but briefly summarizes the rest in the words here printed. All the change that is necessary to make his words correspond accurately to the successive sections of his argument is to substitute in each case after 'nunc' ablatives for accusatives, 'nunc a patre' for 'nunc ad patrem', 'nunc a filio' for 'nunc ad filium', and 'nunc a spiritu' for 'nunc ad spiritum'; and to read 'sic et cetera, quae nunc a patre de filio [= (1)] uel ad filium [= (2)], nunc a filio de patre [= (3)] uel ad patrem [= (4)], nunc a spiritu [= (5)] pronuntiantur'.

13. (§ 12: 246. 9)

'ET DIXIT DEUS: FIAT LUX, ET FACTA EST ipse statim sermo VERA LUX, QUAE INLUMINAT HOMINEM VENIENTEM IN HUNC MUNDUM, et per illum mundialis quoque lux.'

The words from vera lux to hunc mundum should have been spaced in Kroymann; they are not merely an allusion to, but a definite citation of, Jo. i 9. 'In hunc mundum' is consistently found in all Old Latin authorities for the εἰς τὸν κόσμον of this verse. But in St Cyprian (*Testimonia* i 7; Hartel 45. 1) the true reading, though it is still unrepresented in the editions, is not 'venientem' but 'veniens'; the 'African' Latin understood ἐρχόμενον to go with φῶς and not with ἄνθρωπον, as neuter nominative and not masculine accusative. Ought we not to restore the same reading in this passage of Tertullian? The point surely is that the Word came as Light into this created sphere, and through him (Jo. i 3) the created light as well, that is, the sun. The thought that *man* comes into the world would not seem to stand in any connexion with the 'mundialis lux'; and the creation of light and sun is an 'antecedens opus mundi' (246. 5) to the creation of man. It was just in a familiar phrase like this that the influence of the Vulgate worked havoc with the text of the fathers; and I should be prepared to go behind the evidence of the MSS of Tertullian, and restore the oldest Latin rendering to his text.

14. (§ 13: 247. 10-12)

'et hic enim dicendo deus in te et tu deus, duos proponit qui erant in Christo [or "in Christum"] et spiritum ipsum.'

So the MSS: Kroymann corrects 'erant' to 'erat', and of that correction there can be no doubt. But a difficulty remains in 'spiritum' which Kroymann wishes to remove as a gloss, and the editor in chief, Engelbrecht, to transpose before 'et'. Neither of these expedients is at all satisfactory; the true solution seems to be a much simpler one,

¹ Hartel only records for *veniens* MV; I can add L* (*venies*) PQ of his MSS and Bodl. Laud. Misc. 105.

involving the change of only one letter, xpm for spm. 'Et hic enim, dicendo "deus in te" et "tu deus", duos proponit, qui erat in Christo et Christum ipsum.'

15. (§ 13: 248. 7-9)

'ut si homines per fidem filios dei factos deos scriptura pronuntiare non timuit scias illam [*sc. scripturam*] multo magis uero et unico dei filio et domini nomen iure contulisse.'

Throughout this chapter the argument of Tertullian has been that Scripture teaches that 'the Father is God and the Son is God', 'the Father is Lord and the Son is Lord'. Four times on this page of Kroymann we have the parallelism of 'deus' and 'dominus': l. 11 'duos deos et duos dominos', l. 18 'duos tamen deos et duos dominos', l. 21 'duo dii et duo domini', l. 22 'et deus agnosceretur et dominus uocaretur'. I suggest that the same is the case in the passage under consideration, and that we ought to read 'uero et unico dei filio et dei et domini nomen iure contulisse': obviously 'et di' would very easily fall out by homoeoarcton before 'et dñi'. I think this is better than with Kroymann to change 'et domini' to 'id dei'.

16. (§ 13: 248. 13-15)

'nos enim qui et tempore et causas scripturarum per dei gratiam in spicimus maxime paracleti non hominum discipuli duos quidem definimus patrem et filium.'

I think we need to insert 'ut' after 'maxime'.

17. (§ 14: 252. 17, 18)

'alia debet esse facies quae si uideatur occidit.'

Tertullian is speaking of the contradiction between passages which say that God was seen, and passages which say that no man can see God and live. And I think that the contrast is wanted in this sentence, and that the hypothesis of an omission by homoeoteleuton is natural enough. Read then 'Alia debet esse facies quae (uisa est, alia quae) si uideatur occidit'.

18. (§ 15: 253. 19-22)

'ad hanc diuersitatem uisi et inuisi in unum conferendam quis ex diuerso non argumentabitur recte utrumque dictum uisibilem quidem in carne inuisibilem uero ante carnem.'

Tertullian has been elaborating the distinction between the invisible Father and the visible Son; and he then proceeds to indicate the lines on which his opponent Praxeas will meet his argument. Therefore the negative is exactly what is not wanted, and the editorial device of making the sentence interrogative seems to me quite inappropriate. So I should propose either to substitute 'nunc' for 'non' (as Kroymann has rightly done in 277. 14) or to write 'qui ex diuerso nobis' 'our opponent' for 'quis ex diuerso non'.

19. (§ 16: 254. 11-13)

'qui ante carnem sermo tantum in primordio apud deum patrem, non pater apud sermonem.'

Any contrast between the Word being with the Father and the Father being with the Word would be wholly out of place, and Kroymann is therefore right in suspecting 'apud sermonem'. But his methods of improving the text are brutally drastic: he omits 'apud sermonem' altogether, and inserts 'deus' before 'pater'. If for 'sermonem' we read 'semetipsum' we get just what we want: Tertullian is always recurring to the absurdity to which the Patripassian theory reduces us. When we say that before the Incarnation the Word was in the beginning with the Father, we do not mean simply that the Father was with Himself, 'sermo apud patrem, non pater apud semetipsum'.

20. (§ 15: 255. 16-19)

'et illam [sc. the "lux accessibilis" of the Transfigured or Risen Christ] neque ipse [Paulus] sine periculo luminis expertus est, neque Petrus et Iohannes et Iacobus sine ratione et amentia qui si non passuri filii gloriam sed patrem uidissent credo morituri ibidem.'

Kroymann reads 'rationis' with some little MS authority, omits 'et amentia qui', and transposes 'credo morituri ibidem' before 'si non passuri'. I deprecate such violent dealing with the text; and I think it possible that, parallel with 'sine periculo luminis', Tertullian may have written 'sine ratione amentiae', 'without having to reckon the chance of loss of reason' (Mark ix 6). The words and order of the MSS may stand for the rest of the sentence; we must in order to complete the construction either omit 'qui' or supply 'fuissent', which might easily have dropped out if it immediately followed 'vidissent'.

21. (§ 16: 256. 9-12)

'pater enim qui diligit filium et omnia tradidit in manu eius utique a primordio diligit et a primordio tradidit ex quo a primordio sermo erat apud deum.'

Clearly the last 'a primordio' cannot stand after 'ex quo'. Kroymann adopts again the method of omission. But instead of cutting out 'a primordio', all we have to do is (with one MS) to cut out 'a', and read 'ex quo primordio', 'from that Beginning when the Word was with God'.

22. (§ 17: 259. 1-3)

'haec dicimus et in filium competisse et in his filium venisse et in his semper egisse et sic ea in se hominibus manifestasse.'

In the last clause 'sic' seems certainly to be parallel to 'haec' 'in his', and that being so it is difficult to see how 'ea' comes in. I suggest 'eum' for 'ea in', 'and that He on this wise manifested Himself to men'.

B. TERTULLIAN'S SOURCES.

227. 20 'ipse potius a primordio mendax est.' Kroymann gives 1 John iii 8, but the reference is rather to John viii 44.

228. 24 'die suo colligentur omnes adulterae fruges et cum ceteris scandalis igni extinguiibili cremabuntur.' To Kroymann's reference, Matt. xiii 30, should be added xiii 41 for 'cum ceteris scandalis' and iii 12 for 'ignis inextinguibilis'.

229. 2 'deductorem omnis ueritatis.' John xvi 13: at 288. 11 where the same words are used, Kroymann has supplied the reference correctly.

229. 16-20 'probabit tam ipsa posteritas omnium haeticorum quam ipsa novellitas Praxeae hesterni, quo peraeque **adversus universas haereses** iam hinc praeiudicatum sit id esse verum quodcumque primum, id esse adulterum quodcumque posterius. sed salva ista **praescriptione** . . .' The reference is quite obviously to the writer's earlier book *Praescriptio adversus haeticos*; cf. *Praescr.* 31 'ex ipso ordine manifestatur id esse dominicum et uerum quod sit prius traditum, id autem extraneum et falsum quod sit posterius immissum'.

230. 10 'a pluribus diis saeculi ad unicum et uerum deum'. 1 Cor. viii 5, 6: and Jo. xvii 3.

233. 14 'iam in usu est nostrorum per simplicitatem interpretationis "sermonem" dicere "in primordio apud deum fuisse".' Jo. i 1.

233. 20 'sermonem suum miserat.' Ps. cvi (cvii) 20.

236. 20 'quid est enim, dicis, sermo nisi vox et sonus oris et, sicut grammatici tradunt, aer offensus, intellegibilis auditu, ceterum vacuum nescio quid et inane et incorporale?' Novatian *de Trinitate* xxxi copies Tertullian 'sermo filius natus est, qui non in sono percussi aeris aut tono coactae de visceribus vocis accipitur, sed in substantia prolatae a Deo virtutis agnoscitur'. Comparison of the extant remains of the grammarians indicates a common tradition of the definition of 'vox' which doubtless takes us back behind Tertullian's time: e.g. Donatus I i 'Vox est aer ictus sensibilis auditu quantum in ipso est', Marius Victorinus *de Orthographia* I 'Vox est aer ictus auditu percipibilis quantum in ipso est', Maximus Victorinus I 7 'Vox est aer ictus sensibilis qui auditur quantum in ipso est', Diomedes II 1 'Vox est, ut Stoicis videtur, spiritus tenuis, auditu sensibilis quantum in ipso est. fit autem vel exilis aurae pulsu vel verberati aeris ictu'; Isidore *Origines* I xiv repeats the phrase of Donatus. In Greek compare Apost. Const. VIII xii § 10 (Funk, 498. 22) 'ὁ ποιήσας . . . ἀέρα ζωτικὸν πρὸς εἰσπνοὴν καὶ ἀναπνοὴν καὶ φωνῆς ἀπόδοσιν διὰ γλώττης πληττούσης τὸν ἀέρα καὶ ἀκοὴν συνεργουμένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐπατεῖν εἰσδεχομένην τὴν προσπίπτουσαν αὐτῇ λαλίαν.'

237. 11 'deus spiritus est.' Jo. iv 24.

238. 6 'apud nos autem solus filius patrem nouit, et sinum patris

ipse exposuit, et omnia apud patrem audiuit et uidit, et quae mandatus est a patre ea loquitur.' For the two first clauses Kroymann rightly refers to Matt. xi 27, Jo. i 18: for 'omnia audiuit' Jo. xv 15 should be added to viii 26; for 'omnia vidit' the reference is presumably to Jo. v 19, 20; for the remaining words Jo. xii 49.

246. 4 'hominem qui tunc de limo formari habebat, imago ueri et similitudo.' Gen. ii 7; Rom. v 14.

248. 7 'homines per fidem filios dei factos.' An echo, I think, of Jo. i 12, τέκνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι, τοῖς πιστεύουσιν. Cp. Gal. iii 26 πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

251. 12, 23 'coram uelut si quis loquatur ad amicum suum' and 'non quomodo moysi' should have been spaced, as actual words of Exod. xxxiii 11 and Num. xii 7.

252. 4 'in montis secessu.' The last word represents the κατ' ἰδίαν of Matt. xvii 1.

256. 5 'pater enim sensu agit, filius qui in patris sensu est uidens perficit.' Is this an echo of Ignatius *ad Eph.* § 3 Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, τὸ ἀδιάκριτον ἡμῶν ζῆν, τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ γνώμη?

257. 1 'ita semper ediscebat et deus in terris cum hominibus conuersari'. Kroymann is puzzled, from not recognizing Tertullian's source in Baruch iii 36-38 οὗτος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν . . . μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ γῆς ὤφθη καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναναστρέφει.

257. 5 'scripta sunt' is part of the quotation of 1 Cor. x 11.

258. 10 'in Pilati tribunal imponunt.' Apparently Tertullian, like the author of the Gospel of Peter, understood ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ βήματι in John xix 13 to be transitive, 'seated' and not 'sat'.

259. 4-12 'cum ergo legis **deum omnipotentem** et **altissimum** et **deum virtutum** et **regem Israhelis** et **qui est**, vide ne per haec filius etiam demonstretur suo iure **deus omnipotens**, qua ¹sermo dei omnipotentis, quaque ²omnium accepit potestatem; **altissimus** qua ³dextera dei exaltatus, sicut Petrus in Actis contionatur; **dominus virtutum**, quia 'omnia subiecta sunt illi a patre; **rex Israhelis**, quia illi proprie ⁴excidit sors gentis istius; **qui est**, quoniam multi ⁵filii dicuntur et non sunt.' It seems to have escaped Kroymann that the whole point of this sentence is that under each head it appeals to some passage or passages of Scripture. These I have numbered in the text above for convenience of reference: ¹Apoc. xix (6) 13: ²Matt. xi 27 xxviii 18, John xiii 3 xvii 2: ³Acts ii 33 (given by Kroymann): ⁴1 Cor. xv 27: ⁵Deut. xxxii 8, 9 ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ ὑψιστος ἔθνη, ὡς διέσπειρεν υἱοὺς Ἀδάμ, ἔστησεν ὅρα ἐθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ καὶ ἐγενήθη μερὶς κυρίου λαὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ: ⁶perhaps 1 Jo. iii 1 ἵνα τέκνα θεοῦ κληθῶμεν, καὶ ἔσμεν.

C. H. TURNER.

MEDITATIO DE STATU PRAELATI.

THE See of Salisbury has been filled by many illustrious prelates ; but there are few who have left a more agreeable memory than Simon de Gandavo (or of Ghent),¹ who, notwithstanding a foreign name, was born in London² and spent his life in the service of the English Church and of the English State. Successively Archdeacon of Oxford and Chancellor of the University, ambassador and member of the Government,³ he was never accused, like so many bishops of his time, of neglect of his episcopal duties. Few men, indeed, did so much to restore discipline, to repel invaders—papal or other—or to foster the spiritual or material welfare of their see-cities. His tomb early and long attracted pilgrims. It was, however, as a theologian that he was best known to his contemporaries : ‘in arte theologica peritus’, as the compiler of the *Flores* has it. His sermons⁴ and devotional writings had a great vogue both in his lifetime and in the two centuries which followed his death. Some of the works which were attributed to him have now been definitely assigned to others.⁵ But the present tract (which is here printed for the first time) is almost certainly his. The *Meditatio* is mentioned by Bishop Tanner⁶ as occurring among the manuscripts of Lord Lumley. The Lumley Library passed into the possession of James I, and now forms part of the Royal Library at the British Museum, where the document in question now is.⁷ But there is another and a better copy, which has been, I think, unnoticed hitherto,⁸ among the Laudian manuscripts in the Bodleian Library,⁹ and it is from this manuscript that

¹ Bishop from 1297–1315.

² *Flores Historiarum*, iii 103, ed. Luard in Rolls Series.

³ As one of the Lords Ordainers in 1310.

⁴ A collection of sermons by famous thirteenth and fourteenth-century preachers now among the manuscripts of New College, Oxford (MS Coll. Nov. 92), includes one preached by him when he was Chancellor of the University.

⁵ E.g. the *Regula Anchoritarum sive de Vita Solitaria* (commonly called the *Ancien Rule*).

⁶ *Bibliotheca Britannico-hibernica*, p. 107.

⁷ MS Bibl. Reg. 5 C iii : f. 301 a cf. Casley's *Catalogue* p. 76.

⁸ E.g. there is no mention of it in Hardy's account of Bishop Simon, in *Catalogue of British History* iii 357.

⁹ MS Laud Misc. 402. This is a collection of letters and tracts of various dates and in various hands ranging from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, which was in the possession of a prebendary of Durham in the sixteenth century, and came, perhaps, from the Library of Durham Cathedral. The *Meditatio* begins in

the tract is here printed. The *Meditatio* seems a good specimen of that type of mediaeval devotional literature with which we are familiar in the *De incendio amoris* of Richard Rolle of Hampole or in the *Scala perfectionis* of Walter Hilton. Here, however, we have the work, not of a hermit, or of a canon of a retired Augustinian house, but of a man of affairs; one who held high office in the University, but never displayed a sign of the arid conventionality of academic religion; a bishop, yet one who never allowed his own dignity to be his primary consideration, but was concerned solely with his own unworthiness to fill his office. His little tract shews him, indeed, in his true character of a holy and humble man of heart.

G. BASKERVILLE.

MEDITATIO SANCTAE RECORDATIONIS DOMINI SIMONIS DE GANDAVO,
QUONDAM SARUM EPISCOPI, SACRAE THEOLOGIAE DOCTORIS, DE
STATU PRAELATI.¹

Solus aliquotiens sedens et cogitans quid et quis sum, qualis in moribus hactenus extiti, me ipsum admiror, iam nescio qualiter in dignitatis fastigio constitutum. Vitam meam praeteritam memorans vel, ut apertius dicam, perditam et confusione dignam ac merito poenis obnoxiam stupensque quod Deus me sinit deliciis affluere et inter homines² honorari, totiens doleo de deliciis, et de honoribus erubesco, quotiens ad interiora conscientiae meae converto. Male meritis, de commissis dolere et timere compellor. Dignitas enim indigno collata, et reverentiae variae iniuste exhibitae peccatori, dolorem et timorem non minuere sed adaugere minantur. Vereor etenim, si quid vel quomodo tenuiter bene gessi, per haec sic remunerari michi temporaliter in praesenti, quod merces evacuetur aeterna. Heu si de *filiis* sum *concubinarum* quibus Abraham *largitus est munera*,³ nichil cum Isaac de hereditate habiturus: proh dolor si velut Esau, *accepto pane* cum *lentis edulio, primogenita vendita parvipendam*⁴: vae michi si *adulter* sim *et non filius*, a *disciplina*⁵ Domini alienus; si *incrassatus et recalcitrans derelinquam* Dominum *factorem*⁶ meum! Scio, piissime Domine Deus, quod graviter *peccavi et malum coram te feci*,⁷ ob quod me dolere vehementer oportet. Scio quia praelaturam non modicam indignus

the middle of f. 44b and goes on to the end of f. 45b. It is in a hand, seemingly, of the late fourteenth century, and contains many passages which are wholly omitted in the Royal MS.

¹ The title is in the lower margin, in a later hand.

² After 'homines' MS. Reg. adds 'ac supra plures homines'.

³ Gen. xxv 6.

⁴ Gen. xxv 33, 34.

⁵ Heb. xii 8

⁶ Deut. xxxii 15.

⁷ Ps. l (li) 6.

admissi, propter quod me timere convenit, et si dignus tantae praelationis officium suscepissem. Scio insuper me peccatorem ab hominibus sanctis et me dignioribus honorari; sed exhibitus exterius honor ipse intus erubescere me compellit. Nichil igitur in me et ex me reperio quod meam spem erigat, quod gaudium ingerat, quod erubescentiam internam abstergat. Hoc cogitans, hoc intelligens, hoc mente pertractans, tribularer utique, si nescirem misericordias tuas, Domine. Sed quia dixisti *Nolo mortem peccatoris, sed ut magis convertatur et vivat*¹; et iterum *Si impius egerit poenitentiam ab omnibus peccatis suis, vita vivet et non morietur; omnium iniquitatum eius quas operatus est non recordabor*²; quinimo dixisti et docuisti quia *ita erit gaudium in coelo super uno peccatore poenitentiam agente, quam super nonaginta novem iustis qui non indigent poenitentia*³; quia, Domine, sic est, spes michi dolorem mitigat, misericordia tua timorem attenuat, poenitentia sic operit erubescentiam, ut veraciter credam *quoniam non confundar*.⁴ Licet tamen non ut teneor, spero tamen quod dudum utcumque poenitui, et *concupiscit anima mea desiderare*⁵ plenius poenitere. Confiteor, *Pater*, quia *peccavi in coelum et coram te*, et iam non sum dignus vocari *filius tuus*: sed vere, te docente, cognovi quia, si vere poeniteam, *stolam, anulum et calciamenta poenitenti filio* non negabis. Insuper pro eo, qui *perierat (et) est* te quaerente repertus, *mortuus* extitit sed te resuscitante *revixit*, *epulas cum gaudio*⁶ preparari iubebis. Magna enim est et mira circa peccatores, praesertim vero circa poenitentes, tuae pietatis dignatio, qui *non iustos sed peccatores ad poenitentiam vocare venisti*⁷: qui et, licet quosdam eicis vel *deicis dum eos allevas*,⁸ alios tamen ad tempus *allidis* allidive sinis ut *elevés*⁹ in aeternum. Hoc, Domine, omnis Evangelii tui pagina resonat, hoc actus tui testantur, hoc sermo tuus edocet, hoc confirmant exempla, quod, licet multa sis mirabiliter operatus mirabilia, maxime tamen, (ad) praesumentium fiduciam humiliandam et aegram spem peccatorum per poenitentiam erigendam, in hiis omnibus astruxisti. Quomodo non sperabo publicanum factum evangelistam¹⁰ agnoscens, de persecutore *vas electionis*,¹¹ de negante Dominum principem Ecclesiae,¹² de peccatrice apostolorum apostolam?¹³ Haec legens, haec audiens, haec mente revolvens, Domine, non despero. Licet peccator, utcumque tamen poenitens et iam praelatus effectus, *divitias bonitatis Dei, patientiae et longanimitatis* accepto, non *ignorans* quia *benignitas Dei ad poenitentiam me adducit*.¹⁴ Et licet non sit poenitentia mea secun-

¹ Ezech. xxxiii 11.² Ezech. xviii 21, 22.³ Lk. xv 7.⁴ Isa. i 7.⁵ Ps. cxviii (cxix) 20.⁶ Lk. xv 18-32.⁷ Lk. ix 32.⁸ Ps. lxxii (lxxiii) 18.⁹ Ps. ci (cii) 11.¹⁰ Cf. Mat. ix 9, x 3.¹¹ Acts ix 15.¹² Cf. Mat. xxvi 69 sqq., xvi 18 sq.¹³ Cf. Jo. xx 17 sq.¹⁴ Rom. ii 4.

dum meorum criminum quantitatem, adhuc tamen spero quod divina clementia meae exilis poenitentiae non respuet famulatum; *cognovit* enim *figmentum*¹ meum Deus, et scio quia misericordia *eius super omnia opera eius*.² Annon apostolus Christi sancto extitit Spiritu inspiratus dum dixit *Omnia cooperantur in bonum hiis qui secundum propositum vocati sunt sancti*?³ Certe, Domine Iesu Christe, si decreveris salvare me, et ipse lapsus in peccatum, quo turpiter et crebro rui, *in bonum* mihi *cooperabitur*, quia humiliorem, cautiolem, sollicitiorem iuste de cetero me debeo in omnibus exhibere. Si me temptet elatio, commissa memorans me vilissimum reputare compellor. Si alliciat delectatio illecebrosa quaecumque, experimentia infirmitatis et periculi me incitamenta peccati cavere et aditus eius praecludere occasionemque prudentius et diligentius vitare docebit. Si torpor aut ignavia me exhibeat negligenter, advertens dampna praeteriti temporis maiore sollicitudine et opera diligentiore ea recompensare tenebor. Sicque operante et cooperante Dei gratia, humilior, cautior et sollicitior propter meum lapsum effectus, amplius potero promereri quam si tantorum non conscius criminum minus humilis, aut forsitan elatus, pericula non praecavens et lapsuum cogitationes ignorans, tepidus magis et remissus meam *operarer* cum quadam falsa fiducia seu praesumptione *salutem*.⁴ *Ego* igitur peccator *meam iniquitatem* et tuam, Domine clementissime, erga me benignitatem *agnoscens*⁵; utcumque pro hiis quae in me et ex me sunt dolens et anxius timens et pavidus erubescens et fere confusus, pro hiis tamen quae in me et ex te sunt gaudens et laetus; spe multa subnixus, sciens quod peccata mea me conteri et humiliari, beneficia vero tua te amare tibi devote servire compellunt, quodque *cor contritum et humiliatum non despicias*,⁶ et quod *cui plus dimittitur plus diligit*⁷: ad te piissimum Deum et Dominum cum plena fiducia confugio cum toto mentis affectu; tuamque fiducialiter maiestatem exoro, humiliter supplico, ferventer exopto, ut, si sit haec de me sancta vocatio ad tantum tamque praecellens officium ad tui benedicti nominis honorem,⁸ tua sic michi largiatur gratia, ut, dum vivendo per omnia tibi placeam in omnibus ad officium meum spectantibus, tuam voluntatem agnoscam et agnitam facere concupiscam, ac te inspirante concupita, te dirigente, ad tibi semper placitum perducantur effectum. Adauge insuper gratiam tuam, ut conferentia ad effectum tuae voluntatis tua providentia et benignitate adhibeantur, obsistentia et impediencia tua potentia comprimantur; ut in omnibus *fiat voluntas tua, sicut in coelo, et in terra*.⁹ Si non sit haec vocatio sic ex te ut ad tuum sit honorem, aut forsitan, Domine, ad tuum quidem honorem, non tamen ad animae

¹ Ps. cii (ciii) 14.² Ps. cxlv (cxlv) 9.³ Rom. viii 28.⁴ Phil. ii 12.⁵ Ps. l (li) 5.⁶ Ps. l (li) 19.⁷ Lk. vii 47.⁸ MS. Reg. adds 'et ad miserae animae meae salutem'.⁹ Mat. vi 10.

meae salutem—per reprobos etenim ministros plerumque tuum mirabiliter operaris honorem; fit itaque de omnibus semper tua voluntas, quorum tamen plurimi tuam renuunt facere voluntatem—: si, inquam, Domine piissime, non sit sic ex te vocatio mea ut ad tuum sit honorem et etiam animae meae salutem, ineffabilis misericordiae Deus, quia omnia scis, singula moderaris, cunctaque disponis, sic de me disponere meamque vitam per omnia moderari digneris, ut statum animae meae perniciosum omnino dimittam, viamque illam et vitam eligam ac finaliter teneam in qua tibi Creatori et Redemptori meo magis placite serviam, efficacius *operer* animae meae semper debito *cum tremore salutem*.¹ Quod ipse praestare digneris, qui cum Deo Patre et Spiritu sancto vivis et regnas Deus per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

THE DATE OF CODEX REHDIGERANUS.

IN view of the forthcoming new edition of the Codex Rehdigeranus (Breslau MS R 169) of the Gospels (I), a few words on the subject of its date and script may be of interest.²

The Codex Rehdigeranus is written in bastard uncials of a style found in a number of eighth-century MSS, of which the Ambrosian Gregory (MS B 159 sup.) from Bobbio, written about A.D. 750 at the command of Abbot Anastasius, is perhaps most like our MS (see *Pal. Society* i 121).³ In the strong contrast between fine and shaded strokes, in the tapering off of the heavy vertical strokes in a fine hair-line, the uncials of the Rehdigeranus bear some resemblance to Greek uncials of the Slavonic type. The scribe is not expert; his letters lack regularity and finish; he is manifestly unaccustomed to the uncial hand.

¹ Phil. ii 12.

² The new edition has been undertaken by Dr Heinrich Vogels of the University of Munich, who generously supplied me with photographs and with such information as was necessary for forming a palaeographical judgement.

³ A similar, though somewhat older, style of uncials we have in codex *q* (Munich MS 6224, saec. vii, from Freising; see *Old Lat. Bibl. Texts* No. iii). The liturgical additions in cursive (facs. in Chroust's *Mon. Pal. Ser. 1* Lief. vi, pl. 1) bear such a striking resemblance to the cursive addition in *l* (fol. 92^v), likewise liturgical in character, as to seem to be the work of one hand.

He probably wrote in the first half of the eighth century—hardly before that, and surely not much later. The use of the abbreviation QNM = *quoniam*, the omission of *N* in the middle of a word in the middle of the line (RESPÖDIT, fol. 273^v), the occasional use of i-longa initially (IUSTI, IUDAEI, IN, &c.), the fairly frequent separation of words, and the whole character of the script make a date anterior to the year 700 quite unlikely. On the other hand, the original scribe must antedate the year 800 since the uncial additions on fol. 273^v and the cursive insertion on fol. 92^v are still of the eighth century.

The cursive script on the page containing the *Capitulare Evangelii* (Morin in *Rev. Bénéd.* xix 1 sqq.) possesses unmistakable earmarks of North Italian notarial products. It is interesting to note that *ci* occurs often for assimilated *ti* (abuminationem, desolacionis), a spelling which at that time must have been common in Aquileia, Ravenna, and neighbouring towns.

The corrector who made the extensive addition in uncials on fol. 273^v and added *passim* the then modern punctuation, may reasonably be assigned to the latter part of the eighth century. Of palaeographical interest is his regular use of a line surmounted by a dot to indicate omitted *m*, and his employment of three dots ('.') arranged in a triangle, with base atop, as the point of interrogation—a style of interrogation sign not peculiar to the corrector of our MS, for it is found in some other Italian MSS. The value of the three dots thus arranged—as will be shewn elsewhere—is precisely the same as that of the ordinary point of interrogation made of three strokes (or curves). Both signs indicate the modulation of voice required in an interrogative sentence, and signify an up, followed by a down, followed by an up again, so that '. .' is the equivalent of \sim .

E. A. LOEW.

DATES IN THE ELEPHANTINE PAPYRI.

AN analysis of the double dates in the Aramaic Papyri edited by Dr Sayce and Dr Cowley¹ shewed that the Jewish months were counted

¹ *Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan* (1906). See my papers *Calendar Dates in the Aramaic Papyri from Assuan*, *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society* lxix (1908) pp. 12–20; *Note on the Regnal Years in the Elephantine Papyri*,

from the mean sunset following mean new moon, and that with one exception the intercalation was so arranged that the new moon of Tishri fell not earlier than September 17 nor later than October 16. I have now applied this principle to the dates in the papyri edited by Professor Sachau,¹ and I tabulate the results of both investigations in the present paper, to which I append a note on M. Pognon's paper in the *Journal Asiatique* 10^e Série xviii (1911), pp. 337-365, and a note on the Sabbath. A comparison of the dates of Papyri Sayce-Cowley B and D shews that there can have been no intercalation between 465 B.C. and 459 B.C., and the dates on Sachau's Papyrus 28 are most easily explicable on the theory that the Jewish months were still running early in 456 B.C. as a result of this temporary neglect of intercalation. Elsewhere I have assumed that the intercalation was normal. The double dates which occur on some of the Papyri disclose two errors on the part of the scribe in the day of the month and one in the year. Where the papyri give only Jewish or only Egyptian dates we have no check on their accuracy, and it is possible that they are in some instances misdated.

Note on M. Pognon's Paper.

M. Pognon proposes a series of amended readings in the Sayce-Cowley papyri in order to avoid the suppositions of misdatings and of irregular intercalation. In Papyrus D he proposes to read 21 Mesore for 1 Mesore, and thus obtains the equation: 21 Chisleu = 21 Mesore in Year 6 of Artaxerxes = 1 December 459 B.C. This gives the correct equation for the 6th year of Artaxerxes, but it makes Chisleu begin one day later than it should on my theory of the Jewish calendar. It also gets rid of the hypothesis that the calendar was running early at the date of this papyrus. In Papyrus E he wishes to read 2 Chisleu, 11 Mesore for 3 Chisleu, 10 Mesore. The amended reading would give November 18, 446 B.C., a date which would excellently suit my theory. In Papyrus G he proposes 27 Tishri for 26 Tishri, and places the papyrus in the 8th year of Artaxerxes in spite of the opinion of Dr Sayce and Dr Cowley that it cannot be earlier than the 19th. This would suit my theory, if, as I have suggested in *Monthly Notices* lxix pp. 18, 19, the Jews reckoned their mean new moons a few hours late. If, however, the 8th year of Artaxerxes is the true date, I should prefer to retain the reading 26 Tishri and to abandon my theory. The date would then be October 16, 457 B.C. I see, however, no sufficient

ibid. lxix (1909) pp. 446-448; errata, *ibid.* pp. 470, 542; *A reply to Professor Ginsel on the Calendar Dates in the Elephantine Papyri*, *ibid.* lxxi (1911) pp. 661-663.

¹ *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine* (1911).

EXACT DATES OF PAPYRI.

	RECORDED DATE.		COMPUTED DATE.	
	B.C.			
Sachau Pap. 30.	2	Epiphi in the Year 27 of King Darius . . .	495	October 22 . . . Wednesday
" 25.	28	Phaophi in the Year 2 (3!) of Xerxes . . .	484 (483?)	February 17 . . . Monday (Tuesday?) Shebat 24 (Adar 5?).
Sayce-Cowley A.	18	Elul, 28 Pachons in the Year 15 of Xerxes . . .	471	September 12 . . . Sunday.
" B	18	Chisleu, 17 (!) Thoth, 21 Xerxes, beginning of Artaxerxes . . .	464	January 2 . . . Monday.
Sachau Pap. 27.	18	Phaophi in the Year 4 of Artaxerxes . . .	461	February 2 . . . Sunday
1 Sayce-Cowley C, D.	21	Chisleu, 1 Mesore, 6 of Artaxerxes . . .	460	November 11 . . . Thursday.
Sachau Pap. 28	7	Chisleu, 4 Thoth, 9 of Artaxerxes . . .	456	November 13 . . . Thursday.
Sayce-Cowley G	26	Tishri, 6 Epiphi . . .	446	October 14 . . . Sunday.
3 Sayce-Cowley E	3	Chisleu, 10 Mesore, 19 Artaxerxes . . .	446	November 17 or 19 Saturday or Monday.
Sayce-Cowley F	14	Ab, 19 Pachons, 25 Artaxerxes . . .	440	August 26 . . . Monday.
Sachau Pap. 5 .	19	Marheshwan, 37 Artaxerxes . . .	428	November 15 or 16 Saturday or Sunday
Sachau Pap. 18.	3	Phamenoth, 5 (of Darius) . . .	419	June 6 . . . Tuesday
Sayce-Cowley J	3	Chisleu, 8 Darius; 12 Thoth, 9 Darius . . .	416	December 16 . . . Wednesday.
Sachau Pap. 8 .	13	Tebeth, 12 Darius . . .	411	January 11 . . . Saturday
Sayce-Cowley K	24	Shebat, 13 Darius; 9 Athyr, 14 Darius . . .	410	February 10 . . . Tuesday.
Sachau Pap. 1 .	20	Marheshwan, 17 Darius . . .	407	November 24 . . . Saturday
Sachau Pap. 35	23 (24?)	Phamenoth, 5 Amyrtæus . . .	400	June 21 (22?) . . . Saturday (Sunday?) Shiwan 29 (28? 30?).

1 The Jewish and Egyptian dates do not correspond, unless we assume that the papyrus belongs to the 5th, not to the 6th year of Artaxerxes.

2 This seems the most probable date, but it involves the assumption that 4 Thoth is an error for 4 Mesore. 4 Thoth should be December 18, 457; or December 18, 456, which would be respectively the 2nd and 13th days of a lunar month.

3 It is clear that either 3 Chisleu is an error for 1 Chisleu or else 10 Mesore is an error for 12 Mesore.

VAGUE DATES OF PAPYRI AND OTHER DATES MENTIONED ON PAPYRI.

RECORDED DATE.		COMPUTED DATE.	
		B. C.	
Sachau Pap. 7	Year 24 to Year 31		441-434.
" " 19	Mechir " 4 (Darius)		420 May 5-June 3.
Sayce-Cowley H.	Elul, Payni " 4		420 September.
Sachau Pap. 6	15-21 Nisan " 5		419 April 10-16.
" " 1	Tammuz " 14		410 July 14-August 11.
" " 29	Mesore " 15 (?)		409 (?) October 29-November 27.
" Tafel 60	Year 18 of King Darius		406-5 if reckoned from Nisan, 407-6 if reckoned from Thoth.
" Pap. 35	30 Pharmuthi, 5 Amyrtaeus		400 July 28 Monday Ab 7 or 6.
" " 16	27 Tybi		End of April or beginning of May.
" " 33	15 Phaophi		End of January or beginning of February.
" " 46	Phamenoth, Year 13		June.
" " 61	Year 6		
" " 61	Epiphi, Year 13		October or November.
" Tafel 60	Tybi		April or May.
	5 P		
	Adar		February, March, or April.

reason for abandoning either the *terminus a quo* for this papyrus as given by Dr Sayce and Dr Cowley, or my theory of the calendar which was based upon it.

The correctness or otherwise of M. Pognon's readings can only be determined by a reference to the papyri themselves, which neither M. Pognon nor I have seen. I have examined the disputed figures on the photographs and feel unable to express a judgement, but I feel that the readings given by the editors, who had the originals before them, are entitled to acceptance until doubts have been confirmed by an examination of the papyri, and I, therefore, adhere to the dates which I first published and to the theory by which I proposed to explain them.

M. Pognon holds, as does also Professor Eduard Meyer, that the lunar dates do not belong to a local Jewish calendar, but to an official calendar used throughout the Persian empire. I see no objection to this so long as it is recognized that this calendar reckons the months from the mean sunset following mean new moon and not, like the Babylonian, from the evening when the first appearance of the moon was due. This would afford an explanation of my suggestion that the mean new moons were reckoned an hour or two later than their correct dates as reduced to Elephantine time. Babylon time is forty-six minutes, and Susa time sixty-two minutes in advance of Elephantine time. The

dates of mean new moon would, therefore, seem on this assumption to have been exceedingly exact for the longitude for which they were calculated.

Note on the Sabbath.

The Sabbath must have fallen (*a*) every seventh day as at present, (*b*) on the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days of the month as at Babylon, or (*c*) on the 1st, 8th, 15th, 22nd, and 29th days of the month, so that the new moons and great festivals should be sabbaths. (*a*) In 446 B. C. Mesore 10 is a Saturday, but there is clearly an error of two days either in the Jewish or in the Egyptian date, for the recorded synchronism agrees neither with the moon nor with the synchronism in Sayce-Cowley G. If we retain the Jewish date and read Mesore 12, the date falls on a Monday. In 428 B. C. Marheshwan 19 is either Saturday or Sunday according as the mean new moon was reckoned before or after sunset on October 27. Oppolzer's tables make it fall at 4.45 p. m. local mean time, but we cannot be sure that the Jews of Elephantine did not place it an hour or two later. Oppolzer would make the mean new moon of 410 B. C. January 16 fall at 5.9 p. m., but the date of Sayce-Cowley K shews that the Jews of Elephantine treated it as after mean sunset. If they did the same with the mean new moon in question, which fell 24 minutes earlier in the day, the date of the papyrus in question would fall on a Sunday, not a Saturday, but as the papyrus is a document sent by Achaemenes to Arsames, probably both heathens, there seems to be no objection to its belonging to a Saturday. 411 B. C. January 11 falls clearly on a Saturday. The document is a letter from Arsames to Apries, probably both heathens, and therefore lies outside Jewish religious scruples. The papyrus of 407 B. C. November 24 falls on a Saturday if the previous mean new moon, which according to Oppolzer's tables was at 3.40 p. m., was taken to be before mean sunset. To make it fall after sunset involves an error of over 2 hours, but this cannot be proved by these papyri to be impossible. It is therefore possible, though not probable, that this papyrus belongs to a Sunday. The papyrus consists of a letter to Bagohi from Jedoniah and his companions, the priests. The papyrus of 400 B. C. falls on a Saturday if the reading 23 Phamenoth, which Professor Sachau prefers, is correct, on a Sunday if 24 Phamenoth is correct. We thus have a series of Saturday dates which can all with more or less probability be corrected to other days except that of 411 B. C. January 11, which seems not to be affected by Jewish scruples about the Sabbath. It is, therefore, possible that the seven-day week was already in existence, and that the Sabbath was already regarded. (*b*) Sayce-Cowley C, D, F and Sachau Pap. 28, all business documents, are dated on days of the Jewish month divisible by 7. There can, therefore, have been no objection to executing

a document on such a day. (c) Sachau Pap. 27, a legal document, belongs to a date which is clearly equated with the 22nd of the lunar month, and Sachau Pap. 35 may belong to the 29th of a lunar month, but the figure on the papyrus is not quite clear, nor is it certain on which day this lunar month would begin. The former of these papyri proves, if the date is correct, that there was no objection to executing documents on days giving a remainder of 1 when divided by 7. The general conclusion from this discussion is that the papyri prove that if a scruple against executing documents on the Sabbath existed, the Sabbath must have been reckoned by the same rule as among later Jews, but they do not prove that such a scruple existed.

J. K. FOTHERINGHAM.

THE ASTRAL TERMS IN JOB ix 9, XXXVIII 31-32.

THE different interpretations of the astral terms in Job ix 9, xxxviii 31-32 are given by Dillmann in his *Hiob*, 2nd ed. 1891, and the suggestions which have been made since are ably summarized, explained, and illustrated by Maunder in his *Astronomy of the Bible*, 1908. Yet Bude's dictum that the problem is scarcely possible to solve (*Das Buch Hiob* xxxviii 31) still holds good. I should take this to mean that the solution can be final only when the terms are found to agree phonetically with, or to be translations of, certain names in astronomical lists contemporary with the author of the book of Job. The conviction that I have discovered such a solution is the best apology for my boldness in setting aside current theories. It is antecedently improbable that the Hebrews, whose political independence lasted but a few centuries, would have ventured to elaborate a new system of astronomy when their fellow-Semites, the Babylonians and the neighbouring Egyptians, already possessed very ancient systems. Again, the author's obvious acquaintance with Egypt makes it highly probable that he used Egyptian astronomical terms.

No disputed points in Egyptian astronomy are given in this note, and all that is here cited from Brugsch is accepted even by so great and recent an authority as Professor G. Foucart (see his article 'Calendar [Egyptian]' in *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*).

עֵשׂ or עֵשׂ. When Sirius appeared in the east some minutes before sunrise there was great joy and festivity in Egypt, for this appearance coincided with the rise of the Nile, and was accordingly used to mark the beginning of a new year (Foucart *op. cit.* p. 97 a). Sirius was by the ancient Egyptians identified with the goddess Isis (Brugsch *Thesaur. Inscript. Aegypt.* pp. 10 top, 89 bottom). Now Isis in Aramaic is אִסַּת or אִסִּי (Lidzbarski *Handb. d. nordsemit. Epigraph.* i p. 223), and עֵשׂ or עֵשׂ are inexact spellings of the Aramaic or Egyptian. Such inexact spellings abound in Egyptian, as the reader will find in Erman's *Aegyptisches Glossar*, where the regular and irregular spellings are given side by side. The hieroglyphics, for example, for the place-name of Elephantine, correspond generally with the Hebrew letters עֵב, and yet we sometimes find them to correspond with אֵב; the same place-name in the Sayce-Cowley Aramaic papyri is spelt אֵב and אֵב. (Brugsch, *Hierogl. demot. Wörterb.* pp. 168, 236.)

פֶּסֶל. The usual equation of 'fool' with 'giant', that is, Orion, cannot be taken seriously, and reading פֶּסֶל equates it with Ursa Major in Egyptian. For 'כַּס', according to the Versions—and there is no older decisive authority on its sense—means *flank, thigh, loin, haunch, or ankle-bone*. See Versions, Lev. iii 4, 10, 15 *al.*; Ps. xxxviii 8, Eccles. xlvii 19 (Hebr. כַּסְלִיךְ). Now, the seven stars of the Great Bear suggested to the ancient Egyptians the haunch of an ox placed on the northern horizon; a hippopotamus, also representing a group of stars, holds the haunch by a chain fastened to it. The Pyramid Arabs of to-day also apply the name of the haunch, er-Rigl, to the same group of stars (Maspero *Dawn of Civil.* p. 94 and footnote). So 'כַּס' seems a translation of the Egyptian word for haunch, and the *bonds* or *fetters* in xxxviii 31 refer to the chain by which Ursa Major is held.

כִּימָתָא 31 Targum xxxviii. The Egyptian year was divided into decans or ten-day weeks, each one of which corresponded with a certain group of stars and had a special name; the name of the first decan is *knmt*, *kmt*, with several other variants (Brugsch *Thesaur. Inscript. Aegypt.* pp. 131–134). The original of the lists of the decans is given in this work on p. 137 f and the transcription on p. 155 f. The decan כְּמָה would therefore fall just when the festivals of the inundation were celebrated, and מְעֵרֹת, *delights* or *luxuries*, would, from an Egyptian point of view, quite suitably apply to the fructifying waters of the Nile. The following lines are sufficient to make this interpretation clear, though there are a number of hymns in praise of the Nile. 'He (the Nile) makes everybody live by himself, riches are on his path, plenteousness is in his fingers . . . wealth and abundance come forth after his rising' (*Rec. of the Past, Egypt. Texts* xx pp. 41, 42).

As will be seen further on, מִזְרֹת is best taken as meaning מְזֻלֹת, the

ר being due to Egyptian influence, in which language the hieroglyph for ר also represents ל; its meaning in this context is like that of the Neo-Hebr. מַלְאָךְ and Aramaic מַלְאָךְ, *star of fortune* (see *Oxf. Lex.*), or, as we should say, *lucky star*. It is difficult to explain why interpreters have neglected the Peshitto's rendering of וּמִמְזָרִים xxxvii 9; in the second edition of Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* the emendation וּמִמְזָרִים is accepted, while the Pesh. וּמִמְזָרִים clearly suggests וּמִמְזָרִים, for this version translates all the nine occurrences of זֶרֶם with the same Syriac word, and the Masoretic is an easy error of transposition. Reading מִמְזָרִים for מִזְרָר in the first line we obtain the statement, 'From scorching heat comes the samûm, and from sweeping rains coolness'. Aquila's rendering of מִזְרָר in the Syr. Hex. marg. signifies τὰ σκορπισθέντα κατὰ καιρὸν αὐτοῦ ἑκάστον, which indicates that he rendered 'בְּע' distributively; the author having in his mind the common masc. form מִזְל, and the particular lucky star Isis, the next word, purposely used the masc. sing. suffix. The sense of the two verses is, 'Canst thou check (cf. Arab. قَسَرَ) the luxuries of בִּימָה, or loosen the fetters of the Great Bear? Canst thou bring forth the lucky stars, each one in its season, so that Isis may have compassion on her children?' reading הַנִּנְחָם for הַנִּנְחָם, the former being the equivalent of הַנִּנְחָם, cf. Ez. v 13.

Unless they are mere coincidences, the two words מִשְׁכּוֹת and תַּמְשֵׁךְ, xxxviii 31, xl 25, suggest that the author knew the Egyptian language, and that he used them allusively. Scholars have noticed (see Bud. and Delitz. *Comment.*) that תַּמְשֵׁךְ sounds very much like the Egyptian word for crocodile, represented by the Hebr. consonants תַּמְסַח, and as לִיתֵן immediately follows תַּמְ, it looks as if the author allusively defined the meaning of the next word. I find that מִשְׁכּוֹת is also a remarkable allusion. This word, a ἀπ. λεγ., has created some difficulties, and Beer doubtfully emends מִסְכּוֹת. Now there are in Egyptian two words of almost identical meaning to designate Ursa Major, χρs, Hebr. חֲפֶס, meaning *haunch*, and msxt, Hebr. מִסְחַח, meaning *thigh*. To make this plainer I shall cite a passage from Brugsch taken from the Book of the Dead: 'As regards the msxt constellation, it is the haunch (χps) of Typhon, it exists in the northern sky' (*op. cit.* p. 122); so מ' seems to define the meaning of the next word כְּסִיל, i. e. כְּסִיל.

N. HERZ.

A CORRECTION.

IN the last number of the JOURNAL (p. 339), in making the statement that 'the musical notation' in the Egerton MS 874 (saec. ix) of the British Museum 'is among the earliest known', I had hastily assumed that this notation was contemporary with the rest of the MS, with which I was particularly concerned. Mr H. M. Bannister has consulted the British Museum authorities, and they are agreed that ff. 68^v–69^v, the portion containing the musical notation, are an insertion by a hand of saec. xi/xii at earliest. My statement therefore falls to the ground.

A. SOUTER.

REVIEWS

Eternal Life, a Study. By BARON F. VON HÜGEL. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1912.)

THIS is an important book, which will still further enhance the reputation of Baron Friedrich von Hügel as one of the first of living philosophical theologians. 'Eternal Life' is an overgrown article for Dr Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. To cut it down would have been impossible; the style is throughout compressed even to the point of difficulty, and there are no digressions such as exist in the author's masterly but amorphous volumes on St Catherine of Genoa. So Messrs Clark gladly consented to issue the colossal article as a separate volume.

The subject of Christian eschatology has been strangely neglected in our time. The history and philosophy of Christian doctrines about eternal life is a subject of surpassing interest and importance; but the literature upon it is scanty and poor. It would make an admirable subject for Bampton, and still more for Gifford Lectures. Baron von Hügel's book has now shewn how the work ought to be done; but a rich field is left for future writers. Indeed, the plan of this book is almost too encyclopaedic. The scope of 'eternal life' is so expanded as to cover not merely theories of human survival or immortality, but problems of epistemology, ontology, and ethics. Even natural science and politics come within the author's purview. The result is a treatise which is rather an essay in religious philosophy than a monograph on eschatology. Perhaps the most conspicuous of its many merits is the manner in which the views of various philosophers and their schools are handled. Instead of a dreary catalogue of theories, which when stated in a bald abstract often lose whatever measure of truth and attractiveness they may possess, Baron von Hügel gives us a sympathetic estimate of them as products of living experience and reasoned faith. It is a model of the spirit and temper in which the history of philosophy, and especially of religious philosophy, should be written.

Many readers, who may lack the patience to ponder over the careful

and weighty judgements of the author on Plato and Aristotle, on Spinoza, Kant, and Ritschl, will turn eagerly to the chapters on the problem of Apocalyptic in the New Testament, on the philosophy of Bergson, and on socialism. Baron von Hügel finds in the teaching of Christ two elements, both prominent and indispensable—the prophetic or ethical, and the apocalyptic. These, he says, are two complementary movements, equally necessary to the deepest religion, and equally integral parts of Christianity. His criticism of Bergson is temperate, but in fact severe. He blames him for his one-sided insistence on the dynamic element in reality, and for banishing teleology from life. These criticisms seem to me thoroughly justified; but they do not affect the value of much that Bergson has written; indeed, in his latest utterances, that philosopher seems to be feeling his way towards a more adequate, and more religious, view of the nature of ultimate reality. The chapter on socialism is discriminating, fair, and finally hopeful. The movement, Baron von Hügel thinks, is becoming less bitter, less materialistic, and less hostile to religion. The long discussion of the institutional element in religion is specially interesting. It deals primarily with some of the problems which the Roman Catholic Church has to face, but to a large extent these are also problems for every branch of organized Christianity. The book as a whole is one which should be read more than once. It is not recommended by any graces of style; but almost every page contains food for thought. To the Christian philosopher it is stimulating in the highest degree.

The Mystic Way. By EVELYN UNDERHILL. (J. M. Dent & Sons, 1913.)

THE output of books, the titles of which proclaim that they are studies of 'mysticism', is now so large that there is a danger of the subject becoming a fashionable craze, to the disgust of serious students. It is very clear that those who write about mysticism do not all mean the same thing by the word, and still more, that their sympathies go out towards mystics of very different types. There are, in fact, three ways of studying mysticism, each of which has been well represented during the present 'mystical revival', as it has recently been called. The psychological school, of which William James was the most popular writer, but which boasts many other able students in America and France, such as Starbuck, Leuba, and Murisier, collects details of 'cases', tabulates the age, sex, and circumstances in subjects of sudden

conversion and ecstasy, and treats the whole study as a branch of psychology or psychopathy, entirely disclaiming any concern with the objective truth of the mystic's intuitions and revelations. This is a very abstract and one-sided method, since it neglects the very aspect which alone is of vital importance to the religious mind itself—the relation of its beliefs to ultimate truth. Very different is the method of the Platonists, who are content to follow the lines laid down by the long series of philosophical mystics, from Plotinus and Augustine, through Erigena, Eckhart, and Böhme, to the Cambridge Platonists, William Law, Wordsworth, and S. T. Coleridge. This line of study has been best represented in our own country. There is a third school, to which Miss Underhill belongs, of those who read with respect and admiration the records of the emotional mystics who have abounded in Catholic cloisters, and are half disposed to believe the queer stories of levitation, radiation, and so forth, which are mixed up with more spiritual revelations in the lives of these ascetics and visionaries. Miss Underhill takes these hysterical saints under her protection, and retaliates upon the 'intellectualists' by rather petulant sallies, in which the inevitable M. Bergson is frequently invoked to prove the uselessness of logical thinking in matters of religion, and the emancipation of 'creative evolution' from the prosaic laws of natural science. The tendency of this school is to turn its back upon ordinary experience, including the religious experience of the vast majority of mankind, as well as of the scientific men, theologians, and philosophers, in order to seek in the aberrations of unbalanced emotion the key to the deepest mysteries of life. But we have no right to limit 'experience' in this arbitrary fashion. Religion undoubtedly contains an emotional element; but it is not necessary that the emotion should be irrational. The biographies of the ecstatic mystics, with their hallucinations and catalepsies, their alternations of almost insane exaltation and depression, are the best proof of the unsoundness of their method. The lives of such men as Plotinus, Spinoza, and Wordsworth, in which the purest emotion is not so much controlled as inspired by earnest thinking and the sane discipline of plain living and industrious production, make a most instructive contrast to the biographies of the so-called saints—monks and nuns who lived in a world of their own, peopled by angels and devils, and whose transcendental love-raptures and miseries of abandonment often indicate an unpleasant perversion of natural instincts. But we must not quarrel with students who have chosen what is certainly a very important and significant chapter in the history of religion, and who are able to treat it sympathetically. Miss Underhill's books are overladen with quotation, but they shew a really marvellous quantity of reading, and acquaintance with several languages, among which, how-

ever, Latin is clearly not to be included (see pages 10 and 268). They have also considerable charm of style, and a delicate sympathy with the life of devotion in its most strongly-marked developements. In the present volume she discusses in a very interesting manner the mystical element in the New Testament, and especially in the character of Christ Himself. It is good to be reminded that the Christological dogmas must have a basis in the inner life of the incarnate Christ, and that what theologians call the union of the Divine and Human in one Person must be what in mystical language is known as the unitive life in its ideal consummation. It can hardly be doubted that much of the Gospel record, and that the most vitally interesting part, becomes clearer if we regard Christ as one who lived in the consciousness of mystical union with the unseen world and His 'Father in heaven'. If certain popular theories of the Messiahship have tended to obscure this central truth about the earthly life of the Redeemer, such studies as Miss Underhill's may be of great service in recalling us to the facts on which the faith of Christians in the Divinity of Christ must ultimately rest.

The Psychology of the New Testament. By M. SCOTT FLETCHER.
(Hodder & Stoughton.)

THIS is a very meritorious study of a difficult subject, by a young scholar. The treatise is well arranged. We have first an essay on the relation of Biblical to Modern Psychology; then a careful discussion of the chief terms used in the New Testament—Soul, Spirit, Heart, and Flesh. Then follows a chapter on the Psychological Experiences of the New Testament, and lastly a discussion of Biblical and Modern Conceptions of Personality. The section about Jesus Christ will be condemned as old-fashioned by disciples of Loisy and Schweitzer; but it is a good piece of work; and the discussion of psychological terms deserves careful attention. Mr Fletcher does not seem to have made an independent study of Greek philosophy, and a knowledge of Philo would have helped him in part of his chapter on St Paul; but the book as a whole shews wide reading, and a judicious, if somewhat conventional, treatment.

W. R. INGE.

The Concept of Sin, by F. R. TENNANT, D.D., B.Sc. (University Press, Cambridge, 1912.)

DR TENNANT's last book, *The Concept of Sin*, may be regarded as the complement and completion of his previous work on the same subject, in the two volumes entitled *The Origin and Propagation of Sin* (the Hulsean Lectures for 1901-1902) and *The Sources of the Doctrine of the Fall and Original Sin* (1903). In the present book it is with the definition which we ought to give of the term *Sin*, the meaning which ought to be attached to the idea or concept to which that word applies, that he deals. The book may be considered under two heads: (1) as regards the method of dealing with a term, or idea, of ambiguous and fluctuating meaning, and (2) as an example of the application and result of this method in the important case under discussion.

Sin being a matter of vital importance in Life and in Theology, it is correspondingly important that when we use the word, or think of what it applies to, our usage and our thought, our concept and its definition, should be clear and consistent. In as far as they are not so, we must not only fall short of truth, but likewise be fundamentally confused. Our definition should also, as far as possible, be conformable to usage—otherwise we twist the word from that generally accepted meaning which enshrines the core and essence of the reality to which it refers.

In studying 'natural' objects we can call in the aid of microscopes and telescopes, but in the case of what is 'moral' (to use Hume's term) we can only have recourse to comparison of different usages and contexts, and to analysis of notions, which is one of the most potent weapons in the logical armoury. It is only thus that we can get our Concept or Notion nearer to what it ought to be, preserving what is seen to be essential, but so 'clipping the ragged edge of usage' as to get rid of inconsistent and irrelevant accretions. What we are directed to appeal to as guide in this analysis and reconstruction of our Concept, is 'Moral Intuition', which is perhaps not very different from the Practical Reason that Bishop Butler held to be the supreme court of appeal in morals.

After having in chapter i considered the need for a 'perfect' Concept of Sin, the author proceeds in chapter ii to discuss the connotation or meaning of Sin in the sources of Christian doctrine, starting, of course, from the indications of Christ's teaching on the subject contained in the Gospels. 'As used by our Lord, "sin" and its equivalent "moral defilement" (Dr Tennant argues) always refer to voluntary transgression of law known by the agent to be binding upon himself.¹ He emphasizes inward intention as distinguished from (1) merely ceremonial defile-

¹ We have here the two factors of ethical conduct, Will and Knowledge—voluntary transgression, law known.

ment, (2) non-voluntarily restrained execution, and always treats the sinner as accountable for his sin. He does not teach that sin is to be imputed where there is total ignorance of the "law" violated—rather the contrary: sinfulness is proportional to opportunity for enlightenment' (p. 18).

It is to be particularly observed that it is from the point of view of the theologian that Dr Tennant is speaking, and that from this point of view the true moral law is regarded as God's law. Certainly, if it is held that Sin always implies voluntary transgression of law recognized by the agent as binding upon himself, we seem to be involved in considerable difficulty unless we understand 'law' in this way. There is a legal maxim to the effect that *Ignorantia facti excusat, ignorantia legis non excusat*. To the first half of this maxim modern thought generally would, I suppose, agree without hesitation; but the second clause seems at first sight in conflict with the view that a man is not to be held guilty of transgression unless he recognizes the law which he breaks as binding on himself, as furnishing a standard perceived to be applicable to himself. Yet this second clause seems on the whole reasonable. We think sometimes that a person is all the worse for not recognizing the evil that there is in evil things. In reading Dr Tennant's book I have felt considerable difficulty here—difficulty in harmonizing the theological view put forward with the ethical and legal view that one has been inclined to accept as reasonable.

But while it is certain that if we are to attain any definition which logic permits us to accept, we must at any rate exclude inconsistencies, it also seems clear, on careful consideration, that the guilt of sin could not be imputed to any one not 'accountable' for his act (or state)—any one, that is to say, who did not act consciously and intentionally, and also with the knowledge (or feeling) that his action was wrong or forbidden. From the point of view of his political rulers and of his fellow-men, a man may be judged a wrong-doer, and the author of actions which are mischievous, and therefore to be repressed by punishment or disapproval, even though he himself were absolutely innocent of any intention to do harm and absolutely unaware of transgressing any law; but from his own point of view there can, at any given moment, be *for him* no difference between what *is* right or good, and what *he honestly thinks* to be right or good. And as between God 'Who seeth the heart', and the man whose heart He sees, there can at any such moment be no other question.

In as far as a man is not convinced of sin, he remains innocent in his own eyes, and God knows even better than the man himself how innocent he is in will and intention. Even a human teacher knows that however 'objectively' wrong such an innocent wrong-doer may be,

it is only when he has been helped (as he can best be helped by one who understands his ignorance) to *see* more clearly, and to will more wisely in accordance with this clearer insight—it is only then, and not when he has been merely forced to *act* better, that he can attain to that ‘change’ of mind which is a true advance. If sin is to be eradicated and outgrown, the Heart must be convinced rather than the Will coerced; the honest and innocent Will only needs enlightenment in order that the man may be ‘objectively’ as well as ‘subjectively’ right—and where the *Will* to do right is sincere and earnest, recognition that further knowledge is needed, and the effort to reach it, follow almost as a matter of course.

I think it is the ‘looking on the heart’ above referred to which is meant when it is said that God ‘seeth not as man seeth’. While admitting, however, that no man can fully read another’s heart, we are entitled to assume a certain general correspondence between men’s consciences and the recognized moral standard of the community: unless we could assume this, we should be hopelessly isolated from one another; social life, as we know it, would be impossible, and estimation and appreciation of the character of others unattainable.

In chapter v Dr Tennant discusses Sin and the Material of Sin, i. e. impulses and desires, the activity of which is indifferent to moral requirements. ‘These constitute the “Material of Sin” and supply motives to Sin, but are to be distinguished from Sin itself. They are “non-moral”, as is also voluntary attitude towards them previously to acquisition of conscience: yet without them there could not be sin. In that pleasure is associated with their satisfaction, they supply the basic incentives to sin; and in that they are called into play in independence of moral considerations, their presence imposes on every moral being a life-long moral conflict, failure in which at any point is sin. This is the ultimate “explanation” of sin. These propensities are also neutral in respect of the moral value of what the will may construct out of them, and necessary, i. e. biologically essential and normal, and psycho-physically inevitable. Thus the conflict these propensities evoke is also inevitable . . . and without this conflict, human conduct would no more be subject to *moral* evaluation than that of the brutes.’

Dr Tennant throughout, and especially perhaps in chapter v, takes into careful consideration facts of the growth of Mind, and the relation between Mind and Body (see e. g. pp. 155, 156)—and it seems to me that what he says here is entirely on the right track—and is not only scientifically sound, and in accordance with sober sense and a reasonable acceptance of fact, but also most illuminating. For instance, to be reminded that man is ‘conscious before he is self-conscious, im-

pulsively appetitive before he is volitional, volitional before he is moral', is to have a whole flood of light thrown into a region of doubt and real difficulty.

In connexion with Sin and Temptation, Dr Tennant points out that action which is the object of moral approval or disapproval must be voluntary and intentional, and that intention itself is the primary object of moral valuation, and may in itself constitute Sin. Temptation arises when the morally lower impulse possesses the greater intensity for the agent who has to choose, and temptation is not Sin. What transforms it into Sin is the consent of the Will to the tempting suggestion, resulting in an act (or intended act) which follows the lower motive, and thus is Sin. (I would note in passing that if we judge by rank of impulse (or motive) we are not using the same criterion as when we judge by Intention.)

The contention that sinlessness is consistent with (1) ethical imperfection, and (2) the possession of impulses that need regulation and restraint, is sufficiently borne out by reference to the life of our Lord, who '*grew* in favour', and '*was* in all things *tempted* like as we are, yet without sin'.

Dr Tennant considers that acts of 'Free' volition are acts which are 'the result of self-determination and not of determination by motives alone, nor even by motives and character together. Freedom of the will, in this sense, is essential to Christian ethics, and a presupposition of the Christian conception of Sin' and 'is not disproved by deterministic arguments and analogies'.

The distinction discussed by Dr Tennant between the aesthetic and the strictly ethical standard or ideal of conduct is complex, interesting, and far-reaching. He holds that there are two uses of 'ethical' or 'moral'—a wider, and a narrower, or stricter. In the wider sense the (Christian) ethical ideal of perfection in conduct and character 'contains emotional as well as volitional elements; includes the "ethically" beautiful as well as the morally meritorious, or the admirable as well as the imperative; involves excellence of inborn disposition as well as of acquired character: its attainment presupposes intellectual and even physical gifts. These qualities are wholly or in part beyond the power of the human will to produce. Their value is therefore not "ethical" in the strict sense of that term.' Sin is ethical imperfection, but 'the law of which Sin is the transgression' cannot be identified with 'the standard of absolute perfection revealed in the adult life of Christ. If it were, Sin would be a necessity.'

So the ethical standard which Sin infringes is the narrower one in which the terms ethical and moral are restricted to 'the outcome of volition, to that for which a subject is accountable, to the *use* of talents,

and not to these talents themselves'. Further, since it is only God who 'can fully judge when Sin is to be imputed, as He alone knows each individual's capacity and its limits', Sin in the case of any given individual 'is not determinable by reference to any fixed objective standard'. Moreover, the 'adoption of a fixed and definite standard is rendered impossible by the fact that all men are subject to development as was our Lord Himself'.

I feel some hesitation about accepting the view endorsed by Dr Tennant (pp. 53 ff) that Moral Effort, 'while enhancing the merit of conduct, lessens its virtuousness', i. e. that the ethical value of our action, in the stricter sense of ethical, is greater, the greater the effort that has been required for its accomplishment.

For (1) Is it not difficult to define Merit except in terms of Goodness?

(2) Are tenacity of purpose, strength of will, attraction to what is felt to be Right or Good, any more matters of Self-Determination than e. g. a powerful intellect, an unselfish disposition, a good constitution, or a fine musical ear?

(3) It is strictly every man's duty to do his best, whether, to start with, he is well endowed or not. The 'central striving of the will' after Right is likely to be just as strong in the man who has good capacity, virtuous habits, an unselfish temper, as in one who is below the average in intellect, habits, and disposition, and in the case of the one who is better endowed there is an 'increasing return' that is very remarkable indeed. The *best* endowed have sometimes to exercise moral effort, their good actions are volitional, intentional, and thus good in the *strict* ethical sense.

Yet no doubt there does seem to be something specially heroic about a man who will fight his way to virtue against tremendous odds of natural endowment—who makes the very most of a 'fighting chance'. But it is pathetic when a gallant Will is so handicapped in the race, and perhaps our intense feeling about this 'excellence of effort' is partly conditioned by the perception we have of its glorious results in favourable circumstances. There is, I think, only one principle which can give practical guidance amid considerations so complex as these, and that is the principle which adopts the end of action implied in the Biblical maxim 'Love is the fulfilling of the Law'.

Dr Tennant's theological views take full account of accepted scientific knowledge. His work is candid, clear, and thorough—it abounds in insight and practical wisdom, and in enthusiasm both for Religion and for Science. A Religion that is at war with Science, or that ignores it, must fight a losing battle in its efforts to win and keep the allegiance of thinkers, in days when there is such an eager pursuit of truth in every

department of knowledge. At the same time, if Science thinks it can stand four-square to all the winds that blow, without Faith, without Religion, without Philosophy, it is under an illusion. That this is so, Mr Arthur Balfour has shewn as regards Natural Science generally, and Professor Sidgwick has affirmed it in the most unequivocal way as regards Ethical Science. He holds, and shews, that 'without a hypothesis unverifiable by experience . . . a belief in some form or other that the moral order which we see imperfectly realized in this actual world is yet actually perfect . . . the Cosmos of Duty is . . . really reduced to a Chaos'.

Dr Tennant's work will render timely service both to Faith and to Knowledge.

E. E. CONSTANCE JONES.

RECENT PRESENTATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY.

The Rule of Faith. By W. P. PATERSON, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1912.)

THE Baird Lectures have produced some notable volumes, and the high level of the series is fully maintained in Professor Paterson's book containing the lectures he delivered in 1905, revised and brought up to date. The author undertook a double task; to supply an account and a criticism of the various principal theories of religious authority which have been produced in connexion with, and to justify, different types of Christianity; and to consider the substance of doctrine in Christianity, the agreements and disagreements between different bodies of Christians, the strength and weakness of contrasted positions. On the whole the second part of the book is more successful than the first, which would have been improved by some consideration of Eastern and Anglican standards of doctrine. The chapter in the second part entitled 'The Orthodox Interpretation' is, I think, both the best piece of work in the volume, and also one of the most careful and valuable descriptions of the dogmatic position of historical Christianity which I have seen in English for some time past. Dr Paterson makes instructive use of the condemnation of Modalism to point the moral that the Christian intellect has its rights as well as the Christian heart. He has a most valuable paragraph in which he deals with Dr Rashdall's attempt to vindicate the doctrine of the Trinity by a modification of the idea of triple personality till we are not left with much more than a fundamental threefold distinction in respect of certain divine attributes. Dr Paterson might have shewn even more clearly the strictness of the limits within which Dr Rashdall's appeal to the Fathers and Schoolmen is justified; but his statement that 'this reduction of the idea

of personality is inconsistent with the general scheme of thought developed in the Creeds on the basis of the Scriptural references to the pre-existent Christ and the significance of the Incarnation' seems to me entirely true and exceedingly apposite. Almost as a corollary to this we are told that 'probably some fresh thinking requires to be done in regard to Tritheism'. I can only mention the fairness of spirit and true sense of a common Christianity which informs the chapter on 'The Genius of Roman Catholicism', the energetic defence of orthodox but not obscurantist Protestantism, the indictment of Rationalism and the expression of proper scepticism as to the perseverance of the idea of God as Father apart from faith in Christ, and the conclusion as to Schleiermacher and Ritschl that, though in their theological revisions they do on the whole preserve the distinctive religious blessings of Christianity, they do not secure those blessings by an adequate doctrinal apparatus, especially in connexion with the Person of Christ. One more quotation, and a wholesome one for these times, may be allowed. Daub has said 'fundamentally all that we call natural is supernatural, and what we call supernatural is at the same time supremely natural'. Dr Paterson's comment is 'when peace is made on these terms it is commonly the supernatural which is found to be liable in a heavy indemnity'.

The Creed in the Pulpit. By H. HENSLEY HENSON, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1912.)

THIS volume of Sermons by the Dean of Durham is especially valuable as material for a judgement on the preaching-values of modern theological liberalism. A theology which cannot be preached is moribund; a theology which, when preached, can appeal to and stimulate the religious instincts of a congregation is capable of surviving many a criticism upon its scientific worth. Judged by this test the position for which Dr Henson stands justifies itself in this book to a surprising extent. Doubtless these sermons would not have been in place if preached in a village church instead of at the Abbey and in St Margaret's, Westminster. But as a Christian message and apologia to congregations imbued with the presuppositions of modern thought and unable to deal with those presuppositions after the fashion of Mr Chesterton or Dr Figgis they could hardly be improved upon. Only very occasionally does the joy in opposing Christianity of a different type, which is a mark of some of Dr Henson's work, appear, nor is there the least trace of that besetting sin of liberal theologians—intellectual arrogance. Throughout the book there sounds the appealing note, the note of whole-hearted devotion to the Divine Person of Christ, and the conviction, often repeated, that it is the other-worldly character of

Christianity which makes it the one religion for this world. The Sermons preached on Trinity Sunday are among the most valuable in the book, with the exception of the one entitled 'The Public Use of the Athanasian Creed', which seems to me unduly unsympathetic. I would particularly mention the sermon on 'Trinitarianism in the Gospel', above all its last two pages. The sermons on Easter also reach a high level of excellence, though even now Dr Henson seems not quite free from the illegitimate influence of Schmiedel's article in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*. I could wish the discourse on 'Spiritual Healing' away: it leaves an impression of irritation and prejudice and consequent inability to understand the motives and methods criticized.

The preface deals mainly with the case of Mr J. M. Thompson. It may frighten some readers and prevent them from going on to the sermons: it is a pity that it is not an appendix.

The Gospel of Freedom, by H. D. A. MAJOR, M.A. (T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1912.)

MR MAJOR, who is Vice-Principal of Ripon Clergy College, has collected in this book a number of theological essays, originally prepared for candidates for Ordination. They form an assertion of the rights of 'modern' as opposed to 'traditional' Christianity, and plead for a transference of emphasis from the dogmatic, institutional, and miraculous to the moral, social, and spiritual aspects of Christianity. If this transference be effected, if we can but free ourselves from superstition, magic, sectarianism, and, in a word, the legacy of mediaeval Christianity, and substitute simplicity of creed and unselfishness of life, we may look forward to Christianity becoming in no far distant future the Religion of the Race. Mr Major is, in fact, Dr Figgis's polar opposite. Opposition to prophecy may be as gratuitous as prophecy itself, but I cannot see any existing grounds for Mr Major's optimism, nor for his strict delimitation of the two aspects of Christianity. Interfusion of the two is not only an ideal but a very real fact, while it would be difficult to imagine anything more thoroughly harmful to the Church than that Mr Major's 'normal, modern man' should confine his attention to the moral and spiritual side of Christianity, and accept as final the decision of historians, physical scientists, and metaphysicians on the mode of Divine Revelation. Mr Major's fervently religious spirit cannot reconcile us to the prospect of a jejune theological liberalism consisting of ethics, natural religion, and, in some sense, the Divinity of Christ, nor do I think that this fervour and this liberalism can, in the long run and by the majority of ordinary, even of 'normal, modern' people, be brought to a unity.

J. K. MOZLEY.

Faith and Experience. By ARTHUR CHANDLER, Bishop of Bloemfontein.
(Methuen & Co., 1911.)

DR CHANDLER tells us that his book is a protest against what he calls the 'militant exclusiveness' of modernists, pragmatists, and eschatologists. And he sustains his protest by analysing the factors of religious knowledge and by shewing that traditional Christianity employs each to its full extent.

Starting with a definition of Faith as 'the intellectual acceptance of certain rational principles and historical facts', and of Experience as 'the operation of a whole multitude of instincts, desires, and impulses which make up the affective and volitional nature', he finds (1) the essence of religion in the knowledge of God, i.e. union with Him, answering a deep-rooted need of Him, and (2) the developement of religion in 'the need making us receptive of the knowledge and the knowledge deepening the sense of need'.

Thus sacrifice as found in primitive religion—in which all the elements of the Christian Eucharist may be found in crude form—witnesses to man's need, and the revelation through Christ supplies the content of faith which, operated upon by experience, becomes knowledge of God. Union with God, therefore, is the result of the interaction of faith and experience, i.e. of the intellect on the one hand, and of the will and the affections on the other hand.

Christ's revelation is authoritative because, in virtue of His divinity, by intuitive knowledge He had 'an absolutely true insight' into the 'tremendous issues of the spiritual world' even though this insight had to be mediated by current symbolism; and the gap between God and man is bridged by a similar process. The mystics indeed 'actually hear Him and see Him by some mysterious immediacy of spiritual intuition', but ordinary Christians know Him also by 'immediate intuitive knowledge'. This knowledge is, we are told, analogous to sensation and, besides being 'complete and self-contained . . . needs nothing, as far as experience itself goes, beyond efficient organs of receptivity'. This is surely too slender a psychological basis for religious experience. It is not enough to say that intuition is 'analogous to touch or vision, to sensations of cold or heat, of pleasure or pain'. We need a fuller analysis. And, further, pleasure and pain are not sensations, while Dr Chandler seems to imply that sensations may be pure in the sense of being without any conceptual element. But this is by no means certain. If, therefore, intuition is analogous to 'pure' sensation we are not helped very much. Religious knowledge seems to require the action of that complex unity in which the whole of consciousness inheres.

With the exception of the section on the relations of Theology and

Philosophy the remaining chapters of the book are somewhat thin. Mention, however, ought to be made of the Appendix on the 'Authority of Christ' which suggests that Dr Sanday would find more help in illustrating the doctrine of the Incarnation from Bergson's philosophy than from theories of the sub-conscious. This little book, devotionally written throughout, touches lightly many large subjects, and is clearly the production of a busy man.

The Psychology of the Christian Soul. By GEORGE STEVEN, M.A. The Cunningham Lectures for 1911. (Hodder & Stoughton, 1912.)

MR STEVEN claims to be heard by reason of his intimate knowledge of the lives of men and women gained in his work for the United Free Church of Scotland. It has given him real insight into the workings of the human soul. His book is not a contribution to scientific psychology, but a popular and homiletic treatment, in the light of practical experience, of the elementary findings of religious psychology. Two chapters are of particular interest—(1) 'The Enslaving of the Soul through Sin', which treats of temptation as a matter of Attention, and (2) 'The Soul in the Mass Movement of a Revival'. The subject of conversion is wisely handled and, for the permanence of conversions, we are told, '*a system of truth*, well concentrated, however simple, is necessary'.

Preachers will find in this book much useful material, and, bearing in mind its theological trend, it is one that might well be read by candidates for the ministry. The repeated use of the word 'crave' as a noun might be avoided in a second edition.

P. N. F. YOUNG.

Preachers and Teachers. By J. G. SIMPSON, D.D. (Edward Arnold, London, 1910.)

THIS volume of eight essays is 'an attempt to quicken that interest in some of the great preachers and teachers of the past, which may bring their example and spirit into living touch with the needs of the modern pulpit'. The essays deal with 'Preachers and Preaching', St Martin of Tours, St Augustine, some preachers of the seventeenth century, Bishop Butler, Edward Irving, and the needs of the modern pulpit.

Dr Simpson is proud of his calling to be a 'Preacher', and all that he says of the great importance and dignity of the Ministry of Preaching is timely and valuable. Perhaps the best parts of the book are the essays on Bishop Butler and that on Edward Irving, while that which

seems least useful is the essay on St Martin of Tours, which is rather thin. There are one or two epigrams which seem to me unworthy, but the book as a whole is stimulating and vigorous, and well calculated to serve the purpose intended by the author.

G. H. CLAYTON.

Pharisaism, by R. TRAVERS HERFORD. (Williams & Norgate, Crown Theological Library, vol. xxxv.)

It is to be hoped that this book will be read by those who still retain the popular opinion that all Pharisees were hypocrites and all their religion a medley of legal absurdities. It is a plea for justice. Mr Herford eschews all comparison with Christianity, and aims at presenting in popular form an exposition of the Pharisaic ideal as set forth in the writings of those who shared its beliefs and aspirations. Pharisaism, he maintains, was none the less a true Faith, although it rested intellectually on a mistaken basis. It may be summarized as the resolve to live in accordance with the will of God, and the belief that His will has been fully and finally revealed in the Torah of Israel, by which is meant not only the scriptures of the Pentateuch but also such teaching and precepts as might appear to be implicit in the written Word. The system had thus two lines of development: the one legal, the explication of the injunctions of the Law; the other spiritual, the maintenance of the religious attitude towards life. Mr Herford claims that the latter was the soul and strength of the movement, and is the key to the understanding of the former. Under its guidance the precepts of the Torah were felt not as a burden but as a delight, each being in fact simply one more opportunity for serving God. The question, however, arises, how far this favourable verdict can be justified in view of the testimony of the New Testament. Mr Herford thinks that, whilst the opposition between our Lord and the Pharisaic system as a whole was inevitable, his sayings are concerned with the legal, external, aspect of Pharisaism. Christian theologians have imagined that this represents all that could be said, and arguing from the part to the whole have accordingly passed adverse judgement. Again he holds, that the hypocritical Pharisees against whom our Lord's indignation was directed constituted only one, and probably a small, section of the party: and all religions have been cursed with insincere adherents. As to St Paul, he finds that his strictures amount to a caricature, although the misrepresentation was due not to malice but merely to inability to realize the feelings of his youth in the ardour of his experience of faith in Jesus Christ. We do not find Mr Herford convincing in these chapters. Certain that Judaism was a living faith, he seems to imagine himself driven thereby to the conclusion that the

New Testament yields a totally one-sided and unhistorical picture. This view may be correct, but the dilemma is perhaps of his own making. Is it not possible that Pharisaism, like other movements, passed through different phases? What if the agonies of the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 purified and refined the Pharisaism of the day, much as the experiences of the Exile transformed the religion of Israel? R. Johanan ben Zakkai, with his disciples at Jamnia, may have been a second Ezra to his people. We do not mean that there were no pious and sincere Pharisees in the New Testament period. We know, indeed, that there were such—Hillel, Shammai, Nicodemus, for instance. But their numbers and their influence may have been small. Nicodemus was easily silenced in the council (John vii 50); and the worth of Hillel and Shammai was perhaps acknowledged by posterity rather than by their contemporaries. The spiritual possibilities of Judaism cannot be denied by those who have even a slight acquaintance with the faith and virtues of its heroes, rich and poor, learned and unlearned, throughout the Christian era. But it seems possible fully to admit this, and yet to maintain that Pharisaism may have been at a low ebb in the time of our Lord, and that the evidence of the Gospels and of St Paul may be more historically correct than Mr Herford considers.

W. A. L. ELMSLIE.

John the Presbyter and the Fourth Gospel. By DOM JOHN CHAPMAN, O.S.B. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1911.)

ANY work dealing with the Fourth Gospel from the conservative point of view and showing both courage and skill should receive an immediate welcome on all sides. I am not sure that this will be the reception of the work before us. The writer is an able fencer, and we admire his skill; he means to stand his ground, and we admire his spirit; but we cannot whole-heartedly welcome him into the arena. At the close of the book he confesses to an inclination to be too positive here and there; and the apology is none too ample. The book, in fact, loses, not gains, by the very fact that it sums up 'convictions of many years'. The author seems to forget the laborious and tentative task of syllogizing in the joy of an assured conclusion. But the reader, wanting more of the process and less of the result, and more than once brought up against what looks very like a *petitio principii*, will sigh for a more fallible guide.

In regard to design, the book is well planned for its purpose. First the famous Papias fragment is examined; Eusebius and Irenaeus are shewn the one to have misunderstood Papias, the other to know no

John but the Apostle. It is all 'perfectly plain sailing'. Only on page 88, when the Johannine question proper is reached, do we meet a real difficulty, but the hypothesis of a Pauline and a non-Pauline amanuensis cuts that knot.

Of course, in close-linked argument of this kind even a minute error may have serious results. How far the principles of precise scholarship should be applied to Papias's Greek is doubtful; but in the author's scholarship itself I do not feel secure. The word ἀνέκρινον is translated 'I asked for' (p. 18), 'I used to enquire for' (p. 24), 'I used to enquire' (p. 25). Is any of these correct? ἀνακρίνειν with a personal object means to interrogate, to cross-examine; when the object is a document or a set of documents, it means to sift, to examine, to study. The Jews of Beroea thus 'examined the scriptures'; and so Papias 'examined' the statements of the 'seniors'.¹

Again, some critics have felt that the γοῦν of Eusebius expresses hesitation on his part as to the meaning of Papias's claim to have been a personal hearer of Aristion and John. But our author is prepared to settle γοῦν's business. It is no longer restrictive; it really adds a new proof or instance. I have examined all the examples quoted and many others, and the schoolboy rendering of γοῦν is certainly the right one. For Thucydides see especially i. 10. 4 (ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ precedes) and i. 10. 5 (γοῦν MSS, ὡς εἰκός precedes). Eusebius's use is similar. γοῦν marks the prick of his historical conscience: 'at any rate, he often refers to them by name.'

With regard to the meaning of πρεσβύτεροι we are told (p. 13) that 'it is clear that Papias means οἱ πρεσβύτεροι in the etymological sense, not in the ecclesiastical'; but it is always translated 'Presbyters' (note the capital), which seems to suggest a title of some sort.

Into the precise reasoning by which the equation 'seniors' = 'Apostles' of Zahn and others is disproved I do not here enter. If we could state exactly what 'seniors' meant to Irenaeus and Eusebius we should perhaps be able to settle this question out of hand; but till we know when the word began definitely to crystallize into a technical sense we are met by the inevitable difficulty of the relative term. Suffice it that our author finds no difficulty in uniting the two Johns whom Papias appears to put asunder.

The succeeding chapters merely carry out this identification in fuller

¹ So Zahn, and I can find no other use of ἀνακρίνειν, which Chrysostom explains by ἐξελέγγειν, and the Greek grammarians by βασανίζειν. Stephanus rightly renders 'perpendo, examino'. The technical use of the abstract ἀνάκρισις would indeed lead us further to suppose that the verb implies the analysing of conflicting evidence by comparison and contrast, and such a connotation well suits Papias's immediate purpose here.

detail. Irenaeus does not refer to the author of the Apocalypse and the Gospel as an Apostle ; but we are assured that 'Apostle' is a distinctively Pauline word. Gaius suggests that Philip of Hierapolis was not the Apostle ; but it is argued that Gaius has fused separate personalities into one—a process of which Dom Chapman's main argument may perhaps be itself an illustration. If the Apocalypse and the Gospel differ in style, the amanuensis *ex machina* (as indeed it appears) is invoked.

A note is given upon de Boor's fragment of Philip of Side on the early martyrdom of John the Apostle. It is argued (I do not think conclusively) that Philip had no first-hand knowledge of Papias, but Dom Chapman is very possibly right in restoring to Quadratus what is attributed to Papias.

Enough has been said to shew that with much that is good and a great deal that is able, the book before us will hardly tend to conciliate opponents, and friends will be tempted to exclaim '*non tali auxilio*'. A little less impatience of the suggestions of others would no doubt have led to more exact methods of argument. Harnack's account of the relations of 'the Presbyter' and the Apostle may have been overstated ; but theories must sow their wild oats, and not much good is done by untimely severity and sarcasm such as is shewn on p. 76.

The author has set out to answer the question 'Who was John the Presbyter?' He gets an answer which seems to fit all the available facts, and there an end. I would recommend to him the question, 'Who, or what, was Dante's Beatrice?' There are several possible answers, one or other of which must be right, and not one can be said to fit all the available facts, for an obvious reason. Yet in the case of Beatrice we are moving well in the light, with a considerable, if confused and incomplete, volume of evidence, which (like Papias) we may sift and examine ; in the case of John we are still very much in the dark, with scanty and partial evidence, and it is rash to be too positive of the track.

E. ILIFF ROBSON.

Ibn Thofail: sa vie, ses œuvres. Par LÉON GAUTHIER. (Leroux, Paris, 1909.) (Publications de l'École des Lettres d'Alger, Tome xlii.)

THE Romance of Hayy, son of Yaqzān, first made known in Europe by the Latin version of Pococke, has received rather more attention in the West than other Arabic books (with the exception of the Koran and the Arabian Nights), and in consequence has been translated into several languages ; the English version of Simon Ockley, issued in 1708, was

reprinted in Cairo, 1905, by Mr Edward Vandyck. M. Gauthier, who professes Moslem Philosophy in Algiers, has himself edited and translated the text, and this volume contains the Introduction. It is the fruit of careful research, and enlarges our knowledge on many points. Thus M. Gauthier has shewn that the work called *Asrār al-ḥikmah almashriḥiyyah*, which figures in Brockelmann's History of Arabic Literature as a second treatise by Ibn Ṭufail, is in reality the old treatise with another title. He has not succeeded in obtaining any considerable biography of the author, whose fame in the West is far greater than that which he enjoys in the East; it is to be regretted that Mr Vandyck did not state whence he got the birth-date A.H. 494, which appears on the title-page of his edition (1904), since this seems to settle a matter on which M. Gauthier can only offer conjectures; the French scholar does not appear to know of the American scholar's work.

If any fault can be found with M. Gauthier's prolegomena, it is prolixity; but his results appear to be generally sound. The analysis of the genesis of the Romance, and the account of the relation of Ibn Ṭufail to Avicenna, are clearly convincing; something yet remains to be done in tracing the names which are employed in the various versions of the story to their origin in the Hermetic literature.

With regard to the general purpose of the Romance, M. Gauthier thinks most of his predecessors have not read quite to the end; had they done so they would have found that it was the reconciliation of philosophy and religion: an idea which scarcely appears in Pococke's title *Philosophus Autodidactus*, nor very distinctly in Merx's *Kritik der Offenbarung*. Ḥayy Ibn Yaḳẓān arrives by deductive reasoning at knowledge of the Aristotelian First Cause and at the practices whereby mystics can reach the superior condition. This occupies 97 sections out of 120. His island is then visited by a hermit, who teaches him language, and the Mohammedan Code: which Ḥayy Ibn Yaḳẓān finds absolutely in accordance with his philosophy, though he is perplexed by the parables which the Prophet employs, and the attention which he pays to practical life, and the institution of property. A final experience shews him that the dullness of the vulgar is what renders the Prophet's procedure necessary. So much space is assigned in the work to the hero's self-instruction that readers have not unnaturally regarded the main idea of the author as being to demonstrate the possibility of natural religion. Yet it is probable that M. Gauthier is right in ascribing considerable importance to the final scenes, in which the unsuitability of the 'illuminative doctrine' to the vulgar mind is demonstrated. Already in the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā*, which is two centuries earlier, we find the threefold division of mankind: the vulgar, their teachers, and the wise.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

Über den privaten Gebrauch der hl. Schriften in der alten Kirche: Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament, V. By A. HARNACK. (J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1912.)

Bible-Reading in the Early Church. By ADOLPH HARNACK, translated by the Rev. J. R. WILKINSON. (Williams & Norgate, 1912.)

IN this book, which is the fifth volume in his series of *New Testament Studies*, Dr Harnack has in view the old-standing controversy between Catholics and Protestants, and he begins by trying to define exactly the 'difference between the two Churches' on this point. The assertions of Roman Catholic theologians on the subject must submit to the test of historical investigation: but, on the other hand, Protestantism itself has in the past suffered much from the crushing weight of 'the dogma of the Bible' which it adopted.

Dr Harnack shews how Lessing first broke the spell of this dogma by his recognition of the decisive importance of the fact that Christian faith and a Christian Church existed before ever there was a New Testament. His strange denial of the authority of the New Testament, and of the freedom with which it was read by laymen, in the early ages of the Church, does not detract from his services on the main point. His mistakes gave Walch an opportunity of discrediting his work as a whole, though in his assertion that the Creed was independent of and older than the New Testament he was entirely right. That the Holy Scriptures were not allowed to be read by the laity was an assertion contrary to the whole trend of the evidence, but the special question of the private use of Holy Scripture has remained untouched during the 130 years that have passed since the controversy between Lessing and Walch. It is with this question that Dr Harnack is concerned, and he rightly vindicates its importance in connexion with general 'introduction' to the New Testament. It bears on the sense in which the collection of books was regarded as a *canon* of religion. It has to do with the comparative study of religions: the enquiry shews that the Bible was not a secret book like the sacred writings or formulae of mystery-religions, so that in this respect at all events Christianity was not a mystery-religion.

Dr Harnack has no difficulty in shewing from the evidence, scanty as it is for the earliest period¹ (before Irenaeus), that knowledge of the

¹ Dr Harnack acknowledges some indebtedness to Walch's collection of patristic evidence: but he brings forward much of his own that is fresh. He surely need not have refused to use the *Acts of the Scillitan martyrs*. In the question 'Quae sunt res in capsâ vestra?' the *vestra* does not shew that the *capsa* was the property of the community (as Dr Harnack supposes the questioner knew it was!). More than one of them had a *capsa* and Speratus was addressed as representative of all. This use of the plural is well attested, and the Greek version ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις σκεύεσιν doubtless gives the proconsul's meaning.

Scriptures was so freely assumed as to make it certain that the private use of them by Christians was widespread from early days, and that even when the right interpretation of them became a battle-ground between Christians no one ever thought of placing restrictions on the use of the Bible as a solution of the difficulty.

Christians in general were only bidden to look to the presbyters of the Church, who were in possession of apostolic doctrine, for the true meaning of the Scriptures (so Dr Harnack, rightly I think, interprets the passage in Irenaeus iv 33, which probably misled Lessing).

For the two remaining periods which Dr Harnack considers (from Irenaeus to Eusebius, and from Eusebius to Theodoret) he has marshalled abundant evidence, much of it out of the way, and he gives interesting notes on various subsidiary questions, such as the circulation of religious literature orthodox and heretical, the market for Bibles, sumptuous copies of the Bible, superstitions connected with the Bible, and differences of practice in regard to private reading.

His main conclusion is that Biblical theology was during the first four centuries, in principle at least, and in practice very largely, as accessible to the laity as to the clergy. 'Protestantism has thus the testimony of the Early Church on its side in not allowing the Church to dictate the relations between the individual and Holy Scripture. . . . The Reformation . . . , measured by the standard of antiquity, has one of its chief justifications in the fact that it has restored the Bible to the common people, because it recognized the complete sovereignty and publicity of Holy Scripture as the inspired Word of God.' True: but when Dr Harnack ends his study with the words 'no creed, no Church, has the right to decide what [the books of Holy Scripture] contain and what they teach', he is saying something for which he certainly cannot claim the authority of the Early Church, either in its theory or in its practice, as many of the passages which he cites in the course of his book prove plainly.

The translation reads easily. It is a pity, for the sake of English readers, that a number of long quotations from Latin writers are left in the body of the book untranslated.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

The Birth of the English Church: Saint Augustine of Canterbury,
by Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH. (John Murray, London, 1913.)

SIR HENRY HOWORTH has rapidly redeemed the promise made in his book on Gregory the Great of giving his account of the work of St Augustine, the Apostle of the English. The present volume is

larger than its predecessor, and covers a wider field and a longer period. For the author, far from confining himself to this country, takes his readers, here and there, back to Rome and sometimes even he transports them from the brutal courts of the Merovingians to the palaces of Constantinople and thence to the church councils of Visigothic Spain. But despite this tendency to diffuseness, the book is a scholarly work, and shews that its author has the quality, so essential in a historian, of seeing things in their proper perspective.

'It is not', he says in the Preface, 'a very exhilarating story that I have to tell, for, notwithstanding a good deal of romantic writing by sentimental apologists, the mission was essentially a failure'. This, then, is the theme of the history. Gregory was a truly great man, but his emissaries were narrow-minded monks (Sir Henry scarcely does early monasticism justice), and their work was marked by a certain feebleness. He hopes in a third volume 'to describe how under happier conditions and stronger men the Church's second start proved more fruitful and more lasting'. In the Introduction we have the story of the many mediaeval charters, obviously forged, which imposed on kings and prelates in the middle ages. In the first chapter the author leads up to the arrival of 'the first missionary journey on a concerted plan sent out by the head of the Western Church to evangelize a nation' within sight of its goal. The most interesting part of the story of Augustine's work is the careful endeavour to reconstruct the ancient church where Bertha had worshipped and the Canterbury wherein the first mission sojourned. Equally useful is the account of books which are supposed to have been sent by Gregory to Augustine. I am not sure that the author has fully appreciated the immense difficulty of the Easter question, but to deal adequately with a problem of such complexity would need a much longer and an infinitely duller volume than Sir Henry Howorth has given us. The appendices to the book are of unusual interest. In the first we have an account of the awful visitation of the plague in 541, which was continually renewing itself for more than a century. No reader of Bede can be ignorant of how frequently it appeared in England and carried off the inhabitants of the monasteries, or of the miracles connected with it. The second appendix deals with the complicated question of the Two Wills or Energies in our Lord, and the conduct of Pope Honorius, whose vacillating policy led him in the direction of condemnation by the sixth General Council. Sir Henry Howorth's verdict is 'Whether the pope was heretical or not his decision in the matter was the only one consistent with sound sense, and which did not involve a contradiction or absurdity'. The third appendix is on the Popes and their Nuncios at Constantinople. It might be possible to indicate a few oversights in this volume, for

example, the strange statement about St Augustine's company on landing in England, 'To cloistered monks unaccustomed to exercise a ten miles walk would have been a wearisome trial' (p. 64). But many a ten-mile walk must those monks have taken since leaving their cloister on the Coelian Hill! But one would rather express gratitude than criticize, and Sir Henry Howorth deserves the thanks of all interested in early English Christianity.

F. J. FOAKES JACKSON.

APOCRYPHA.

Le Testament en Galilée de N.-S. Jésus-Christ. Texte éthiopien édité et traduit par LOUIS GUERRIER avec le concours de SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT. Patrologia Orientalis (R. Graffin, F. Nau). Tome IX, fasc. 3.

A VERY interesting text is here presented to us. It is in large part identical (as I pointed out in *J. T. S.* 1910, p. 55) with the Coptic *Epistola Apostolorum* described as long ago as 1895 by Dr C. Schmidt, and assigned by him to the second century. A leaf of a Latin version of it is in a fifth-century Vienna palimpsest.

Until we have the Coptic text before us—and may we take this opportunity of asking Dr Schmidt not to delay it longer than he can help?—it will be wise to avoid dogmatic pronouncements. In any case, a notice written so soon after publication will do well to deal in description rather than in criticism.

M. Guerrier has put his work into a most convenient shape. I am not competent to review his construction of a text—he has used four manuscripts—nor his translation. All that I can understand of that part of the book inspires confidence that it is well done. It has been revised by M. Grébaut, whose work on the Pseudo-Clementine literature in Ethiopic is well known to readers of the *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*. In his Introduction M. Guerrier writes very interestingly on the characteristics, doctrinal and other, of the *Testament*, but reserves judgement until the publication of the Coptic text. Of this he has only had before him such passages as have been cited by Schmidt in his first announcement of the discovery, and subsequently in an article on the Vienna palimpsest.

To give a full analysis of the *Testament* is impossible. I can do no more than call attention to its main features.

It begins with a couple of lines which appear to have no connexion with the text, and read like an extract from one of the sapiential books.

Then comes the main text, which falls into two unequal parts.

(1) §§ 2-11 contain a revelation made by our Lord to the Eleven in Galilee after the Resurrection. It is chiefly occupied with the signs of the end of the world. Certain portions are common to it and to the *Testament* published by Rahmani (T. R.), namely, the expression 'Sons of light' addressed to the Apostles—a prediction against the countries of Asia (5)—the description of Antichrist. It has not the description of the signs in heaven and the monstrous births which occur in T. R. vi, vii. One of the most curious features is in c. 8, a denunciation of certain Christians who 'will consider that My will demands sacrifices and offerings of animals, and who will shed blood in My name, as offering it on behalf of their sins'.

The description of the last judgement is not developed, but there are one or two clauses which recall the *Apocalypse of Peter*, e. g. (11) 'toute créature parviendra à l'ardeur du feu', &c.

I do not gather from Schmidt's description of the Coptic text that this apocalyptic portion is represented there.

(2) With § 12 we have a new beginning, and, as I think, a new document. There is a sort of prefatory note, partly in the nature of a title 'Book which Jesus Christ revealed to His disciples : how Jesus Christ revealed this book. . . . It is with a view to Simon and Cerinthus that it was written, that no one should join himself to them, &c.'. In 13 the Apostles (a list of eleven, beginning with John, and giving Nathanael and Cephas in place of James the Less and Simon) say that they have written to the Churches of the four quarters of the world. In 14 is a confession of faith in Christ, and in the following sections a rapid *résumé* of our Lord's life, including the incident of His being taught as a child at school (cf. *Evang. Thomae* 6). In 18 is a warning against Cerinthus and Simon, but no particulars of their teaching are given. 20-23 are occupied with the narrative of the appearance after the Resurrection which has been quoted by Schmidt : first to the women Sara, Martha, Mary Magdalene ; then to the incredulous apostles. Peter and Thomas are bidden to touch the hands and the side ; Andrew to see that the Lord's feet leave a track upon the ground, 'for it is written in the prophet that phantoms or demons leave no trace of their steps'—words which M. Guerrier ingeniously refers to Dan. xiv 18 sqq. (Bel and the Dragon) ; he also reminds us of a passage in Ignatius and a quotation of Jerome's from the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

After this is the passage, partly preserved in Latin, about the relation of our Lord to the angels, how when He passes through the several heavens He becomes like the denizens of each (compare the Ascension

of Isaiah): and upon this follows the statement that under the form of Gabriel, He Himself bore the message to the Virgin at the Annunciation. Then the prediction of the imprisonment and release of one of the Apostles (not named). The release is to be temporary only: after keeping Easter with his brethren, he will be imprisoned again.

In 28 is a remarkable prediction, which should assist in determining the date of the writing, but for which one particularly desires confirmation from the Coptic text. 'When the year 150 shall have expired, in the days of Pentecost and of Easter, will be the coming of My Father.'

Here also is the pronouncement, coinciding with one in the Acts of John, 'I am wholly in the Father, and the Father in me'. The sections which follow are of less startling character. They deal to some extent with the fulfilment of prophecy: in 30, the whole of the 3rd Psalm is quoted as an example. The resurrection of the body is another topic on which the Apostles question the Lord. In 38 He tells them that He went down (into Hades), conversed with the patriarchs and prophets, and gave them the baptism of life, and remission of sins. In 41 the commission to preach to Israel and the nations is given, and then the conversion and the future greatness of Paul are dwelt upon at some length, though with little detail of narrative. In 45 the signs of the end are spoken of; a considerable passage here is identical with § 4 of this same book. It is not one that occurs in the *Testament* of Rahmani. In 51 we have the hope held out that the prayer of the righteous on behalf of the sinners, after the Judgement, will be heard. This, it will be remembered, is prominent in the Pseudo-Clementine (Ethiopic) literature. In 54 is a discourse on the Wise and Foolish Virgins. It is explained that not only are the Wise Virgins Virtues (Faith, Love, Joy, Peace, and Hope) but also the Foolish (Intelligence, Knowledge, Obedience, Continence, and Mercy). These are virtues 'which have gone to sleep in those who believe . . . but have not accomplished my commandment'. They will be shut out, and the Wise Virgins will be sorrowful. The Apostles say 'Lord, it belongs to Thy majesty to have mercy upon' the Foolish Virgins; but Christ closes the discussion with the words 'This word belongs not to you, but to Him who sent me'. The book ends (§ 62) with the Ascension. 'In three days and three hours' says the Lord 'He who sent me will come, that I may go with Him.' As He spake there came thunder, lightning, and an earthquake: the heavens were rent and there came a cloud of light which received Him. Then was heard the voice of many angels rejoicing, and saying 'Gather us, O Priest, in the light of thy glory'. And when they drew near the firmament of heaven we heard Him saying 'Go back in peace'.

It is undeniable that upon the whole this text gives the impression of

belonging to an early period. The doctrinal position of the writer is, as M. Guerrier points out in his introduction, eccentric. In two or three places he reminds us of Hermas: to some extent in his Christology, and again in his allusion to the baptism of the righteous in Hades, and in his personification of virtues. He has some slight traits in common with the Apocalypse of Peter, and, as we have seen, a trait from a Gospel of the Infancy, and one phrase which recurs in the Acts of John. His New Testament certainly includes the Fourth Gospel and the Acts: allusions to the Pauline Epistles are few. As to his own surroundings, I am unable to gather much from a first reading. He speaks of false teachers, but the one form of error which he takes pains to combat is the docetic: the idea of persecution is familiar to him: of Church order he has nothing to say, and very little as to sacraments.

Will it turn out that the Apocalypse of Thomas is in some way based upon this text? It is, to be sure, a good deal later in date than the Testament: but it is odd that pieces of the two books occur together in the Vienna palimpsest, that in both Christ names a definite date for His coming, and that the signs of the end are of the same complexion in both.

One of the numerous riddles suggested by the new publication concerns the relation of the opening sections to those of the *Testamentum Domini* of Rahmani. It is curious to find these two documents (partly identical in content) serving as prefaces, in one case to a treatise on Church order, in the other to the *Epistola Apostolorum*. In each case the preface gives the impression of being a fragment. Of what is it a fragment, and which is the older form of it? It would be out of place to begin weaving theories: and I think I have now said enough by way of calling attention to this new document—perhaps of the second century—which we owe to the good offices of M. Guerrier.

Les Actes de Paul et ses lettres apocryphes: Introduction, textes, traduction et commentaire, par LÉON VOUAUX, agrégé de l'Université, professeur au collège de la Malgrange. In 'Les Apocryphes du N.T. publiés sous la direction de J. Bourguet et E. Amann'. (Letouzey, Paris, 1913.)

THIS is the second volume of the series well begun by the Gospels of the Infancy. It is on similar lines, not professing to furnish a definitive and critical text of every fragment of the book, but a convenient edition of the more coherent portions and a survey of the present state of knowledge on the subject.

The introduction of 140 pages contains the survey and a useful

bibliography. The author seems to me to have missed few points and to give a very sane view of the character of the *Acta Pauli*. With every reserve he dates it at from 160 to 170, and thinks the author may have lived at Antioch in Pisidia. He writes clearly and sensibly about the attitude of the Acts towards marriage, and towards Gnostic teaching. On the literary side he emphasizes their similarity to 2 *Clement*. He rejects, I am sorry to say, both the fragment quoted by Clement of Alexandria (Str. vi 42) and the mysterious allusion to a speech at Athens by John of Salisbury, and would refer them to a *Praedicatio Pauli*, as to the existence of which I am very sceptical.

The text is divided into episodes, and where the Coptic text is very fragmentary only a *résumé* of its contents is given. This is the case in Episode I—the raising of the son of Panchares and Phila at Antioch.

I remark, again with parental regret, that M. Vouaux, though he includes my article on the Acts of Titus in his bibliography, still calls the father of the dead youth Anchares. Let me once more record that the name should be Panchares, as in the Acts of Titus, and that the Coptic translator has mistaken the initial P for the definite article in his own tongue.

Episode II is the Acts of Thecla. Here a Greek text is given, with notes of Greek, Coptic, and Latin variants, a French version, and explanatory notes. This is the *pièce de résistance*, occupying pp. 146–238.

Episode III is that at Myra with Hermocrates and Hermippus, which we only have in the fragmentary Coptic.

IV, V are the still more fragmentary episodes at Sidon and at Tyre. In the latter M. Vouaux omits the proper names which occur in the Coptic text. Here, again, he would have been helped by the Acts of Titus to the true form of one of them—Aphphia for the Coptic Amphon.

VI. The story of Phirmilla and Phrontina, where Paul and Phrontina are thrown from a precipice and Phrontina is raised to life. My own belief, which I have expressed in this JOURNAL, is that Phrontina was already dead when she was thrown over, and I can still see nothing in the fragments to contradict this. My reconstruction of the story is that Paul has converted Phrontina; that she dies a natural death, and, in accordance with a local custom, her corpse is cast over a cliff, Paul being condemned to the same fate because he had converted her. In Schmidt's edition (pp. 70, 71) we read that Longinus the father of Phrontina counselled 'that the men who were to throw down Phrontina his daughter should throw down Paul also with her, alive'. On the third day the procession sets forth, Longinus and Phirmilla lamenting, and the prisoners (those condemned to the mines) carrying the bed or

bier. Then, after a gap, we have the end of a sentence—'Paul alive, with the daughter'. Paul then revives her, and all go back in great joy to the house of Longinus. The emphasis that is thus laid twice on the fact that Paul is thrown down alive, seems to me to justify the inference that Phrontina was dead. If I am right, I think the episode gains somewhat in interest. Let me just add in passing that in Episode IV the author of the Acts weaves a story round what he supposes to have been a local cult of Apollo at Sidon.

In VII we have the correspondence between Paul and the Corinthian church in a Latin text and French version.

VIII is the fight with beasts at Ephesus, related by Nicephorus Callisti and alluded to by Hippolytus. IX. 'Scènes de départ' has the prophecies of Cleobius and Myrte. Then follows the *Martyrium* in Greek with the variants of the versions, and, as before, a French translation and notes.

An appendix gives the spurious Epistles, viz. (a) that to the Laodiceans, (b) the lection in the Bobbio Sacramentary, there said to be from Colossians, which Zahn rashly attributed to the Epistle to the Alexandrines mentioned in the Muratorian Canon, (c) the letters of Paul and Seneca. All these are furnished with useful introductions, translations, and notes.

In constructing his texts M. Vouaux has not (if I apprehend him rightly) undertaken any fresh research among manuscripts: nor do I know that there was much that could have been undertaken with profit. For any material advance in our knowledge of the Acts of Paul we must, I believe, look to Egypt. It is by no means beyond hope that a second Coptic manuscript in better condition than that of Heidelberg may turn up. Something may be done, perhaps, meanwhile by a careful examination of the Oriental Acts—of which I am rather disappointed to find that M. Vouaux says nothing. I should be glad, too, of an authoritative pronouncement upon the legend of Peter and Paul at Antioch, which is told in the *Golden Legend* (cap. 44). It stands quite by itself in Western literature, and has what seem to me to be early features; at any rate, features which strikingly resemble some stories in the Oriental Acts.

M. Vouaux appears to have in preparation editions of other Apocryphal Acts. If they resemble the present volume, they will be useful and welcome; but they will not furnish a great deal that is novel.

M. R. JAMES.

La Didascalie des douze Apôtres, traduite du syriaque pour la première fois par F. NAU (deuxième édition). (Paris, 1912.)

M. NAU was the first scholar to translate the *Didascalía* into a modern language. His translation was completed in 1902, and was made from Lagarde's edition of 1854. In the present volume M. Nau gives us a second and enlarged edition. The original Introduction has been expanded from six to thirty-two pages, and is now divided into nine sections. The most important of these are: ii, iii, in which the kindred pseudapostolic canonical documents are briefly dealt with; iv, containing an analysis of the contents, and discussions of the place of origin, date and authorship of the *Didascalía*; v and vi, in which the author's use of the New and Old Testaments is considered.

To the translation of the *Didascalía* is now prefixed one of the *Didache*; and in appendices are added (1) *La Didascalie d'Addai*, (2) *Canons pseudo-apostoliques sur les empêchements de mariage*. The former of these documents is better known in England by the title under which it was edited by Dr W. Cureton in his *Ancient Syriac Documents*, viz. *The Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*, and it has, of course, nothing to do with the famous 'Doctrine of Addai' published by Phillips, which relates the story of evangelization of Edessa by Addai, or Thaddaeus, and gives certain letters supposed to have passed between our Lord and King Abgar the Black. This Doctrine of the Apostles is a valuable collection of canons dating, probably, from the fourth century. The document given in Appendix ii contains a list of degrees within which persons are forbidden to marry, and is of a much later date. Both these pieces are found interpolated into the text of the *Didascalía* in the MS edited by Mrs Gibson.

As in his first, so in his second edition M. Nau follows closely the text of Lagarde; but use has now been made of the Verona Latin fragments published by Hauler; and in one case at least an important variant of the Latin has been admitted into the text. Usually readings of the Latin, where they are of interest, are given in the footnotes. The numerous omissions of Mrs Gibson's MS are likewise noted at the foot of the page.

M. Nau has studied the convenience of his readers by indicating at the top of the right-hand pages the corresponding chapters and sections in Funk's *Didascalía et Constitutiones Apostolorum* (by consulting which one can see at a glance the treatment to which the *Didascalía* was subjected by the author of the Apostolic Constitutions), and also the pages of Lagarde's Syriac text. Lagarde's pagination is further indicated exactly in the text by numbers placed within square brackets. A good alphabetical 'Table des matières', a list of Scripture citations, and an

analysis of each chapter complete a valuable and convenient edition of one of the most important documents of Christian antiquity.

Mention has been made of an important passage in which M. Nau rejects the reading of the Syriac in favour of that of the Latin. The passage comes on p. 214 of this (second) edition, § 3, where we read: 'quel est le plus grand, du pain ou du Saint Esprit *qui sanctifie le pain?*' This is in accordance with the Latin version, which has: 'quid est maius: panis aut sc̄s sp̄s, *qui sanctificat panem?*' In his first edition M. Nau, following Lagarde's Syriac text, translated 'ou le Saint Esprit *que tu possèdes*'. This variant reading I hope to discuss in a Note in some subsequent number of this JOURNAL, and with it another reading in the same context, which also involves the question as to the consecration of the Eucharist by the Holy Spirit.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

LETTERS OF HAMMURABI AND CUNEIFORM PARALLELS TO THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Les Lettres de Hammurabi à Sin-idinnam, transcription, traduction et commentaire, précédées d'une étude sur deux caractères du style Assyro-Babylonien. By F. CHARLES JEAN. (J. Gabalda, Paris, 1913.)

AFTER a concise sketch of Babylonian History and its earlier literary remains, the author proceeds to point out the characteristics of style in these early inscriptions, and shews how dependent the scribe was upon his predecessors for the form of sound words and the conventional phrases which he might use. A royal inscription of later days faithfully reproduced the ancient formulae which had done honour of old to the gods, the kings, and the heroes of antiquity. It would have shamed the weakest ruler to have fallen below his ancestors in the proud boasts of dominion and conquest which in their case rested on actual achievement, and were in his case mere faint echoes of a long-lost claim. We may compare the long-retained claim of our monarchs to style themselves 'King of France'. Only rarely do we find, as if in an apologetic parenthesis, any statement of actual fact. The whole tone is religious, humble before God, proud towards men, and only attaching importance to earthly events in so far as they emphasize the divine power manifested in and through His royal servant the king.

The Assyrian court chronicler, while for the most part slavishly reproducing the style of Babylonian precedents, broke loose at times

from the scheme to introduce vivid phrases which shew his sympathy with human nature and his appreciation of the world in which he lived. Prouder grew the boasts, more extended the story of achievements, the difficulties overcome, the glory of victory, the lust of conquest and the triumph over the conquered: their tortures, their punishment and massacre are recorded with joyous glee.

The author has seized upon the characteristics of style with the hand of a master, and succeeds in making his preliminary studies deeply interesting for the student of literature. He then proceeds to present a number of letters from Hammurabi to Sin-idinnam, governor of Larsa, after the expulsion of the Elamites from southern Babylonia. These have already been published and translated by L. W. King and others. Written for those who are not Assyriologists, the transcriptions and translations are accompanied by many valuable notes, and afford a worthy specimen of the work of the younger and rapidly increasing band of French Assyriologists.

The English reader will be surprised and probably offended at the large amount of blank paper the book contains. The author always begins his discussion of a letter halfway down his page and leaves a whole page blank between two groups of texts. This may be meant for the reader's notes, but it spoils the look of the book. The reader must be grateful for the vocabulary, the index of ideograms, Biblical texts, and Hebrew words cited, and a long alphabetical register of the subjects discussed in the text.

The introduction to each letter, or group of letters, and the information given in the notes, as well as the transcriptions and translations, appear to be excellent and represent a vast amount of learned and careful research. The first deals with Hammurabi's order to the governor of Larsa that as the year is short or 'empty', the present month Elul must be duplicated, literally 'the month which shall begin shall be written as the second (or intercalary) Elul (instead of Teshri as it would naturally be) but the tribute due in Babylon on the 25th of Teshri shall be delivered on the 25th of this second Elul'. This is to say, the change in the calendar must not be taken to excuse postponement of payment for another month. Now, as the author points out, we know of a second Elul in the eleventh year of Ammizaduga, and in another year also. Professor Ungnad has collected the many other examples of intercalary months in the *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung* for 1910, p. 66, shewing that actually a second Elul was intercalated in the fifth and the eighth years of Samsu-iluna, in the reign of Abeshu', and in the tenth year of Ammizaduga. An interesting text from Larsa itself states that there was also a second Elul in the fortieth year of Hammurabi, which must therefore be the date of this letter.

The second Nisan was rare, once in Abeshu' as the author states, once also in the reign of Samsu-ditena. The second Adar was used in over forty different cases. But it is clear that no cycle was employed under the First Dynasty of Babylon.

Naturally there are a few misprints. The Shillito Reader in Assyriology at Oxford is called Stephen Langdon, not Samuel Langdon. The author hesitates between Adad and Rammānu in a way confusing to his readers. It is also an irritating habit to quote articles by their title solely, without saying where they are to be found. Doubtless some of these are issued to a limited number of scholars as reprints, but such reprints rarely are to be found in book-lists. It is probable that the officer read *DU-GAB* is really *RA-GAB* and was primarily 'a charioteer'. He was also a messenger and a trusted agent of the king. The name Lalum-alla-māduṃ means 'Great be the prosperity of my city'. In the fourth line of letter 13 restore Lagash at end. This letter is most valuable for the topography of southern Babylonia. On p. 154 the name is Shamash-epush, the *š* is a title, often occurring, as again on p. 172, l. 4. The name read Enubi-Marduk is certainly Etel-pi-Marduk and means 'A warrior is the (deified) word of Marduk', a witness to the Logos doctrine among the Babylonians. The name in letter 37 'Summan-la-ilu' should be read Shumma-ilu-la-ilī, 'if God be not my God', probably meaning that the God of the person so named is indeed all that a god should be. There is no expressed apodosis and we do not know exactly what it was. On p. 222 for *ragānu* read *rabiānu*, and in the vocabulary strike out the former word. In many names, e. g. Ana-minišu-emid, Mini-Martu, Mini-Shamash, &c., for *mini* read *šilli*, Ana-šillišu-emid, &c. By some oversight the two names beginning with *K* are placed after those beginning with *B*. Enuka-Ishtar should be Etel-pī-Ishtar. Names with *G* should precede those with *D*. For Ninshakh read Nin-shubur. On p. 274 Adar in the name Adar-apal-ēkur is an antiquated guess. There is no foundation for the reading and no evidence for a god Adar. Nabū-iklin should be Nabū-ibashshi. Pudi-ilu should be Arik-dīn-ilu.

Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament, translated and edited by
ROBERT WILLIAM ROGERS, Ph.D. (Leipzig), Litt.D., LL.D.,
F.R.G.S., Professor in Drew Theological Seminary. (Henry
Frowde, Oxford University Press. xxii + 470 pp. Map, 48 plates.)

THE writer has long been esteemed for his capable and careful *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, and lately for five excellent lectures at Harvard University on the *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*.

especially in its relation to Israel. He has other great qualifications for his task, having been a teacher of Old Testament subjects, in the full light of modern criticism, for many years. Hence, with adequate knowledge of both fields, he has had opportunity to estimate the validity of the suggested parallelisms.

The subject is not new. Since Professor O. C. Whitehouse made known to a wide circle of English-speaking students the contribution of Assyriology to Old Testament study, by his translation of Eberhard Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, a large amount of additional material of a similar kind has been discovered and studied. This has for the most part been edited and discussed in scattered papers in various scientific journals. The so-called 'third edition' of Schrader by Professors Winckler and Zimmern was really a new treatise on the same subject. While it gave a connected account of the Assyriological side it also adopted a special view of the Old Testament writings. Much of it was disconcerting to the student who wished to form his own judgement, because he would naturally feel that when a different view of Old Testament was adopted, the suggested parallels might be inappropriate and in any case that fresh material might well put a different aspect on the comparison.

Professor Rogers has returned to Schrader's method with great success. He furnishes all the material which seems likely to be called for by any one but a specialist, gives ample references to its source and previous discussions, and then in an excellent transliteration and translation, with a few well-chosen notes, lays before the student exactly what he needs in order to form an opinion. The author usually abstains from in any way prejudicing any question. Hence the work is invaluable as a text-book. Nowhere can be found so much in such a convenient form. There is further a well-selected bibliography to tempt the learner on to further study.

The work deserves unreserved commendation for the way in which its worthy aim has been carried out. In the transcription the system of diacritical marks, general in Assyriological books, is adopted; namely š for sh, ṣ for ts, ṭ for the Hebrew teth, k for koph, ḥ for heth, which should afford no difficulty to oriental scholars nowadays. The value of each cuneiform character is represented by a separate syllable, the syllables being joined up into words by hyphens. This method of printing, especially when small type is used, demands most careful proof-reading, and it is perhaps fair to warn students that they must make allowance for the extreme difficulty of accuracy in a first edition. With a reference to the original they can easily find out what the sign intended really is, and I hope that a second edition will soon be called for, when the misprints and displaced hyphens will be corrected.

The translation is well done, with full consciousness of the latest suggested improvements. The translator has evidently devoted great pains to make up his own mind as to what the ancient author meant and has then given that meaning as clearly as possible in his own words. From many points of view this is best for a reader who becomes acquainted with the text for the first time. At least he learns one point of view quite clearly. But he must expect to find, on further study, that the original words may convey a very different meaning and that he needs to compare other renderings also. A closely literal translation, reproducing the idiom and the connexion, will often remind him more vividly of the Authorised Version. The plan of retaining always the same English rendering for the same word may produce an awkward phrase, but it often brings out a meaning that deserves to be appreciated, and falls in better with the dominant feeling of the original. Clear-cut English is sometimes suggestive of a version in more senses than one.

I do not point this out as a fault but rather as a caution against hasty deduction from the English version. The exact shades of meaning expressed by different forms of the verb in Assyrian are difficult to render by English forms, and, for the most part, our grammars and lexicons are still singularly vague about them. A lexicon with a large number of quotations of different contexts, like Muss-Arnolt's, despite its lack of decision, will give the best help in estimating such niceties. One example may be enough to make my meaning clear. The line rendered, on p. 3, 'Then were created the gods in the midst of [heaven]', might be taken to imply that the Babylonian author held that the gods really were 'created'. He had surely then asked 'Who created them?' Without pressing the point that he must have considered the implications of 'creation', it may be pointed out that the verb *šupā* is used of the appearance of the stars at night. The Babylonian scarcely thought the stars were made afresh each night. In other passages it means a manifestation by shining. Of course, one may argue that speaking of the period of creation the author must have meant that they were 'created', or at least 'came into being'; but he may have thought that the gods were pre-existent and only then 'manifested' themselves in this cosmos. Such points may be mere trifles in the opinion of most, but a failure to appreciate them elsewhere does lead to some measure of misapprehension. There is, perhaps, some sufficient reason to speak of 'The Story of Creation', and its 'seven tablets' are here finely translated; but there is much more in them than a mere story of the Creation.

It is sometimes useful to remember that there were different versions of cosmology in different Babylonian circles. It is the problem of the future to assign each, if possible, to its proper circle of thought. When

we have fixed their local surroundings it may be possible to distil from them all the essence of this ancient thought.

The Epic of Gilgamesh, embodying a story of the Deluge, is well worthy of prolonged study for its attempts to answer the questions which man will ask concerning the life after death. Its omissions and implications need to be examined thoroughly for the light they may throw upon early religion. Professor Rogers has here made a notable contribution to the study. The myth of Adapa, with its curious likeness to the story of the Fall (though here the hero lost eternal life through mistaken obedience), flood stories of varied type, the Legend of Ishtar's descent to Hades, the underworld story of Nergal and Eresh-kigal found among the Tell-el-Amarna tablets in Egypt, the Legend of the Infancy of Sargon of Akkad, with its likeness to the stories of the early years of Moses and of Romulus and Remus, form a most fascinating series.

The hymns and prayers make up a wonderful collection of deeply religious poems, with strange similarities and also contrasts to the Hebrew Psalms, and they are edited in admirable fashion. Fragments of the Wisdom Literature and specimens of ethical teaching embedded in incantations or prophecy are remarkable as an early example of the use of older sacred scriptures for magical purposes or for exorcism. A small selection of liturgical or doctrinal texts completes a most instructive section.

As becomes a careful historian, Dr Rogers gives an excellent selection of materials for chronology and some of the Babylonian Chronicles as an introduction to the historical texts. Such of these are selected as have direct bearing on the Old Testament.

On p. 42 ll. 110-115 a whole string of verbs begins with the sign of the jussive or precativ, and Professor Rogers elsewhere renders this form by 'let' or 'may'. Here for some reason he renders the whole group by simple preterites, as King had done before him. Whether this be an oversight or not, it makes nonsense of the passage.

On p. 62, though the author has just told us that Landsberger has proved the true reading of the ideogram *KAS-GID* to be *biru* and so reads it in line 3 of the translation, he puts *simānu* in the transcription line 3 and leaves *KAS-PU* in the same line.

The excellent account given of the relations of Babylonia to its neighbours before the rise of its first dynasty is in the main correct, but on p. 244 far-reaching conclusions are drawn from apparent omissions, always a dangerous procedure. Sumu-abu is called king in the Lists of year-names, as well as on tablets dated in his reign. The same is true of the other kings before Hammurabi. Professor Rogers seems to have relied almost solely upon evidence from Sippara, where, as we know,

a semi-independent line of kings ruled. In the present state of knowledge the conclusions on p. 244 require considerable modification. Professor Rogers' accepts the current views as to Amraphel, but wisely points out that no contemporary proof has yet been produced, and the inherent difficulties of Gen. xiv remain.

It would be ungracious to search through the book for misprints and inconsistencies in the spelling of proper names, but they are far too numerous to be allowed to stand in a second edition. The aid of specialists might well be employed in many places, and doubtless much criticism will be expended on particular points by them. But one man can hardly be expected to cover the whole area, and perhaps such a work had better be left to a committee of scholars when it is next attempted. This book is quite indispensable to any Biblical student who wants to see what the new material from Babylonia has to say, and it will probably tempt such a reader to extend his acquaintance further.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

THE GREEK OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Einleitung in die Sprache des Neuen Testaments, von J. H. MOULTON, D.D., Dr. theol. Berlin. Professor an der Universität Manchester. (Carl Winter, Heidelberg, 1911.)

THE second edition of Professor Moulton's *Prolegomena* was reviewed in this JOURNAL (Jan. 1909), but before the review was printed, a third edition had already appeared, and the new German translation is really a fourth edition, which has undergone complete revision and much alteration. The object of this review will simply be to facilitate the use of the German version by pointing out its differences from the English. A compliment as rare as it is well deserved has been paid to the learned author and through him to English scholarship not only by the appearance of this translation but by the doctorate conferred on him by the University of Berlin. The German version takes its place in the series of up-to-date grammars contained in Hirt and Streitberg's *Indogermanische Bibliothek*, and most appropriately so in view of the fruitful use in it of all the most recent results of philological science. Professor Albert Thumb of Strassburg and his colleague Dr Havers have made themselves responsible for the German form of the book. The former, in a short preface, modestly disclaims credit for the translation, but considering the difficulties involved, the success is wonderful. What we have before us is no 'Uebersetzungsdeutsch', but idiomatic

and vigorous German. It was necessary to omit many of the illustrations intended for English readers, and the passage (pp. 135-140 Eng. ed.) in which the Greek aorist is illustrated by English parallels, and the discussion of 'shall' and 'will' on p. 150 had to be dropped. Ingenious substitutions for German readers may be found on pp. 10, 18, 25, 35, 39, 87, 119, 143, 148, 181 of the German text. One cannot always be sure whether, in cases where the English and German slightly differ, this is due to the translation or to the deliberate choice of the author. With this *caveat* one may call attention to the following translations of individual expressions: p. 5 *kleinlich* (nice), p. 9 n. 1 *Hierzu stimmt unsere Annahme* (this may involve our substituting Latin), p. 12 *entschieden* (may be definitely), p. 15 *das entsprechende literarische Griechisch* (literally corresponding), p. 28 *Apokal* (R. V. !), p. 57 *möglich . . . das Hellenistische stark überarbeitet wurde* (quite possible Hellenistic), p. 83 *in Anbetracht ihrer* (as [they are] to), p. 135, l. 5 *Strenge* (severance), p. 359 *Schlüsse* (deductions). In the following places the sense of the original seems to have been misunderstood: p. 39 (Eng. 26 the particular feature), p. 43 (Eng. 30 checking not a few statements), p. 47 (*weil sie . . . hindurchging*), p. 52 (Eng. 36 it is the very last . . . resultant . . . very marked), p. 186 (Eng. 115 *angewandt*, traced = elucidated by some one else?). Misprints are almost unknown (p. 74 n. *Joh* should be *Hiob*: there is a bad one in the Dedication). On the whole, we may assure Professor Thumb that the translation is very good and successful, and the book ought to be of great service in Germany.

The additional matter incorporated will be found chiefly on pp. 4 (note), 13 (note), 56, 82, 87, 110, 115-116, 117, 124, 126, 165, 192, 199, 212, 265, 268, 270, 317, 327; but a vast number of new references, especially to the papyri, and new discussions of N. T. texts have been inserted. Some of these insertions have a peculiar interest for exegesis, e. g. p. 212 l. 18 ff, or for Higher Criticism, e. g. p. 345 *τοῦ* with infin. as bearing on the authorship of Acts. Peculiarly interesting and convincing is the view on p. 317 that in Mark vii 11 the right reading is *ὁ ἀν' ὠφέληθης* (i. e. *εἰ μὴ δῶπον ἦν*). The apparent absence of dialectic difference in the Koine is remarkable: is such a difference to be traced in the use of either *iva* or infinitive in different areas (p. 324)? As to the opinions of Professor Moulton on special points, it is interesting to find that he now definitely gives the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse to different writers (p. 13 n.); and apparently he thinks St Paul preached in Latin at Lystra (p. 9. 1). The present volume has been greatly assisted by Thackeray's *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek* (1909), and has also been able to take fuller account, though usually in a contrary sense, of Wellhausen's *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*.

As to the Semitic influence on the N. T., there is not much room for controversy left. While maintaining that Q was written in Greek—and there is every reason to think so—the author allows an ‘Aramaic original’ (p. 108), though he does not think it was used by Matthew or Luke.¹ He is quite disposed to allow the phenomenon of translation-Greek (pp. 88, 92 n., 103, 110, 124, 127, 256, 341, 357) where, owing to familiarity with Semitic idiom, a ‘possible but unidiomatic’ piece of Greek is used, or a Greek phrase is ‘overdone’. But where an idiom, which is Greek, has a corresponding Hebrew idiom, he is indisposed to allow any Semitic influence. Once or twice he uses phrases which really would satisfy everybody, p. 160 ‘der bewusste Gebrauch biblischer Redewendungen erklärt die Anwendung solcher Phrasen im Munde von Leuten, denen die biblische Sprache in Fleisch und Blut übergegangen ist’, and on p. 119 he compares St Paul to a modern preacher who might deliberately use an archaic phrase out of the A. V. (As to Eph. v 5 his translation ‘You must be assured of this [the following], recognizing for yourselves that’ would require the insertion of *αἱροί*: otherwise one could not possibly take the participle in a causal sense.) Surely this is all that anybody contends for, viz. that Semitic thought did influence the selection of language to some extent. Nobody supposes that any N. T. writer set out to write a Greek as like Hebrew as possible! The great master of modern philology, Brugmann, is quoted with approval (p. 31) as saying that, as between the Semitic champions and their opponents, ‘Die Wahrheit liegt wohl, wie in vielen ähnlichen Fällen — ich denke u. a. an Gräzismen des Lateinischen, die Latinismen und Gallizismen im Hochdeutschen — in der Mitte: eine bei den Griechen in der Volkssprache bereits vorhandene, mit anderen Wendungen konkurrierende Ausdrucksweise bekam durch den gleichartigen hebräischen Ausdruck, mit dem man bekannt wurde, neue Nahrung und weitere Verbreitung’. The great scholar’s *dictum* seems to imply that Hebrew influenced the language even of non-Jews (*bekannt wurde*). One would have hardly ventured to suggest *that*. All that seemed—and seems—probable is that a man saturated with Hebrew literature would be influenced thereby in his teaching and preaching when using the Greek language. An exact parallel is the influence of the A. V. on nineteenth-century pulpit utterances: it would be rash to predict anything about the twentieth century! Naturally no modern cleric would either wish to be or succeed in being obscure to his hearers, and the parallels from contemporary vernacular Greek adduced by Professor Moulton and others shew that the New Testament writers did not puzzle their readers.

¹ As Dr Moulton has so often done the writer the honour of notice, may he say that he never credited him with believing that our Lord preached ordinarily in Greek?

Kurzgefasste Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch. Von A. T. ROBERTSON. Deutsche Ausgabe von Hermann Stocks. (J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1911.)

THE work of Professor Robertson of the Baptist College at Louisville, Kentucky, appeared in 1901 under the title 'Introduction to the Syntax of the New Testament'. It was apparently intended for theological students. The translator seems to be mainly responsible for the Prolegomena and the second section (*Laut- und Formenlehre*). He seems to have aimed at a handbook which would give a correct philological basis for the study of the New Testament to candidates for the ministry. Perhaps he would have done better by adapting Blass's grammar to his purpose. The treatment of the subject is so concise that in any case a larger work would have to be consulted on any special point. The book has been carefully corrected for the press.

G. C. RICHARDS.

NEW TESTAMENT EXEGESIS.

The Acts of the Apostles. A commentary for English readers. By WILLIAM MORDAUNT FURNEAUX, D.D., Dean of Winchester. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912.)

The Origin and Aim of the Acts of the Apostles. Being six sermons preached in Worcester Cathedral in Lent, 1912. By the Rev. J. M. WILSON, D.D., Canon of Worcester. (Macmillan, 1912.)

BOTH these books are intended to bring before English readers of the New Testament the results of recent studies in the Acts. Dr Wilson's sermons have the further object of a comparison of the problems which confronted the first churches with the dangers and divisions of modern Christianity. To this end a sermon preached three years ago in the University Church is added as an appendix.

Both authors naturally rely to a very large extent upon Dr Harnack's researches. But Dr Wilson has the advantage of having composed his sermons after the publication of Dr Harnack's fourth volume *The Date of the Acts and the Synoptic Gospels*, and he accepts with eagerness its conclusions. The Dean of Winchester, who does not make use of this book, adheres to the date after the fall of Jerusalem. The problem of the fifteenth chapter both regard as finally settled by the adoption of the 'Western' Text.

The Dean of Winchester's commentary suffers throughout from one very great defect—the absence of an adequate introduction. A work like the Acts, if it is to be read intelligently at all, must be studied in the light

of some general notion of the aims and methods of its author in collecting and arranging his material, and with reference to the literary tradition of his age and nation, and also to the historical background of the narrative. Dr Furneaux contents himself with a few pages of introductory matter dealing entirely with the conventional arguments for and against the Lucan authorship and the (comparatively) early date. The result is that it is impossible to extract from the mass of notes to the text any clear principles for the general treatment of the book. In the notes themselves the scholarly treatment of difficulties and problems is much obscured by a very free use of imaginative amplification of the narrative; and the six pages of rather heterogeneous bibliography at the end of the volume might have been reduced with advantage to the whole book. The book will doubtless be appreciated by those who wish to combine devotional reading with an intelligent view of the difficulties presented by the Acts; but they will not get a very clear picture either of the history of the growth of the Church, or of the mind of St Luke.

Dr Wilson's task is less ambitious; and he has also the advantage of crediting his readers with more intelligence. He uses for the purpose of his exegesis the division of the Acts into six sections suggested by Mr C. H. Turner, and makes the main subject of his survey the emancipation of Christianity from local and national restrictions—all, as I have already said, with an eye to modern problems.

A. C. TURNER.

A Plea for a Reconsideration of St Paul's Doctrine of Justification.

By E. J. WATSON WILLIAMS, M.A., B.D. (The Century Press, 1912.)

MR. WILLIAMS believes that there is real danger lest the great doctrine of Justification should fall into the background of Christian thought, and that this is due in part to mistaken lines of interpretation. The Catholic expositor of St Paul's Epistles has endeavoured to make the doctrine commendable, but sound exegesis is against him. Similarly the writer finds it 'somewhat difficult to put real confidence' in 'the Protestant or so-called Evangelical interpretation', as set forth, for example, by Sanday and Headlam. The greater part of the present volume accordingly consists of a fresh investigation of the meaning of the word *δικαίος* and its cognates. The crux of the argument is reached in chapter iii, in which passages from the Apocalyptists are brought forward to shew that in Pharisaic circles in or near St Paul's time regard was 'paid, not to the contents (so to speak) of *δικαιοσύνη*, but only to the fact that it entitles or tends towards salvation', and

that *δικαίος* was 'used to describe a man as "qualified for salvation", without any particular thought (contained in the word itself) of the grounds of his qualification'. It is in this sense that the author would interpret the words as used by St Paul. The following is his paraphrase of Rom. iii 25, 26, part of a passage which he himself proposes as a fair test of his thesis: 'whom God set (? forth) as a propitiation . . . through faith in His blood; to the shewing . . . of His qualification (because of the praetermission . . . of former sins, with a view to the shewing . . . of His qualification at the present season), so that He is just . . . and making qualified him (whose claim arises) from faith of Jesus.'

It will require a weighty array of evidence—and Mr Williams has to confess that the evidence he is able to bring forward is but scanty—before a re-interpretation on these lines will commend itself to many. Nor is it easy to see how the doctrine of Justification, thus interpreted, will exercise greater attraction over the modern mind. Yet the book contains much useful information that is the fruit of independent research, and, if the reader is not deterred by a curious style and numerous careless mistakes, it may certainly be expected to further its author's avowed purpose, which is 'not to expound St Paul's doctrine of Justification, but only to put forward a forcible plea that the interpretation of the doctrine should be reconsidered'.

B. T. D. SMITH.

THE PROBLEM OF SUFFERING.

The Book of Job and the Problem of Suffering. By BUCHANAN BLAKE, B.D. (Hodder & Stoughton.)

Pain and Gladness. By a sister in an English Community. (Longmans.)

THESE books may well be criticized and compared together. The former, in the course of an excellent summary of the book of Job, attempts a constructive view of the problem of Pain, in the light of modern thought. The author begins well by insisting on the reality of secondary causation. He can, therefore, give full value to the positive nature of pain in all the various levels at which it makes its appearance. He therefore rightly calls for the destruction of pain at the lower levels that men may be unencumbered to know and conquer the higher pains. Moreover, pain is no mere defect but 'an inevitable and true accompaniment of the world's onward movement'. There is at this point a marked absence of any adequate discussion of the words 'inevitable' and 'necessary', as applied to the world of space and

time. This becomes important when the author uses the old argument that apparent discord is really harmony and that without any adequate treatment of the question as to how the one can become the other. This clearly involves us in a discussion of the fundamental question of the relation of the time order to God. Here our author has not given us any clarifying statements. True, he says that the Universe is to be the fulfilment of God's desire through the pains of Time. But there is lacking some guidance as to how a solution of the antithesis of Absolutism and Pragmatism may be found. Therefore we have no treatment of the problem as to whether it is possible to represent the inner life of God as not essentially related to that which is dimly pictured in man's highest consciousness of pain. Hence, too, one misses an explanation of how, without worshipping sorrow, it is still true that joy can come *in* and not only *after* sorrow. But despite these omissions the book is not only an excellent translation of the book of Job but also provides a convenient summary of the data of the modern problem.

The second volume is smaller, but by no means of less interest. The first part of the book shews how pain is a fundamental fact in the world as we know it. In psychology, morals, and metaphysics, Pain is shewn to have its place in 'the eternal essence of things', and the argument is corroborated by appeal to the Bible and to the witness of the Christian consciousness. Then our authoress rises in a chapter on the unity of God to a brief handling of the main problem. It is claimed that God is infinitely capable of pain. But what as to the actuality of Pain in God's life? On the one hand, it is impossible to say that Creation, Incarnation, and Redemption are simply the actualization of a capacity: or that the Incarnation and the Cross, as God's answer to finitude and sinfulness, are simply the unfolding of a potentiality. God does not add anything new to Himself by Creation. Rather self-emptying is of the essence of the Love which is God. Yet the pain which is compatible with God's inner life of joy is different from the pain which God knows through relation to the limitation and sin of the world. This distinction can be seen in the fact that all pain in human life is not able to be fitted in at once into a larger harmony. Rather its meaning has to be wrung from it and pain remains in itself an evil. But there is all the difference between suffering imposed from without and resented and resisted and the same suffering taken up willingly in the strength of love. Thus the solution is opened up practically by learning that neither pleasure nor pain should ever be an end to be sought after or shunned. Both are means to the end of learning to love God and man.

H. K. ARCHDALL.

Die Mishna Berakot, by Dr OSCAR HOLZMANN. *Der Toseptatraktat Berakot*, by Dr OSCAR HOLZMANN. *Die Mishna Pesachim*, by Dr GEORG BEER. (Text, Übersetzung und Erklärung, Töpelmann, Giessen, 1912.)

THIS is not the first time that a translation of the Mishna has been made. At the end of the seventeenth century Surenhusius translated it into Latin, and was followed by Wagenseil. Raabe issued an edition in German, and scholars like Jost, Hoffmann, and others, made excellent translations. In English, attempts have been made by Raphael and de Sola, and recently a brilliant piece of work on Abodah Zara was done by Mr Elmslie and issued by the Cambridge University Press. The work of Strack in German with excellent notes is appreciated by all students.

It may justly be asked, therefore, wherein do these books before us shew an advance on previous work? The writers think they can undertake the task of studying the Mishna without assistance from old tradition. They practically jeer at Strack for the attention he pays, as a scholar must, to the work of former times and to Jewish tradition. They thus exhibit unpreparedness for the work and are in addition tainted with bias, which reveals itself in the introductions. It is always a danger to attempt to dissociate oneself from tradition, and nowhere can this be more patent than in the study of the Mishna, which consists of remnants of old literature grown out of the soil of Palestine, and, in essence, of regulations that supplied local needs and which cannot be understood except in the light of Talmudical interpretation. These commentators seem desirous of giving an interpretation of their own, which, in my opinion, fails. Antiquarian facts cannot be invented nor can realities be displaced by imagination. Take the treatise *Berakot*—the blessings cannot be appraised without reference to the liturgy and the daily prayers, and a few stray allusions to the Old and the New Testament cannot bridge over the gulf that separates us from those days.

Now, as to the history of the Mishna and its relation to the Tosephta, Dr Holzmann does not appear to realize that there is a problem involved. He takes it for granted that the Mishna is older, and that the Tosephta is a later amplification. This is one of the most difficult critical questions that have agitated Jewish scholars, and even to this very day the battle is raged between Zuckermann, editor of the Tosephta, and Schwarz of Vienna. The majority incline to the belief that the Mishna has been separated from more ancient Tosephtoth, and when the Tosephta now preserved differs from the Mishna, this does not mean that a change has been made in the Mishnaic text, but that

the Tosephta may represent a more ancient form of the text. Of this Dr Holzmann takes no notice, and he is satisfied to treat the Tosephta as if it were an elaboration of the Mishna. The text, here, has been pointed, but this is not a novelty. If Dr Holzmann and Dr Beer had not gone their own way, unaided by grammar and tradition, they might have done better. Had their investigations been more thorough, they would have found that there are old vocalized editions; among others, one by Manasseh ben Israel. From these texts they would have discovered that there are at least two different traditions in the vocalization, an oriental and an occidental; it would have been seen, too, that Biblical rules of Hebrew do not always apply in Mishnaic Hebrew. Thus the problem of Dagesh and Raphé is solved differently when the text is not subject to the accents. Besides this, it will be found that there are fragments in the Genizah in which Mishnaic texts are not only vocalized but also accentuated; and if the editors had collated this text of the Mishna with the ancient codices of Maimonides's translation at Oxford and elsewhere, in which the Hebrew text is also given, they would have discovered that a large number of words are vocalized, and that the rules of Biblical Hebrew do not apply. They could thus have avoided mistakes which disfigure the text, e. g. הָלֵלִי, 'these', is vocalized הָלֵלִי, 'praise' (in Berakot, with reference to seeing the figs).

As for Dr Beer, he has given critical *variae lectiones*, almost every one of which is to be found in Manasseh ben Israel's edition, which in some places has better readings. Strong objection must be taken to the bias of the introduction to Pesachim, where he deals with the Paschal feast. All the vagaries of the extreme critical school are embodied as if they were established conclusions, and the connexion between the Paschal feast and the Last Supper is treated with complete disregard of Chwolson and others. It is rather curious to find that in 1912 a scholar like Dr Beer should still hint at the possibility of Blood Ritual among the Jews; this shews the scientific spirit in which the work has been conceived and the practical manner in which it has been carried out. Christian students would do well to look elsewhere for a truer understanding of the Mishna. A reprint of Manasseh ben Israel's text would be superior to the attempt of these scholars. If one sits on the branch of a tree and keeps cutting at it with a saw, it is not difficult to foresee the result.

EPHRAIM LEVINE.

CHRONICLE

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND RELATED LITERATURE.

WITH the publication of the commentary on *Daniel* by Dr R. H. Charles, the 'Century Bible' (T. C. & E. C. Jack, Edinburgh) reaches completion. The series has been in preparation for some years; it was an ambitious undertaking, and recognition is due to the public-spirited publishers as also to the editor, Principal Adeney, and his contributors. The aim has been to present the results of modern research in a handy, concise, and cheap form; and the excellence of the little volumes has been acknowledged from the first. As evidence of the breadth and scholarship of the series it is enough to mention the names of such contributors as Bennett (Genesis, Exodus), Driver (Nahum-Malachi), Kennedy (Leviticus, Numbers, Samuel), Peake (Jeremiah), Skinner (Kings), and Whitehouse (Isaiah). All the volumes reach a high level and each has some distinctive features of its own. That by Dr Charles is especially attractive for its introductory sections on Apocalyptic (pp. xiii sqq.), in which he rightly protests against the attempt 'by advanced liberals' to differentiate prophecy and apocalyptic (p. xvi). The familiar problems of *Daniel* are briefly noticed, but I miss a treatment of Winckler's view touching the quasi-historical background. That a traditional framework underlies the first half of the book is also the view of C. C. Torrey, and is inherently probable; it must be admitted, however, that it is less important for the study of the book in its present form (dating from 167-165 B.C.) than for the study of the older traditions which have been utilized by the author.

From the completion of one series we turn to the commencement of another. The 'Oxford Church Bible Commentary' (Rivingtons, London), under the editorship of Dr Burney and the Rev. L. Pullan, will be by members of the Church of England connected with the University of Oxford. Among the prospective contributors are: W. C. Allen (Ezra and Nehemiah), Ball (Genesis, Job), Box (Jeremiah), Burney (Judges, Kings, Isaiah), Canney (Ecclesiastes), Charles (Daniel), and Driver (Psalms, Chronicles, Hosea). The volumes will contain a new translation, with introduction and notes, and if all come to the standard of the one before us they will be a valuable contribution to Biblical studies. *Wisdom*, by the Rev. A. T. S. Goodrick, is a compact work of 437 pages, of which a very full introduction alone

occupies more than one-fifth. The commentary is an elaborate one, with special reference to the text and translation, the interpretation, and illustrative material. It is a distinct advance upon all the current works on *Wisdom*, and will be especially valued for the light it throws upon Jewish 'Wisdom' literature in general. The author is particularly strong in his treatment of the relation between Jewish and Greek 'wisdom'; one would have liked a fuller attention to the evidence which has been adduced from older Oriental sources.

In *The Book of Job Interpreted* (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1913), the Rev. James Strahan aims at presenting a critical exposition of the text—the R.V. is printed and used as a basis—with exegetical notes, 'intended not only for scholars, but for general readers who are interested in sacred literature'. His object is to present the book of Job as literature, in particular as an ancient treatment of a perennial problem. In certain respects the notes are more elementary than those found in any technical commentary, but they have that 'human' element which a purely critical work does not have. They are of wider general interest, and are enlivening with their illustrations drawn from Matthew Arnold, Coleridge, Chesterton, Pascal, and others. Hence the book is distinctly useful in correlating ancient and modern experience in a way that bridges the centuries and manifests the fundamental psychological identity of man—and this is exceedingly helpful for critical study. At the same time, it is throughout indebted to past criticism, and shews how the purely technical labour of criticism is only a step, and a necessary one, in the re-interpretation of old ideas to new stages of thought. It is a pity that the author was apparently unable to make use of Volz's original study of Job in the German series *Die Schriften des Alten Testaments* (1911).

The commentary on *Isaiah* in the 'International Critical Commentary', originally entrusted to the late Dr Davidson, is to be divided between Dr G. B. Gray (chs. i–xxxix) and Dr A. S. Peake (chs. xl–lxvi). The first volume is now published (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1912) and contains a very instructive introduction of nearly 100 pages, and the commentary on Isa. i–xxvii (472 pages); there are also two handy maps, the one illustrating W. Asia, the other, with reference to Isa. xv sq., containing Moab, N. Edom, and E. Judah. The work is solid and judicious, as was to be expected from the author of the excellent commentary on 'Numbers' in the same series. Dr Gray keeps an open mind on the problems of Hebrew metre, and is wisely sceptical of the finality of any existing theory (pp. viii sq., lix–lxviii). He has a valuable section on the political and social conditions of Isaiah's time (pp. lxviii–lxxxi), and a clever survey of the literary history (pp. xxxii–lvii). Very boldly, but surely rightly, he insists that the starting-point in all

detailed criticism or interpretation of Isaiah is the fact that it is a post-exilic compilation, 'nor is it wise to minimize the significance of this conclusion' (p. xxxii). This is true also of the Minor Prophets (cf. *ib.* p. 43), but no less so of such other sources as Genesis and the books of Samuel (cf. *J. T. S.* xii 468, xiii 89 sq.). Very sound is his recognition that literary criticism is something more than the question whether a passage is 'genuine'—this applies to historical criticism as also to the criticism of the prophecies. There is a very just appreciation of Winckler on p. ix; indeed, whatever we may think of his theories, he has at least forced us to look more consistently at the Old Testament in the light of external conditions. As regards details, Dr Gray so invariably makes appropriate references to the comparative study of religions (e.g. p. 354), that we miss in Isa. vi 5 some account of the widespread conviction of the danger of looking upon beings or of heedless behaviour towards things where profound supernatural ideas were involved. On pp. lxxxviii sq. and 106 he appears to me too much under the influence of the modern one-sided notions of the non-ethical character of the ideas of 'holy' prior to the time of the prophets. Again on p. 94 when he refers to the 'original forensic sense' of צדק (righteousness), he does not realize that 'original' and 'forensic' are, sociologically speaking, incompatible—the 'original' sense of צדק must have been in harmony with the 'original' conditions (cf. *J. T. S.* ix 632 n. 1). Finally, on p. 255, the fall of the 'Shining One' (Lucifer) naturally has an astral colouring, but the essential feature is the penalty for presumption and arrogance: the underlying facts are psychological or psychical, and find numerous parallels; the astral-mythical formulation or expression is secondary, more accidental, and concerns the thought of the environment.

The third volume of *The Minor Prophets* in the same series is composite, like the second (*J. T. S.* xiv 146). Prof. H. G. Mitchell is responsible for Haggai and Zechariah (360 pages). His work is throughout careful and informing, and he gives the reader an excellent guide to the better understanding of these difficult sources. He prefixes a useful section on the historical background, adopting a somewhat moderate position. His argument that the Jews were allowed to return under Sheshbazzar in 538 is not conclusive; for example, the presence of royal princes, priests, and prophets at Jerusalem in the reign of Darius is no proof that they had been allowed to return (p. 9). It is quite true that we suppose that 'most, if not quite all, of the better class of inhabitants had been carried into captivity by Nebuchadrezzar'; but that this is not certain is evident from the account of the princes and others in Jer. xli 1, 10, who must have been left behind. Further, Ed. Meyer long ago advanced evidence for the view that there were

important families of native Judæan (Calebite) origin who had never gone into exile. It may be added that it is difficult to see how (p. 12 n.) the Elephantine papyri *by themselves* can be urged against the evidence for the offer of the Samaritans to assist Nehemiah (Neh. ii 20); it is because the Judæan bias is everywhere so strong that the fragmentary data (cf. Ezra iv 2), which represent the Samaritans in a favourable light (cf. 2 Kings xvii 28, 33, but contrast the secondary *vv.* 34-40), can scarcely be set on one side.

Malachi is handled by Dr J. M. P. Smith (88 pages), and he succeeds in bringing out very clearly the leading features of this little collection of prophecies. He agrees with the ordinary view: 'the book of Malachi fits the situation amid which Nehemiah worked as snugly as a bone fits the socket' (p. 7); but it is very difficult to associate the background of the prophecies with the grievous political conditions just before or at the time of this reformer: some 'anatomy' of the history of the time of Artaxerxes is necessary first, and this the author does not supply.

Finally, Jonah is dealt with by Dr J. A. Bewer (65 pages). It is an interesting piece of work, illustrating what criticism has done for this favourite book. It is no longer necessary to discuss at length any improbabilities or impossibilities; we approach the book more in the spirit of the old-time readers, and find its chief value in its kernel. I may note in passing a misunderstanding of the Targum of i 4 (p. 34): the use of בָּעֵץ ('on the point of being [not "sought to be"] wrecked') can be easily paralleled, see e.g. W. Wright *Jonah* p. 10 sq. and his *Comp. Gram. of the Semitic Lang.* p. 21 top.

To turn to *Das Buch Jona* by Dr J. Döller of Vienna (C. Fromme, Vienna, 1912) is to go into another world. The author discusses the historical and related questions gravely and learnedly from the Roman Catholic standpoint; he does not depart from the old traditional point of view (p. 31): if the book contains marvels and wonders, they are no greater than those in other books of the Bible (p. 27 sq.). Thus criticism is disarmed! Useful features are the full bibliography, the printing of the Hebrew text with a translation, and a commentary (pp. 59-107) especially helpful for younger students. The traditional position is also upheld by Dr E. Kalt in a monograph on *Samson* (Herder, Freiburg i. B., 1912). It belongs to the Roman Catholic series of *Freiburger Theolog. Studien* (no. viii); cf. Allgeier's monograph, *J. T. S.* xiii p. 140. His view is that Judges xiii-xvi may be regarded as a literary and historical unit, and that their contents fit all the conditions of the age. Samson emerges as a doubtless interesting individual, but his exploits are so rationalized and watered down, that he ceases to interest us. Little wonder that this method of 'criticism' presents difficulties to critical Roman Catholic scholarship

(cf. Father Dhorme's notice of the book in *Rev. Bibl.*, April 1913, p. 313).

Father Jean's little book *Jérémie* (Gabalda, Paris, 1913) is a handy sketch of the political situation, of Jeremiah's place in it, and of his theology. It is very tentative in its textual, literary, and historical criticism (e.g. pp. 20, 25, 36, 71), but ventures upon suggestions the consequences of which are unnoticed. Thus he favourably notes Sayce's dangerous view that the Elephantine papyri do not prove that the Law did not exist, but 'simplement qu'on l'interprétait d'une façon spéciale'. This sort of argument is futile.

Of Roman Catholic origin, like the preceding, are two admirable monographs upon the prophecies of Ezekiel: one by P. Cheminant on the prophecies against Tyre, chs. xxvi-xxviii 19, the other by J. Plessis on those against Egypt, xxix-xxxii (Letouzey, Paris, 1912). Each discusses the metrical, textual, literary, and historical questions, and provides a new translation and an excellent commentary. Indeed the commentaries are a special feature, for little has escaped the attention of the writers, and one is glad to have their elaborate notes. The two books, each of 120-130 pages, are examples of the best Roman Catholic scholarship, and, if 'conservative', are of that very rare type of conservatism from which the most 'radical' can profit. Plessis's worst heresy is to persist in prefixing the article to a Hebrew noun which already has a suffix (p. 29 sq.)! Cheminant's treatment of the literary-historical problems is promising but inadequate. The advance of Nebuchadrezzar (xxvi 7-14) requires an introduction (p. 89), but this can hardly be found in xxvi 1-6, 19-21, where Tyre gloats over the fall of Jerusalem (v. 2). Besides, no good reason is given for Tyre's attitude, and Cheminant weakly supposes that it expected to profit from Jerusalem's extremity (p. 92). But this oracle is dated in the eleventh year (i.e. about 586), and consequently associates itself with those in which Moab, Ammon, and Edom are condemned for their hostile behaviour (Ezek. xxv, cf. Zeph. ii 8 sqq.). This behaviour is historically doubtful (as regards Edom, see *J. T. S.* xiv 147), although it is quite conceivable that the situation actually arose at a later period. In fact, the point in the punishment of Tyre is the intervention of Yahweh to manifest His might and to defend His people (cf. Ezek. xxvi 6). It is not the punishment of a guilty Judah, but of an arrogant enemy, and we move in a later circle of ideas (cf. the parallels in *J. T. S.* xiii 87 sq.). Tyre is condemned for its overweening pride, and it is instructive to notice that both sections of ch. xxviii agree in representing that blasphemous confidence which accounts for the denunciation of the Babylonian monarch in Isa. xiv (see above). Especially noteworthy in this connexion are the rich allusions to some fuller *corpus* of myth

in Ezek. xxviii 11 sqq. which recall the 'astral' ideas in Isa. xiv 12 sqq.

Prof. Driver's *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1913) is the second edition of a work which on its first appearance in 1890 set a standard in Hebrew philological scholarship. The new edition is larger by a hundred pages; the commentary alone covers nearly four hundred pages. This is due not only to the expansion of old notes and the addition of new ones, but also to the attention paid to topographical questions. The characteristic 'went up' and 'came down' of the Bible vividly reflects the physical features of Palestine; and the desire to illustrate this has led Prof. Driver to add notes on the sites mentioned in the Books of Samuel. He rightly emphasizes the inadequacy of current maps, owing to the many highly questionable identifications, 'except those in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, which are above reproach' (Pref. p. x), and he has had useful maps of Palestine prepared, which will be valued by all. The topographical side is the special feature of this new edition. The introduction (now 96 pages) has been carefully revised and brought up to date. Twenty-three years ago it supplied a real want with its sections on Hebrew orthography, the versions, the Moabite inscription, and other matters illustrating the Hebrew text. To-day it is none the less useful for its concise, convenient, and authoritative treatment of introductory questions, which are extremely important for the Hebrew student, who must otherwise hunt through a large variety of sources—and because of the pains taken to cite or to refer to everything at all germane to the subject.

A new volume on *Judges and Ruth* has been prepared for the Cambridge Bible by Prof. G. A. Cooke (University Press, 1913). The notes are well adapted to the object of this series, and care is taken to provide a map where, by the way, greater attention is paid than usual to the identifications. Canon Cooke's general position is a very fair one. It is interesting to observe on p. xxix that 'the Canaanites held a barrier of strongholds in line with Jerusalem, which would effectually check an invasion descending from the Central Highlands to the South'. This is quite in accordance with certain evidence, but its importance for the history of the relations between Judah and Israel is rarely considered. Another serious question is involved in the fact that we can find, on external grounds, no dislocation of conditions when the Israelites entered; but the conditions as represented in the book of Judges—e.g. the Baals and Astartes (p. xxxvii)—are not what we should expect from the picture given us by the Amarna Letters: in other words, serious changes have apparently intervened, but we cannot attribute them to the Israelites. Finally, I note Prof. Cooke's remark: 'historical

criticism relieves us to a great extent of the moral difficulty created by the wholesale slaughter of the Canaanites' (p. xxxi). Yet, if, as he says, 'the patriotic imagination of a much later day' is responsible for the idea, Dr James Orr is perfectly right when he points out that we merely 'roll the burden upon the shoulders of prophets [or, of other later writers] when the higher morality is presumed to be developed' (*Problem of the Old Testament* p. 468 sq.). Admirable and adequate as Prof. Cooke's treatment is, considering the series, it is evident that here are complex questions which sooner or later make themselves heard—the last, in particular, involves a reconsideration of the ordinary conservative and critical theories of the development of Old Testament religion.

An interesting addition to the same series is *The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus* (1912). This very important book has been entrusted to Dr Oesterley, whose scholarly introduction and commentary will be much appreciated. The text printed is, as is usual with this series, that of the R. V., but since many fragments of the original Hebrew were discovered (between 1896 and 1900), it has naturally been necessary to give a careful discussion of the variant texts. As a consequence of this a relatively considerable amount of space has to be given to matters of text, and here one misses necessary references to Prof. Bevan's notes on the Hebrew text in *J. T. S.* i 135 sqq. (1899). As against a certain weakness in handling the text may be placed the illuminating sections in the introduction, those on the teaching of the book being especially instructive.

Dr Oesterley also contributes *1 Samuel* in 'The Revised Version edited for the use of Schools' (University Press, Cambridge, 1912). It is a handy little book, with many useful notes; but such is the (enforced) brevity of the introduction and the scope of the book that one questions the wisdom of hinting at features of literary-critical interest. Thus on pp. 6, 12 we have 'later insertions', and if *1 Sam.* xiv 47–51 is also a 'later insertion', is the passage to be used for the history? Dr Oesterley apparently follows the current view that Saul had no authority over Jerusalem (see his note on xvii 54) and Judah (xv 4); but when writers agree that Jerusalem and the district were in alien hands until David's time (*2 Sam.* v), they usually overlook the bearing of this upon narratives referring to Nob (*1 Sam.* xxi sq.), Gath (*xxv* 44), Saul in S. Judah (xxiii sq., xxvi) and his interest in S. Judæan clans (xxvii 10). Saul was a great and powerful king, as *1 Sam.* xiv 47 sqq. and the ancient poem in *2 Sam.* i testify, but a number of pro-Davidic narratives represent another picture, and our ordinary conception of this period is built up by the explicit rejection of pieces of evidence which point to another view of the age.

In the *Smaller Cambridge Bible* the Rev. T. H. Hennessy undertakes 2 Kings. There is a good little introduction and the notes will be helpful to young students. It is taken as an 'obvious conclusion that the "main compiler" of Kings wrote somewhere between 621 and 586 B.C.'; in the larger edition, to which there is a general reference for fuller information, Prof. Barnes more cautiously holds that 'Kings could not have been compiled before *circ.* 561 B.C.' (p. xxi). It is an important difference. On p. 151 there is a reference to 'totem ideas among the Hebrews', very unnecessary in view of the rather tentative remarks elsewhere on the religion and the religious development. It cannot be said (on xxiv 1) that Nebuchadrezzar 'seems to be a more accurate form' of the name Nebuchadnezzar; it would be much better to tell young readers that the latter is quite inaccurate. There are a few small misprints: on p. 106 read Tiglath-pileser III (to agree with pp. 13, 177), though strictly speaking it should now be everywhere IV, and on p. 176 read *kewi* in *Boghaz-keui*. A curious archaism is the printing of the A. V. everywhere—hence the notes are rather loaded up with the readings of the R. V.

Deuteronomy: its Place in Revelation (Longmans, London, 1912), by Dr A. H. McNeile, consists of a restatement of arguments already accepted by the great majority of modern Hebrew biblical scholars, 'unfortunately, however, it is still necessary not only to state these results, but to defend them against some writers who continue to cling in the face of evidence to the Mosaic authorship of the book'. It is of course much to be regretted that energy should have to be spent upon such a question as this, when there is so much to be done in other directions; but Dr McNeile's book puts the case so clearly that it will be useful not only to those who are by temperament opposed to criticism, but also to those who are more familiar with the critical conclusions than with the grounds upon which they are based.

To turn now to 'the other side', J. Dahse in his *Textkritische Materialien zur Hexateuchfrage I* (Töpelmann, Giessen, 1912) deals with (a) the divine names in Genesis, (b) the alternating use of Jacob and Israel in chs. xxxvii sqq., and (c) P in chs. xii-l. He is among those who, attacking the modern literary hypothesis of the Hexateuch, dispute the validity of the criteria on the strength of the Septuagintal variations. He himself, however, is far from denying the presence of additions, glosses, and signs of compilation; indeed he has pretty theories which rest upon all that combination of induction and deduction, inference and speculation, which is found in those theories to which he is opposed. This is inevitable and legitimate; the important question being whether this theory or that is more in accordance with all the relevant data. And here there can be no doubt that Dahse,

though exceedingly ingenious, does not cover the field which has to be covered, and his conclusions are scarcely to be commended to those who are opposed to modern criticism. If he is right, our book of Genesis, *in its present form*, is due to the 'Kompilator und Exeget' Ezra (p. 161); and obviously this will be the starting-point for that criticism of the internal difficulties which he, in his somewhat one-sided zeal for purely textual matters, tends to ignore. Apart from this, Dahse—like Mr H. M. Wiener—is opening the way to a singularly arbitrary and revolutionary type of criticism, in that both are tending to destroy the reliance usually placed on the Massoretic recension of the Old Testament; and this will be disturbing to Jew and to Gentile alike. Here may be mentioned another volume of reprints by Mr H. M. Wiener, LL.B. (*Pentateuchal Studies*, Elliot Stock, London, 1912): they do not call for any special note, and it must suffice to refer to my remarks on the earlier volume in *J. T. S.* xiii p. 135 sq.

Two volumes from the untiring pen of Dr Cheyne next claim attention: *The Mines of Isaiah Re-explored* and *The Veil of Hebrew History: A further attempt to lift it* (A. & C. Black, London, 1912 and 1913). The former deals with Isa. xl–lxvi; the latter consists of a series of discussions on ethnical, biographical, geographical, and other points. Both belong to that long chain of works in which Dr Cheyne has been elaborating his North-Arabian theory, and whatever may be thought of that theory, one cannot but admire his energy, his keen survey of even the latest discoveries and discussions, and his undaunted and persistent confidence. He is rightly convinced that the ordinary positions of criticism to-day are untenable, but his own solution is along lines which have not found acceptance; yet it is only fair to emphasize the fact that his theory is scarcely more extreme than those favoured by thorough-going conservatives, and that the tendencies of such scholars as Ed. Meyer, Alex. Gordon, Gressmann, and others strikingly confirm the words of the late Dr W. R. Harper: 'every year since the work of W. R. Smith brings Israel into closer relationship with Arabia'; see also *Encycl. Brit.* ed. xi, vol. xx p. 615.

The Rev. F. E. Spencer's *Short Introduction to the Old Testament* (Longmans, London, 1912) is a descriptive account of the several books from a conservative point of view. Unfortunately it shews many signs of haste. Thus: 'the Goel is an ancient custom of the clans. It disappears in the time of the kings' (p. 56). Again, when Gideon is called Jerubbaal, we read: 'a slight indication of ancient writing—not so much as Wellhausen makes it—Jerubbaal is changed to Jerubbesheth, 2 Sam. xi 21' (p. 89). Of his many dark sayings I quote his utterance on Zech. ix–xiv: (they) 'present a literary question of interest and some complexity which in the result has the probable moral that a little tradition of

a cultivated nation is a more certain ground to go upon than the subjective opinion of scholars, however well equipped'. And the footnote proceeds 'this is an axiom which is quite safely laid down for all other literary traditions of civilised peoples. The exceptions are few' (p. 152). The book is well meaning, but hardly achieves its object. Another work of this class is *The Building Up of the Old Testament*, by the Rev. R. B. Girdlestone (Scott, London, 1912). It belongs to the 'Library of Historic Theology', which proposes to present 'a general survey of the present position of thought and knowledge in various branches of the wide field which is included in the study of divinity'. The book is a reverent and professedly conservative book, written from a standpoint and in a tone that precludes criticism. There are some familiar conjectures—horribly wild, did they appear in some 'critical' work, but less striking to the reader who haply finds in them a support for some traditional position—note, e.g. the exceedingly arbitrary and hazardous theory of the cuneiform origins, p. 20 sq. Critics are reproved for finding the work of later writers in the magnificent prophecies ascribed to Isaiah—'their view is conceivably true but is probably erroneous' (p. 28)! Perhaps it is as well to pass on to the useful excursus 'a study on Inspiration' (pp. 293-311), a careful perusal of which will convince the reader that the author clearly recognizes the more essential principles of criticism:—it is the particular application he distrusts.

To an American scholar, Prof. H. T. Fowler, we owe *A History of the Literature of Ancient Israel from the Earliest Times to 135 B.C.* (Macmillan Co., New York, 1912). It describes and illustrates the writings of the Old Testament in their historical connexions on the basis of the general conclusions of modern criticism. In nearly 400 pages we have a most useful synopsis of the different forms and styles of the literature. Care is taken to explain the characteristic features, and to point out, with some instructive parallels, the slow developement of those sources that survive in the Bible. Even those who cannot agree with his theories will find much that is profitable and interesting. The greater insistence upon the books as *literature* is a very welcome trait, which however is perhaps carried too far in current German work.

From Dr A. Büchler we have another of his little monographs: *The Economic Conditions of Judaea after the destruction of the Second Temple* (Jews' College, London, 1912). It is an instructive contribution to the period interesting for the vicissitudes of the text and the canon of the Old Testament. Although over a million Jews had perished in Jerusalem, yet, in a couple of generations, a hundred thousand could again rise in several hundred places of Judaea against the Roman rule. If Dr G. A. Smith has illustrated the significance of the persisting geographical

conditions for understanding history, Dr Büchler—like Winckler—emphasizes the persisting similarity of historical vicissitudes, for not only does his pamphlet throw new light upon the years after 70 A.D., it also allows one to realize in some measure the conditions after the fall of Jerusalem in 587, and to perceive that this disaster was not quite such an overwhelming annihilation as was and is often supposed.

Dr C. H. W. Johns writes on *Ancient Babylonia* for the 'Cambridge Manuals'. He provides a clear and concise account of the land, people, conditions, and history. It is interesting to see that he holds that the Semitic invasion came, not directly from Arabia, but from the north-west: the bearing of this on the theory of the influence of Babylonia upon Palestine is considerable. A special feature are the illustrations which, with the much-needed map at the end, enhance the value of the book, and enliven the necessarily rather dry sections where the writer has to summarize the bald historical outlines. This and his *Ancient Assyria* in the same series (*J. T. S.* xiv 149 sq.), are especially suited for the Old Testament student interested in the external history, and are by an admittedly foremost authority.

The appearance of two Hebrew grammars for English students is a welcome sign. One, by the Rev. C. T. Wood, with the co-operation of the Rev. H. C. O. Lanchester, caters for beginners (*A Hebrew Grammar*: Kegan Paul, London, 1913). It has many distinctive and useful features, especially noteworthy being the endeavour to introduce the student to the Old Testament itself at as early a stage as possible. If only on this account one may be permitted to regret the sometimes curious modifications of the original which appear here and there in the exercises: after all, the main object is to understand the Old Testament in Hebrew and Hebrew modes of thought and expression. As this handy grammar is likely to prove a boon, it is worth noting that § 7 on p. 4 ('four fragments of papyri brought from Egypt') needs adjustment—it rests upon a very second-hand source, and the fragments are the 'Nash papyrus' in the Cambridge University Library. Page 60 (*h*), with its *לָהֶם בֵּיתָ לָהֶם* (and an unnoticed misprint on the last line) is needlessly confused. On p. 91 § 5, the weak *wāw* is, of course, *not* 'always pointed with vocal *shewa*' (so p. 89 *b*), and there should be a fuller note on its use, in view of the examples on p. 92 sq. No light is thrown upon the vocalization of [י] in the index; the information is given in a section on the Comparative, where, however, we miss the important fact that before the article the full form is more common than the form which the students are encouraged to use in the sentences on pp. 33, 36. Other little details to be noticed are the precarious view that *לֵשׁ* (read *לֵשׁוֹ*) suggests man's frailty (p. 185), the failure to point out that the use

of consonants to express figures is post-biblical (p. 198), and the treatment of 'ו and 'ו in oaths (p. 202). Among the many valuable features must be mentioned the suggestive notes on the vowel system from the lecture-notes of Prof. Kennett (pp. 212-222).

The second grammar is by the Rev. D. Tyssil Evans (*The Principles of Hebrew Grammar*, Luzac, London, 1912). It is intended to serve for the intermediate stage between a purely introductory work and the classical 'Gesenius-Kautzsch'. It extends to nearly 500 pages, of which nearly 120 are devoted to exercises (with grammatical questions and pointing). The printing is not everywhere so clear as might be desired, and references to the O.T. might have been more freely inserted. The introductory pages on the position of Hebrew are useful, but some of the sentences are extremely difficult. On p. xxiii, after stating that monuments of 'Assyrio-Babylonian' exist to about 500 B.C., he remarks that the language may have existed after the time of Alexander the Great in a literary form—the precise meaning of 'monuments' and 'literary' is the crux. It is too loose to say that the Moabite stone dates from about 900 B.C. (*ib.*), and on p. xxiv the two inscriptions from Damascus are, I suspect, those from Nerab near Aleppo. The grammar is admirably full, but is sometimes unnecessarily complicated; e.g. on p. 203 the verbal suffixes in the case of verbs with impf. in pathah could have been much more simply expressed (as e.g. by Wood, p. 151), and this criticism applies also to the treatment on pp. 204 sq. and 267 sq.

Dr H. Lindemann's *Florilegium Hebraicum* (Herder, Freiburg i. B., 1912) contains a selection of passages for the use of students, printed with the ordinary Massoretic apparatus, but with no notes even when, as in the case of Judges v, some textual help is needed. Every book is represented, and thus we have passages from Chronicles (e.g. 1 Chron. xiii 1-14, xvii 1-14), but *not* the earlier parallels (in 2 Sam. vi sq.), the comparison with which is so helpful for the student. An appendix contains a few passages for pointing, a few verses from Ben Sira, the Siloam inscription, a specimen of the supralinear vocalization, and a few lines of *Faust* in Yiddish (German in Rabbinical characters).

In conclusion, I have to express regret for accidentally overlooking the two volumes of Dr Peter Thomsen's *Palästina-Literatur* (vol. i Haupt, Leipzig, 1908; vol. ii Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1911). These contain the literature for 1895-1904 and 1905-1909 respectively, and the total number of items amounts to nearly 7,000. They are to supplement earlier bibliographies, and are divided under six headings: (1) general, (2) historical, (3) historical geography and topography, (4) archaeology, (5) geography (with flora and fauna, &c.), and (6) modern Palestine.

Those who are engaged upon studies where Palestinian research is involved will find Dr Thomsen's encyclopaedic work exceedingly useful. In order to facilitate the preparation of the next volume, publishers and writers, it is hoped, will forward copies, or at least details, of relevant works to the author at Dresden A 1, Christianstrasse, 37.

STANLEY A. COOK.

L'Ecclesiaste, by E. PODECHARD. (V. Lecoffre, Paris, 1912.)

FRANCE has not in recent years contributed much to the study of Ecclesiastes, but the deficiency has been amply supplied by Prof. Podechard's commentary, which is issued as a volume of P. Lagrange's *Études Bibliques*. It is written with a lucidity and a sureness of touch which make it very pleasant reading. The long Introduction starts with the question of Canonicity, the reasonable conclusion being reached that the book was revered as sacred before the school of Shammai raised their opposition to it, i.e. not later than the first century B.C. After a sketch of the history of its interpretation, and a short analysis of its contents, the vocabulary of the book is examined, its late words, Aramaisms, and neo-Hebraisms are noted, and the supposed Graecisms which some have found are decisively rejected. There follows a comparison of Ecclesiastes with B. Sira and the Book of Wisdom: its priority to B. Sira is shewn to be probable, and the antagonism which the writer of Wisdom displays to the spirit of Koheleth is well drawn out. In chap. vii the author is at pains to slay the dead in opposing P. Condamin's explanation of Eccl. iii 19-21 by reference to the beliefs of the Essenes and to the eschatological teaching of the apocalypses. The valuable sections on Greek philosophy lead to Zeller's safe conclusion that Koheleth 'did not come into direct and immediate contact with the works of the Greek philosophers, but he did not entirely escape the effects of the spread of their methods and ideas'. With regard to the date of the book, M. Podechard thinks that the allusions in it to contemporary historical events suggest broadly the period of its composition, but that the meaning of the allusions can in no case be precisely determined; the Solomonic authorship is dismissed in a few words, and the writing is assigned to the period between 290 and 190 B.C., probably in the second half of the third century. M. Podechard prudently opposes the idea that Ecclesiastes is a poem, and that numerous drastic emendations must be permitted in order to make it such; some rhythmic passages are, of course, discernible, especially in the *m^eshālīm* inserted

at various points, but *Ḳoheleth's* work 'is, in fact, written in prose, and bad prose'. The composition of the book is carefully dealt with; the author joins me in recognizing the work of a *ḥākām*, who inserted proverbial maxims drawn from various sources, and of a *ḥāsīd*, who sought to correct *Ḳoheleth's* statements by adding remarks about the fear of God and divine judgement; also of a disciple of *Ḳoheleth* who first recommended the book to its readers, speaking here and there of *Ḳoheleth* in the third person. The analysis, however, presents one or two new features: in the Epilogue (xii 9-14) *vv.* 9-12 are the work of the disciple, and speak not of Solomon but of *Ḳoheleth* himself; iv 17-v 6 is an isolated addition from the pen of a member of the priestly circles; and the poetical fragment xii 2-6 is due to a young man (*Ḳoheleth* was that no longer) who could write somewhat artificial poetry on the miseries of old age, because he had not experienced them himself. The genuine words of *Ḳoheleth* form a consistent whole, enlarging upon the theme that life is not worth living. The Introduction ends with a chapter on the text and versions. Here I join issue with M. Podechard on the question of the Aquilean authorship of the 'LXX' version, and remain unconvinced by the arguments which he adduces against my conclusion that the 'LXX' version was made by Aquila, and that the fragments of Aquila preserved by Origen represent his revised edition.

The Commentary proper is preceded by a Translation, in which, unfortunately, there is no indication as to the passages assigned to the several writers. It is not possible here to deal with the comments. They give evidence of very wide reading. The author generally prefaces his own views by recording those of former writers, often citing an army of names which might, in many cases, have been curtailed with advantage. The largeness of the number of details on which opinions differ only shews that *Ecclesiastes* is a difficult book, for the careful handling of which M. Podechard deserves much gratitude.

A. H. McNEILE.

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(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

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